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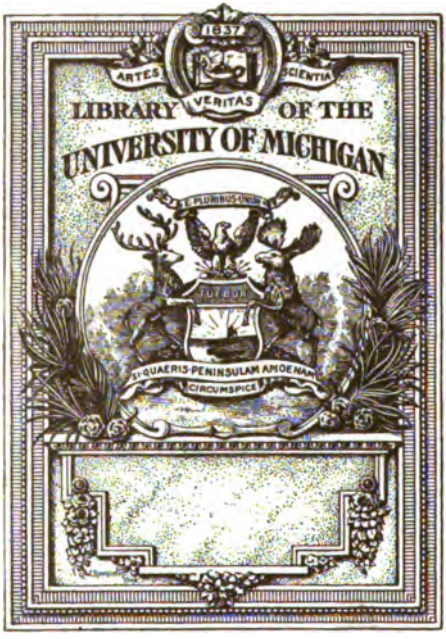
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METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

1882.

VOLUME LXIV.—FOURTH SERIES, VOLUME XXXIV.

D. D. WHEDON, LL.D., EDITOR.

NEW YORK:
PHILLIPS & HUNT.
CINCINNATI:
WALDEN & STOWE.
1882.

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METHODIST
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1882.

WEBER'S SYSTEM OF THEOLOGY OF THE OLD SYNAGOGUE OF PALESTINE.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

System der Altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie aus Targum, Midrash, und Talmud Dargestellt, von Dr. FERDINAND WEBER, Pfarrer in Polsingen, Mittelfranken. Nach des Verfassers Tode Herausgegeben von FRANZ DELITZSCH und GEORG SCHNEDERMANN. Pp. xxxiv and 399. Leipsic: Dörffling & Franke. 1880.

THE book placed at the head of this article is the only thorough and systematic work that has ever been published on the Theology of the Ancient Jews. Few, indeed, are the works which, to any great extent, cover the same ground. The first writer who published an account of the Jewish System of Faith was R. Saadia Gaon, of Upper Egypt, in the first part of the tenth century. In the twelfth century appeared the book "Kusari," written by Judah Hallevi in defense of Judaism, and the treatise "More Nebochim" of Maimonides, on the doctrines of the Jews. To these works may be added the important treatise of Joseph Albo, written in 1425, and the treatise of Fürst on the Karaïtes, and "The History of Jewish Tradition," by Weiss, both belonging to the present century.

Among the works on Judaism written from a Christian stand-point and in defense of the faith, may be named the "Pugio Fidei," by Raymund Martini, accompanied with remarks by J. de Voisin, and published, with an Introduction to the Je vish Theology, by Benedict Carpzov, Leipsic, 1687. In

the same century (seventeenth) Helvicus wrote "Systema Controversiarum Theologicarum quae Christianis cum Judæis intercedunt, octo elenchis comprehensum." Joseph de Voisin composed "Theologia Judaica." Wagenseil also published, against the Jews, "Telea ignea Satanæ," and A. Pfeiffer wrote against them a polemic work. This was followed by Eisenmenger's "Judaism Unveiled," published in 1700; and by a work of Majus on the "Theology of the Jews." Bodenschatz, in 1748–49, published a work on "Modern Judaism," more free from prejudice than the preceding ones.

Dr. Weber characterizes the older polemic works against the Jews—so far as the representation of Jewish doctrine is concerned—as without scientific value. "They are far more collections of all possible absurdities and frivolities than historical representations of religion. And even where this is not the case, the sources are used without any criticism. . . . It is, therefore, to be lamented that, apart from men like Delitzsch, Wünsche, and a few others, not more attention and study of the sources have been given to the Jewish theology, from a Christian scientific side, in our time."

Dr. Ferdinand Weber, a Christian pastor, by devoting himself twenty years to the study of the oldest Jewish writings, fully prepared himself for the great task of presenting to the Christian world—and, we may add, to the Jewish—a faithful, clear, and systematic view of the doctrines of the ancient Jewish Synagogue. In the sickness which terminated in his death, July 10, 1879, the author committed the publication of his work to the distinguished scholar, Dr. Delitzsch, who highly commends the work.

The utility of such a work is not to be called in question, as it is certainly of the highest importance to us to know what were the theological and ethical views of the Palestinian Jews in the time of Christ. For, without this knowledge, it is impossible for us to see in Christ's teaching the points of doctrine that coincide with the Jewish system, or diverge from it, and to ascertain how far the doctrines of the great Founder of Christianity are original. And besides this, a thorough knowledge of the contemporary Jewish views cannot fail to throw great light upon the teachings of Christ and his apostles, and at the same time to show what were the elements in Judaism

so hostile to Christianity as to cause its rejection by the mass of the Jews. The value of Dr. Weber's work is enhanced by the fact that the sources of the Jewish doctrine are hidden in rare books written in a dialect strange to the mass of Christian scholars.

In the execution of his work Dr. Weber first considers the sources of our knowledge of the ancient Jewish doctrines and the use of these sources. He next proceeds to discuss the doctrines themselves in *twenty-four* chapters, with appropriate headings and subordinate divisions.

Sources of the Ancient Jewish Doctrines.

I. *Targums.*

1. The Targum (Chaldee version) of Onkelos on the Pentateuch. According to the Talmud, Onkelos was a proselyte, a scholar of the elder Gamaliel, the instructor of St. Paul. Some passages of the Pentateuch are paraphrased by Onkelos, and thus Jewish theological views are introduced.

2. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel on Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets. The rabbis relate that the author of this Targum was a disciple of the elder Hillel. As Jonathan is often paraphrastic, he furnishes rich sources of ancient Jewish doctrines. Dr. Weber holds with Dr. Zunz and other great critics that both Onkelos and Jonathan belong to the *first* century, and rightly and vigorously defends this date against Frankel, who assigns Onkelos to the *third* century and Jonathan to the beginning of the *fourth.*

3. The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch, or Jerusalem Targum I., written in the second half of the *seventh* century. Dr. Weber uses this Targum as a source of doctrine, on the ground that it contains old traditions.

4. The Targum of Jerusalem II., which our author refers to the *third* century, differing from Dr. Zunz, who regards this Targum as an abridgment of Pseudo-Jonathan.*

5. Targums on the Hagiographa. These Targums, although written since the *seventh* century, are used by Dr. Weber as containing ancient doctrines.

* Gottesdienst. Vorträge, etc., p. 72.

II. *Midrashim*, (Commentaries.)

Midrash (plural Midrashim) "is the exposition of Scripture, investigation into and statement of its meaning, of the mysteries which it conceals, of the recollections from history, as well as of the hopes for the future, which belong to the words of Scripture." There were two kinds of exposition. The one was used in the school; the other in the synagogue before the congregation. The former was chiefly of a *halakish*,* (traditional,) and the latter of a *haggadish*,† (expository, edifying,) character. As the method used in the schools aimed at deriving in an exegetical way from the Holy Scripture the legal traditions as they lie in the Mishna, as a well-arranged whole, it employed itself with the Torah, (Law,) and was intentionally *haggadish* (exegetical) only in the historical and prophetic sections of the Torah, which it then illustrated by means of holy tradition, or parables, or maxims. But the method of exposition before the congregation was especially of an edifying character, although containing *halakish* (traditional) matter. It selected especially such parts of the Torah as were read in the synagogue, which were suitable for a practical treatment. We possess several theological Midrashim (commentaries) containing both *halakah* and *haggadah*, belonging to the *third* century, and an old *haggadish* Pesikta; while the compilations of the later Midrashim are, for the most part, devoted to the *haggadah* upon the sections of Torah which they treat, by bringing forward whatever of a traditional character, in sayings, parables, and sentences, was accustomed to be quoted upon each verse of Scripture.

1. The first among the old Commentaries containing *halakah* and *haggadah* is called Mechilta. It comprises a number of sections of the Book of Exodus, and since the book of the law contains much that is historical, it quotes a great many *haggadish* traditions, and certainly in their more simple and older

* הֲלָכָה, *halakah*, from which comes the adjective form *halakish*, means *traditional law.*

† הַגָּדָה, *haggadah*, from which is derived the adjective form *haggadish*, is defined by Buxtorf: *Interpretation; narration; pleasant, subtle history; a pleasant historical or theological discussion on a passage of Scripture, attracting the mind of the reader.*—"Rab. et Tal. Lex.," *col.* 1295.

form. Its author was R. Ismael, belonging to the school of Sepphoris, Jabne, and Tiberias. Mechilta, belonging to the first half of the *third* century, is a primitive source of Old Palestinian *haggadish* tradition as it was propagated in the school of Tiberias, and its value for our work is next to that of the Old Targums.

2. The second of these commentaries is Sifra, called also *Torath Kohanim*, (Law of the Priests,) a *halakish* Commentary on the Book of Leviticus. It belongs to the *third* century, and although it arose in the school of Rab at Sura in Babylonia, it nevertheless contains the Old Palestinian tradition that had been transplanted to that Babylonian town by Rab of Sepphoris, and is equal in value to the Mechilta.

3. A third Commentary of this kind bears the name of ספרא דבי רב, (*Books of the School of Rab*,) or simply Sifre, (*Books.*) It comprises Numbers and Deuteronomy. It belongs to the *third* century, and its traditions are Old Palestinian, as in Mechilta and Sifra. Accordingly, it is a rich source of old Jewish doctrine.

4. Next to these Commentaries we place the Pesikta of Rab Kahana, because it, like the three preceding Commentaries, belongs to the oldest Midrashim we possess. There are several Commentaries that bear the name of Pesikta, (section.) In the works of this name, not entire books of the Holy Scripture, but single sections of the Torah (Law) and the Prophets, are treated. Rab Kahana edited the work in Jabne in Palestine. As this Pesikta contains *haggada* exclusively, and that, too, Old Palestinian, it forms a chief source of doctrine. It belongs to the *third* century.

5. Among the Catenae of Midrashim belonging to the Talmudic and post-Talmudic age, stands first the Midrash Rabba, (Great Commentary,) or the Rabboth. These Midrashim are upon the Pentateuch and the five Megilloth, (Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther.) The oldest and most valuable part of the Commentary—that on Genesis—arose in Palestine in the *sixth* century. The other Commentaries belong to a later period.

6. Tanchuma is the oldest connected Commentary on the Pentateuch known to us. It is divided into 140 sections. It arose in Southern Italy, about A. D. 850, according to Dr. Zunz.

On account of its traditional Palestinian character it is a valuable source for Jewish doctrine.

7. The great compilation of Scripture expositions, which bears the name of Jalkut Shimeoni. The especial value of this work consists in this: that it has preserved a great deal which would otherwise have been lost. According to Dr. Zunz, it was edited at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

III. *Mishna and Tosefta.*

By the side of the Law of Moses there had grown up an oral tradition since Ezra, which defined more exactly the written law for each case in life in a casuistical way through rules, (*halachoth.*) The *halachoth* (traditional laws) were transmitted only orally until the destruction of the temple; after that time they began to write them down and to arrange them according to certain points of view. With R. Akiba originated the first collection, which his disciple, R. Meir, supplemented and improved. But this work did not yet obtain universal authority. The collection which R. Jehuda Hannasi in Tiberias made (A. D. 219) upon the basis of the previous collections, gained universal authority and became the *corpus* of the traditional law which henceforth was made the foundation of the *halakish* (traditional) instruction in all the schools of Palestine and Babylon, and, at à later period, of the entire Jewish people. The Mishna treats the traditional material in six chief divisions, (*sedarim;*) more exactly in sixty-six treatises, (*Massichtoth.*)

Closely connected with the Mishna is the so-called Tosefta, (Addition.) This is a work supplementary to the Mishna, and includes additional traditions which Juda the Holy had excluded from the Mishna when he arranged it. This work was completed toward the end of the 4th century.

IV. *The Talmuds.*

The concise brevity of expression, the enigmatical form in which the Mishna has codified the *halachoth*, (traditions,) made an authentic interpretation of them necessary. The Mishna received a *Gemara*, an explanation, or completion, and, combined with this, it is called Talmud, i. e., *Instruction, Doctrine.* The Talmud lies before us in two forms: as the Talmud of Jerusalem and as the Talmud of Babylon. The former originated from the schools of Palestine; the latter, from those

of Babylon. The Jerusalem Talmud was edited at Tiberias; that of Babylon at Sura. The Jerusalem or Palestinian Talmud was founded by R. Jochanan (he died A. D. 270) in the middle of the *third* century, and finished toward the end of the *fourth*. The Babylonian Talmud was begun by R. Ashe, (he died A. D. 430,) and was completed at the beginning of the *sixth* century. The Jerusalem Talmud is small and unimportant, while the Babylonian is very extensive and embraces the later discussions of the great masters of Israel.

I. The Historical Implantation of the Nomocracy in the new Jewish Commonwealth.

Dr. Weber starts out by referring to the zeal for the Jewish Law that awoke among the exiles in Babylon. Among these was Ezra, a scribe well instructed in the Law of Moses, who, accompanied by men of similar zeal, went up to Jerusalem to establish in the holy city the supremacy of the Mosaic Law. The fame of Ezra as the restorer of the authority of the Law still lives among the Jews, who compare him to Moses, and affirm that the Law could have worthily been given through him, if Moses had not preceded him. The highest fame of Hillel after his death consisted in this, that he was called a disciple of Ezra; so deeply rooted in the Jewish society is the consciousness that it was Ezra who implanted the Law in the new Jewish Commonwealth. His zeal and activity in enforcing rigidly the Mosaic institutions are abundantly shown in the book that bears his name. Ezra also established institutions for a thorough training of the people, first of all, by appointing in every community men skilled in the Law, whose office it was to instruct the people respecting the Law, and to judge them according to it. But in Jerusalem he established a supreme spiritual court, which decided questions of the Law and exercised the highest native jurisdiction. At the head of this college stood Ezra. He also introduced the reading of the Law in worship. This was followed by the establishing of the synagogues, in which portions of the Law were read on the Sabbaths, and soon afterward on Mondays and Thursdays. This newly-awakened legality was characterized by a decided tendency to the letter of the Law, as is especially seen in the observance of the neglected custom of dwelling in the booths, (Neh. viii, 16.) But

how did this legal spirit of Judaism stand toward the prophets who taught the people to expect salvation from the Divine Grace? It was foreign to the prophetic spirit. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah base, in a one-sided manner, piety upon the Law. They are silent about prophecy. But the voice of Malachi is once heard. He exercises a strict judgment over the legal character of his contemporaries, while he uncovers its falseness. Fulfillment of the Law without regeneration must degenerate into hollowness and hypocrisy. But the voice of Malachi died away without effect. With him prophecy was extinguished; the religion of Israel was, and remained from the days of Ezra on, the religion of the Law.

Dr. Weber next proceeds to discuss the "*growth of Jewish Legalism in opposition to Hellenism.*"

As Ezra was the scribe without an equal, so were the pious Jews after him scribes or theologians. From 1 Macc. i, 56, *et seq.*, it appears that rolls of the Law were found not only in the synagogues but also in the houses of the pious. In 1 Macc. mention is made of the synagogue of the scribes, (*συναγωγὴ γραμματέων*,) by which we are not to understand professed scribes, but all the pious people devoted to the Law. The flower of Scripture learning we find in the college which, under the name אַנְשֵׁי כְנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה, (*Men of the great synagogue*,) in the Jewish tradition has such a high authority. From it the following three sentences have been handed down: "Be careful in judgment, raise up many disciples, and put a hedge about the Law." Many of the precepts in the Mishna arose in the times of these scribes.

The relation of the legal consciousness to the temple service is expressed in the language of Simon the Just, (Pirke avoth, i, 2:) "Upon three things the world stands: upon the Law, upon the service of God, and upon charity," (benevolent acts.) It is clear, then, that the temple service had become secondary to the Law. According to the views of that time, the Law is not only God's object in the creation and preservation of the world, but also Israel's specific means of salvation, which gives value to his existence both for the present and the future. On this ground the Jews held firmly to the Law and its observance against all foreign spiritual forces.

The conflict which was waged between the Jews and the

Seleucidæ, and ended B.C. 164, was not a conflict for political independence, but a conflict for the Law of God. This is made clear from the Books of Maccabees. The Law produced two effects upon the people: it made the pious Israelites theologians; their synagogues, schools. From a nation it became an international sect, and hence it is easily understood how the ruin of the second sanctuary was not at the same time the ruin of Judaism also. Out of the ruins of Jerusalem arose the Judaism that had been born in the days of Ezra, in its full and pure form. The Maccabees had fought with the government of the Seleucidæ and conquered, and thus secured the religious freedom of the Jews. Not satisfied with this freedom, the Maccabees went further, and now fought also for political freedom, or, what was the same, the national independence of their people. The result was a new Jewish royalty.

With this course of things the scribes and the pious (Asidäer, חֲסִידִים) people were not satisfied. They rightly feared that in the place of religion, politics would enter in; and in the place of the Law, a constitution after the manner of the rest of the world. The pious people held fast to the principle that the Law was the special good and the sole vocation of Israel; consequently, also, his sole rule of action. And to this principle they held fast against the Maccabees, the Herodians, and Romans; finally, also, against the Zealots.

Respecting the radical difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees, Dr. Weber follows the opinion of Wellhausen that these two parties do not represent religious principles specifically opposite, but that the differences proceed from a difference in social position. The Sadducees or "Zadokites" are the party of the high-priest, named after Zadok, the head of the house of the high-priests. They form the nobility, who, since the victory of the Maccabees and the establishment of royalty, support the latter, possess the offices of court and government, and represent the political and administrative direction of the people. But the Pharisees are nothing else than the scribes and Asidæans (pious people) of old time. They appear now as a party opposed to the Sadducees, who employ themselves with politics rather than with the Law, and in consequence of their devotion to a worldly life they embraced more lax views. While the Sadducees have political influence, with the Pharisees remains

the religious guidance of the people. Dr. Weber sketches the history of the Pharisaic party until "not simply the moral, but also the official, authority of the scribes and Pharisees over Israel is undisputed." Having set forth the implantation of Legalism, he proceeds to the explanation of the system.

II. The Torah (Law) the Revelation of God.

Out of the depth of the Divine nature before time. the wisdom of God came into existence before God; and this primitive revelation is identical with the Torah, (Law.) It is, accordingly, the eternal image of the spiritual nature of God. On this account, also, it is the object of the love of God, as he also submits to it with so much love. Under this head, Dr. Weber quotes Jesus Sirach, who, in chap. xxiv, identifies the Torah with the eternal heavenly wisdom. He shows, also, that every-where in the rabbinical literature the Torah appears as one with the heavenly wisdom. In Bereshith Rabba, chap. xvii, the Torah is called the heavenly wisdom. The Midrash Tanchuma says: "When the Holy One created his world he consulted with his Torah, and thus created the world." According to Bereshith Rabba, God looked into the Torah as into a plan of building, and made the world in accordance with it. The word ראשית (beginning) is accordingly the designation of the Torah. Jalkut, on Gen. i, 26, has preserved the tradition: God said to the Torah, "Let us make men." In Pirke avoth vi, 10, it is stated that the Torah speaks: "God has acquired me as the firstling of his way, as the first beginning of his works from eternity." It was also held that the Torah was created by God a thousand generations before it was proclaimed on Mount Sinai; an expression that may be considered equivalent to its eternity.

The Torah is also called the daughter of God, and he is said to love himself in it as in his own image, of which Dr. Weber gives ample illustration.

But further, God himself is represented as employing himself with the Torah, and as determining his own divine life thereby. R. Jehuda says in the name of Rab: "The day has twelve hours; in the first three the Holy One sits and employs himself with the Torah." Again: "Three hours daily he employs himself with the Law."

The Torah is that Revelation in which God has included every thing which is necessary to salvation. It is, therefore, sole and exclusive, needing no supplement, authoritative for all time, even for eternity, originally appointed for the whole human race.

In Debarim Rabba, chap. viii, Moses said to them: "It (the Torah) is not in heaven; nothing remains of it in heaven." Beside the Torah, therefore, no further revelation is to be made. The Torah, is, therefore, not established for a time merely, but for all times, for eternity, indeed. Already the Apocrypha speak of the eternal duration of the Torah, (Bar. iv, 1; Wis. Sol. xviii, 4; Tob. i, 6.) Shemoth Rabba, xxxiii, calls the Torah a possession for eternity. Likewise, in Jer. Megilla, i, one says: "The Prophets and the Hagiographa will in the future lose their force and become obsolete, but the five parts of the Torah shall never be abolished." So also Aboda Sara, 18[a], says that of the Holy Scriptures the Torah alone shall last forever. As being the revelation of salvation from God, complete in itself, the Torah has been appointed originally for entire humanity. This we find already in the Pesikta of Rab Kahana, where it is stated that the Torah was given in the third month, whose constellation (sign) is Gemini, to show that the Torah has been given to both people, to Esau (the people of the world) as well as to Jacob. Again, in Mechilta, 70[a], in speaking of the proclamation of the Torah in the Desert, it is said: "If it had been given in the land of Israel the people of the world would say that they have no share in it; on this account it was given publicly, free, in a place accessible to every body, and every one who wishes to receive it may come and receive it." Further, it is said in Sifre, 142[b]: "When the Holy One manifested himself to give the Torah to Israel, he did not manifest himself in one language only, but in four languages; namely, in Hebrew, Latin, Arabic, and Aramæan."

The Torah is, in general, designated as the source of life. In particular, there is attributed to it the power to enlighten, to sanctify, to bless, and to protect from death. As it contains in itself all happiness and life, it is the highest good.

In Mechilta the words of the Torah are called a medicine, and the tree through whose wood Moses made the water in Marah drinkable is explained by one as a word of the Torah

which directed Moses to the tree. In Sifre "the words of the Torah are compared with water. As water is life for the world, so also are the words of the Torah life for the world." It is also stated in the rabbinical documents that the Torah is the only way to life. Therefore the study of the Torah is better than prayer itself; even better than all sacrifices. The words of the Torah have power to kill and to make alive. The Torah is also called bread. In Midrash it is said that the naming of light five times in the first chapter of Genesis refers to the five books of the Torah.

The Torah is said to possess in itself the power of sanctification, and to be an antidote to sin. And as the water cleanses men from their impurity, so the Torah cleanses the impure from their impurity. The Torah, in its power to revive, to bless, and to save from death, is compared to water, to wine, to honey, and to pepper. As the Torah is the source of all safety, so is it called the well of salvation. No one is poor except the one who is poor in the knowledge of the Torah. No pity is to be shown to the man in whom there is no knowledge of the Torah. And if any one gives his bread to such a person, in whom there is no knowledge of the Torah, chastisements will overtake him. All temporal advantages are to be given up for one single word of the Torah.

III. Legality the Essence of Religion.

The pious Israelite loves the Torah as the highest good; therefore he gives up every thing for it, even life, and wishes always to be reminded of it.

The essence of Jewish religiousness is love for the Torah. This love, which prefers the Torah to all earthly good, Dr. Weber illustrates by an anecdote from the Pesikta, too long for insertion here.

As the pious Israelite loves the Torah more than every thing, so does he also wish always to be reminded of it. For this purpose serve him the *zizith*, (fringes,) the *tefillin*, (phylacteries,) and the *mesusa*, (a parchment roll containing the two sections of Deut. vi, 4–9, and xi, 13–21, and fastened to the door-posts.) Dr. Weber quotes ancient Jewish authorities, illustrating the use of these articles.

The proof of one's love for the Torah.—Legality or love

for the Torah proves itself in two ways: In the study and in the practical fulfillment of the Torah. In illustration of the high importance of studying the Torah as the chief business of Israel, various passages from the rabbis are adduced. The study of the Torah, indeed, takes precedence of all other duties. Young students of the law, when they married, stipulated that they should be allowed to repair to a rabbi to study the Torah with him for a series of years before the consummation of the marriage. It seems, indeed, that married persons left their families to prosecute the study of the Torah, and that, indeed, for a period of twelve years. It was taught that one should rather allow his children to suffer hunger than to neglect the school-house or the house of the rabbi. The practical performance of the law, or its fulfillment, is the second necessary proof of a pious disposition. It is laid down: Whoever learns the Torah without practicing it, it would have been better for him if he had never been born. The object of knowledge is repentance and good works, that no one may read in the Scripture and learn the Mishna, and still be obstinate against father and mother, against his instructor, and against the one who is superior to him in wisdom. It is also necessary that one shall, while observing the law, *intend* that observance to be considered pious. The performance of the law is regarded as a heavy burden. But the fulfillment of the law has its limits. It should not lead to this, that a man should thereby suffer injury in his life; much is allowed which in itself is forbidden. One may, for example, allow himself to be healed by a Christian, only not with the knowledge of others, but secretly. Secretly one may even worship an idol, if he can thereby save his life. (Aboda Sara, 27ª.) Also more is allowed a distinguished man than an ordinary one. R. Jochanan, for example, may allow himself to be healed by a heathen physician. One may seek a way out of a difficult duty. The principle is recognized that whoever is wise can save himself many sacrifices.

Respecting the relative importance of study and practice, the more common view was that the former is more important.

This legality is, then, religiousness in the absolute sense; it was the only form of it at all times, and will forever remain

so. From this proposition are to be explained the anachronisms of the literature of the Talmuds and Targums respecting the study and fulfilling of the Torah, which otherwise are so strange. Methuselah is represented as a teacher of the Mishna, and the patriarchs are said to have learned in the Torah. Even Adam was supposed to have been circumcised, and to have led the life of a Jew.

The relation of the religious consciousness to the sacrificial service.—As the study and fulfilling of the Law are the essential moments of Jewish religiousness, the question arises, What place does the *Aboda*, or sacrificial service in the temple, hold for the Jewish religious consciousness? According to Jewish doctrine, the *Aboda*, since the destruction of Jerusalem, is substituted through the study of the Torah in general, and especially of the precepts of the Law pertaining to the *Aboda*, as well as through the service of prayer exactly corresponding to the sacrificial service.

The ancient teachers of Judaism, in their discussions of the relative importance of the priest and student of the Law, decided in favor of the lawyer, and in the course of time the religious consciousness freed itself, to a great extent, from the absolute need of a priesthood and sanctuary. Hence it is said: "Whoever prays in the synagogue is regarded as if he had brought a pure Mincha," (offering.)

The *Aboda* (sacrificial offerings) is now substituted by other services. Sifre, 80[a], we read: "Just as the service at the altar is called an *Aboda*, (temple service,) so also is the study of the Torah;" indeed, in Megilla, iv, it is said expressly: "The study of the Torah is greater (more valuable) than the bringing of the perpetual offering," and in the same tract, folio 16: "Greater is the law than the building of the sanctuary." Shemoth Rabba, chap. xxxviii, combines study and prayer as the means of conciliating God. Accordingly, in spite of the destruction of the temple, the *Aboda* suffers no essential loss; study and phylactery supply their place.

From the nature of legal religiousness, as that of complete devotion to the study of the Torah and its fulfillment, it follows that it can manifest itself fully only in a limited circle of the community. Human life offers impediments to the study and exact fulfillment of the Law. The *homo religiosus*, in the

full sense of the word, is only the disciple of a scribe, the *talmid chacham* or *chaber*, (brother.) He alone, according to Taan. vii, has full right to exist in the community. On the contrary, the one who does not apply himself to the Law, the *Am haarez*, (one of the common people,) has not a full right to be a member of the community. According to the rabbinical definitions, it is clear that every one is an *Am haarez* who has not studied and observed in life the Law in its entire extent, with all the rabbinical precepts. R. Meir says: "Whoever gives his daughter to an *Am haarez* (one of the common people) for a wife appears just as one who throws his daughter bound to a lion." According to tradition, the following six points are to be noticed respecting an *Am haarez:* No testimony is given to him and none is received from him. No secret is disclosed to him. No guardianship is intrusted to him. He is not made superintendent of the fund for the poor. Nobody associates with him on a journey. According to the strictest opinion, the *Am haarez* is excluded even from the resurrection. Dr. Weber shows that the greatest hostility existed among the common people toward the rabbis.

IV. Jehovah's Communion with Israel is Conditioned alone through the Torah.

Not with the land of Israel, not with the sanctuary, is the presence of God united; rather it is every-where present where the Israelites occupy themselves with the Torah. The Torah is the bond of communion between God and Israel.

According to the Old Testament view, the communion of God is united to the land of Israel and its sanctuary. According to this, when God drives his people out of the land of Israel, and abandons his sanctuary, the communion of God with Israel is suspended. But according to the later Jewish representation the matter stands differently. In the Mechilta, 68^{b}, we read that the land of Israel, the sanctuary, and the kingdom of the house of David, have been given conditionally, but not so the Torah. It is the inheritance that abides under all circumstances, while the former possessions may for a while perish. Not the sanctuary, not the land of Israel, not the kingdom of David, is the essential thing whereby Israel abides for God what he is, but it is the Torah. So long as Israel ful-

fills the Torah, on that account God is united with him. Wherever the Torah is learned and practiced, there is God. We accordingly see that God so far stands in union with men as men stand in union with the Torah. This forms the bond of communion between God and man. God's conduct toward men has no other motive than men's conduct toward the Law, and there is no other form in which God's relation to men is effected than that of reward for the fulfillment and punishment for the violation of the Law. Every divine favor presupposes merit obtained through the fulfillment of the Law. The degree of the divine pleasure in men rests upon the measure of their legal merits. As the legal conduct of men is subject to vacillations, the relation of God to men is not yet fixed in this, but only in the other world, where the conduct of men toward the Law comes to a close.

There is no kind of communion between God and man which is not effected upon the principle that man performs something in conformity with the Torah, and receives something corresponding for it. Therefore a man may not draw nigh to God in prayer without having something of his own, or from his fathers, in his hands as a counter-service for that which he prays. (Sifre, 12^{b}, etc.) In a later place, proofs will be given that the entire history of salvation is built upon the foundations of merit. No link is found in the chain of the historical revelations of salvation which was not effected by merit on the part of Israel. The relation of God to men is graded according to the degree of their worthiness produced by their conduct toward the Law.

As the conduct of men in this life is subject to great changes, and their final perseverance in good is uncertain, their account—so teaches the Talmudic theology—with God is still an open one. On this ground God does not give to men their peculiar reward in this world, but simply the interest of the capital, and pays them the capital itself only in the future world. It is only by this hope of reward that the labor of keeping the Law acquires sense and value.

V. Israel the People of the Torah among the Nations.

Through the reception of the Torah, Israel has become the people of God. The possession and practice of the Torah im-

parts to him the indelible character of holiness, and makes this people among the nations a community of saints. Even their origin is absolutely a pure one.

At Mount Sinai there was established between Jehovah and Israel a relation by virtue of which Israel, in a unique and exclusive sense, and forever, has become the people of Jehovah. And if all nations, says a passage in Shemoth Rabba, should unite to destroy the relation of love between Jehovah and Israel, they would not be able to effect it. Mechilta, 46[a], 47[a], says: "Whoever rises up against Israel, to him it is reckoned as if he should rise up against God; whoever helps Israel, to him it is reckoned as if he should help God." This indissoluble relation rests upon the Torah.

As the people of God, Israel is therefore, in distinction from the nations, the holy people, or the society of the saints, as Mechilta, in fact, calls them. This character of holiness is an indelible one: even if Israel has sinned, they still remain the people of God. God has imparted to Israel holiness for ever. There is no clearer proof of the Talmudic conviction of the absolutely holy character of Israel, than the fact that at every passage of Scripture in which Israel is censured and has a bad predicate, the expression "Israel" is not used, but "haters of Israel," so that that censuring predicate is not attributed to Israel himself, but to the haters of Israel, the ungodly who have brought such disgrace upon the holy people. The rabbis went so far as to declare that the censure of Israel on the part of the prophets was sin. In Shir Rabba, several examples are enumerated where the prophets Moses, Isaiah, Elijah, are reproved by God because they publicly made complaint to God against Israel. In consideration of the holy character of Israel, rabbinism rejected the death penalty for Israel, and the judges resorted to various subterfuges to avoid it.

In Israel, even from the beginning, there was no one who was blamable. It is the aim of the entire Midrash to free the patriarchs from every impurity which seems to cleave to them. Abraham is the holy one who fulfilled the entire Torah, and is the head of all the righteous. Jacob is vindicated from the charge of deception. Even the sons of Israel, in spite of their attempt to murder Joseph, are pronounced righteous. Their murderous plan, according to Bereshith Rabba, 54, was justified

because Joseph in the future was to seduce the tribes of Israel into the worship of Baal; also the sons of Jacob went to Egypt with the intention of bringing back Joseph again.

Respecting the making and worshiping of the golden calf, Pesikta says, 77[b], that the Holy One investigated this sin, but found nothing culpable with which Israel could be reproached. Israel, according to 78[b], took no part in the sin. The proselytes who had come with them out of Egypt committed the sin. God himself occasioned the sin of the golden calf, according to Sanhedrim, 102[a], because he gave Israel so much gold.

The relation of Israel to Jehovah is an exclusive one, as they alone among all the nations of the world, at the offer of God, accepted the Torah. They alone have God as their own and devote themselves to his service, and they are also for this reason the only seat of the kingdom of God, while the heathen world is and remains profane territory. With this profane world Israel has no fellowship.

There is a tradition, which we already find in the oldest extant Midrash, in the Pesikta of R. Kahana, that God offered the Torah also to the heathen, who refused it, so that through the giving of the Law a permanent opposition arose between Jehovah and the heathen world. But Israel accepted the Torah, and thus became the people of God in distinction from the heathen. The exclusive relation of God to Israel, and his opposition to the heathen, is indicated in various passages of the rabbinical writings. And this exclusive relation of God to Israel is not merely temporal, but eternal. God is represented as saying, even in the future world: "I choose no other people than you, (Israelites,) for ye are the holy seed of the blessed of the Lord."

Between those who belong to the kingdom of God and serve him, and the heathen who are devoted to the service and lust of this world, there can be no fellowship either of a temporal or spiritual nature.

Even after the destruction of Jerusalem and the sanctuary, and the loss of his hereditary land, Israel, who is now dispersed every-where in the heathen world, is the abode of the kingdom of God; for God's dominion is in every place where the Torah reigns. By this means Israel remains in the spiritual

connection of faith, of love, and of hope with his land and with the holy tribes, and knows and confesses that only with his return to his own land and with the restitution of the sanctuary and its service, will the kingdom of God reach its complete manifestation. The religious consciousness of the Jews, in the destruction of Jerusalem and of the sanctuary, and in their expulsion from their native land, has a great difficulty to overcome. The mastery of this difficulty had already been prepared at the entrance of the catastrophe by the fact that the Torah already formed the national bond of unity, and the theocracy had assumed the form of the nomocracy.

Since the relation of God to Israel was so intimate, it was logical that God would accompany him in his banishment. We read in Sifre, 44[b], that wherever Israel was in his banishment, there the *Shekinah* was with him. The Pesikta says that the *Shekinah* emigrated ten times with Israel. God calls Israel, even in their deepest humiliation, his brethren. On the other hand, Israel does not cease in a foreign land to serve God; even in their dispersion, the location of the kingdom of God is wherever God in a kingly way rules among his people and protects them in a wonderful manner in all their distresses against the power of the world; while, on the other hand, Israel holds immovably fast to the Torah.

Here the question arises, What position in the religious consciousness of the Jews do the destruction of the sanctuary, the loss of their land, and their being every-where strangers and subject to foreigners, occupy? As far as the destruction of the temple is concerned, we find in Bereshith Rabba, chap. 42, and elsewhere, that this should redound to the good of Israel, because on that day Israel received quittance, that is, atoned for his sins. If it is asked, In what relation does Jehovah stand to the destroyed sanctuary? Shemoth Rabba answers, that he can never depart from it. The *Shekinah* always stands behind the western wall of the temple, which was left standing in the destruction. The eye of God rests upon the holy ruins, but also upon his people to see whether they fulfill his Torah. The sanctuary, therefore, remains even now the ideal locality of Divine Revelation, and therefore the central point of Israel. The people of Israel, wherever they are, turn their faces in prayer toward Jerusalem. One of the most important duties for Israel

pray for the re-building of the sanctuary. Respecting the land of Israel, the people hold fast to the idea, even after its loss, that it is the peculiar seat of the presence and the kingdom of God. Whoever lives in the land of Israel, according to Kethuboth, 39, is nearer to God than one who dwells outside of it. Israel holds fast to the idea that even now the Holy Land still belongs to him. The Israelites expect that in the Holy Land the dead will first arise; that here the Messiah will manifest himself and set up his kingdom. It is stated that the bodies of distinguished rabbis were buried in the Holy Land rather than in Babylon. The dead who could not be buried in the sacred soil were laid in their graves with their feet turned toward the Holy Land.

VI. The Religious Character and the Destiny of the Heathen World.

The nations of the world, through their rejection of the Torah, and generally of every divine law, have entered into a conscious opposition to God. They have chosen idol-worship, and shut themselves up absolutely against God, so that he can no longer manifest himself to them, and he has absolutely excluded them from the plan of his kingdom. Abandoned by God, the nations of the world have fallen into the service of the flesh, and in this service they have lost even their human nature. They have degenerated into brutes, so that they are to be regarded as morally and physically unclean.

In illustration of this view of the heathen world, Dr. Weber adduces various passages from the Jewish writings, in which it is stated that the Torah was offered to the heathen and by them rejected. They are represented as not even fulfilling the seven precepts of Noah. God cannot work among the heathen, and has taken from them his Holy Spirit. Their last prophet who possessed a knowledge of God was Balaam.

Even if a heathen should keep the whole Torah, it would profit him nothing without circumcision. The Torah which brings life to Israel brings death to the heathen. If a heathen in his distress prays to Jehovah, his prayer is not heard; and if he repents of the sin he has committed, it does not help him; even his alms are not imputed to him. The heathen, as such, before their circumcision have absolutely no part in God,

his grace and revelation. It is not the purpose of God ever to make the heathen nations, as such, the seat of his kingdom. When Malachi prophesies that the worship of God shall be universal, this holds good only of the Jews dispersed throughout the whole world. To the thought of the universality of the kingdom of God, the Jewish religious consciousness accordingly stands in irreconcilable opposition. Absolutely abandoned of God and his Spirit, the nations of the world have fallen into the service of sin, especially that of the flesh. Job was the only righteous man among his contemporaries. Rebekah is called the rose among the thorns. Even the lands of the heathen are declared unclean.

The moral and religious worthlessness of the heathen world produces for God neither temporal nor eternal fruits, and for this reason it has no worth and importance for God and his kingdom. Just as little value has it for the Church of God, which has to fulfill toward it only the duty of self-preservation.

In proof of these statements, Dr. Weber gives various passages from the Jewish writings, in which the heathen are represented as offscourings and corpses, and subject to damnation. Between the Jews and the heathen there is no middle ground upon which they could come in contact with each other. The wisdom of the Greeks, their language, and their philosophy, are without value for Israel. Hillel and Shammai forbade to the Jews the oil of the heathen. Judah Hannasi, however, allowed it. The daughters of the heathen from their birth were regarded as unclean, so that approach to them was forbidden on pain of death. No benevolent acts were to be accepted from the heathen, since these favors are as injurious to Israel as the poison of a serpent.

In view of the nature of heathenism, the questions necessarily arise, Why does God allow it to continue to exist? how is it, as such, to be reconciled with his justice? and whether no advantage will accrue to the heathen world from its continued existence? The first question is dispatched by a glance at the government of the world; the second, by a view of the mediatorship of Israel; the third, by a consideration of each of the things that are to come to Israel from the heathen. A further difficulty is, How can Israel stand under the heathen power? But the people of God remain without any connection with

the world-power; besides this, the relation is transitory, and will be adjusted in the judgment concerning the heathen.

In answer to the question, Why does not God destroy idolatry by destroying the objects worshiped? it is replied, that many things worshiped, as sun, moon, etc., could not be spared; and if God destroyed those which could be spared, the faith of the idolater in the divinity of the remaining objects as being indestructible would be confirmed. The heathen world is represented as being allowed to exist on account of the proselytes who come out of it to Judaism. But as the kingdom of God does not depend for its existence upon the accessions from the heathen, it is in no way the duty of the Church of God to seek the heathen and win them over to it. Shammai rejected the heathen man who wished to learn merely the written law. In receiving proselytes from the heathen, the Jews first instructed them in the commandments and in the doctrine of rewards and punishments, then circumcised and immersed them.

Although single individuals out of the heathen world, by voluntarily uniting themselves to Israel, are saved, yet the nations of the world, as such, have no other future than that of judgment. Here there is no compassion. God judges them strictly. All creatures except Israel are destined for the day of judgment and destruction. They will all be cast into Gehinnom, (*gehenna*, hell,) where they will suffer eternal damnation, while the apostates of Israel, after some time, through repentance and the merits which they possess, will again come out of Gehenna.

But a more difficult question for Israel is, Why are the people who have taken upon themselves the kingdom of heaven compelled to submit to the yoke of the heathen world-power? The solution of the question lies in this, that even if Israel does submit and perform service for, and pay taxes to, the world-power, so far as he retains his freedom of conscience, and is not compelled to take a part in idolatry, he does not feel himself bound to come into close relationship to the heathen power, nor does he acknowledge the divine right of the heathen magistrates.

VII. The Written Word.

The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. — The Holy Scriptures arose through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit;

accordingly they come from God himself, who speaks in them. Nevertheless, there are different degrees of inspiration in the Holy Scriptures, inasmuch as the Torah is the primary, and the other Holy Scriptures are the secondary, revelation of God. As Holy Scriptures the following books were acknowledged: The Torah, (five books of Moses,) Nebiim, (the prophets,) and Kethubim, (the Hagiographa,) as they were united together in one whole by the men of the Great Synagogue.

Divine revelation begins in the patriarchal age, for the patriarchs were prophets and spoke through the Holy Spirit. The endowment of the prophets with the Holy Spirit lasted until Malachi, with whom the period of revelation in the stricter sense of the word closes. From the time of Malachi, if an immediate divine revelation was to be made, the *bath kol*, a voice of revelation from above, was heard. That the prophets, from Moses to Malachi, spoke through the Holy Spirit, we have in proof not merely general expressions, but single words of Scripture are quoted directly as the words of the Holy Spirit. Dr. Weber gives various passages in proof of the statements. The Torah is called absolutely the Holy Scripture, and the prophets and the Hagiographa are called elements of the Torah. In this way, Sanhedrin, 91^{b}, Psalm lxxxiv, 4, is cited as from the Torah. Accordingly, Torah stands for Scripture in general; just as in John x, 34, our Saviour quotes Psa. lxxxii, 6, as "written in your law."

The canonical authority of certain parts of Holy Scripture was subject to an examination. Doubts at one time were expressed respecting Ezekiel. The Book of Jonah was attacked, but the doubts were refuted. Also the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes and Esther were attacked. These doubts were collectively refuted, and the canon remained just the same as, according to tradition, it had been fixed by the men of the Great Council.

Peculiarities of the Holy Scriptures:

1. They were called Holy Writings. Of this ample proof is furnished from rabbinical sources.

2. A second characteristic of the Holy Scriptures, the consequence of their divine origin, is, that they are an authoritative rule of action. Copious proofs of this statement are furnished.

3. A third peculiarity, which results from the character of the Holy Scripture as divine, is the infinite fullness of its contents, which, however, is opened only to the one "who knows how to explain it, but is closed to the ignorant."

The Holy Scriptures and the Church.—The Holy Scriptures, on account of their nature, cannot be directly employed for the knowledge and life of the Church, but they need authentic interpretation. Only in this adapted form are their contents binding. On this account they are not sufficient in themselves for a knowledge of salvation for the Church, but require supplement through further instruction.

According to the Jewish theology, the Mishna, the explanatory repetition of the Torah, is not something that was added to the Torah somewhat later, but, from the nature of the Torah, was demanded from the beginning. It was ordained that mothers should lead their children not only to the Scriptures but also to Mishna, which means, either that they themselves should impress upon them the text of the Scripture and Mishna, or take their children to school to learn both.

Every scholar or well-instructed man stands in need, not only of a knowledge of the Scripture, but also, in a certain measure, of the Mishna and Gemara. The Scripture alone is sufficient for nobody.

Art. II.—DOCUMENTARY ORIGIN OF GENESIS.

The learned commentator Vitringa was the first to remark (in his *Sacræ Observationes*, Franec., 1683) that "Moses probably collected, digested, adorned, and where defective completed, documents and records [*schedae et scrinia*] preserved among the patriarchs." Astruc, a French physician, still further suggested (in his *Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux de Moïse*, etc., Paris, 1753) that Moses used twelve separate writings, particularly two, distinguishable by the occurrence of the divine names *Elohim* and *Jehovah* respectively. Subsequent critics, especially in Germany, caught at the idea, and they have vied with each other in ingeniously distributing the book of Genesis among the supposed two or more original authors

usually styled "*the Elohist*" and "*the Jehovist.*" Specimens of these may be seen in any of the critical commentaries or introductions; no two of them agree in detail. The conflicting views of Astruc, Eichhorn, Ilgen, De Wette, Von Bohlen, Gramberg, Ewald, Hupfeld, and Knobel, as given by Bleek, ("Introduction to the Old Testament," translated from the German by Venables, London, 1860, vol. i, p. 257 and following,) are well summed up by Bishop William Thomson, ("Aids to Faith," N. Y., reprint, 1864, p. 221 and following,) to which Keil ("Introduction to the Old Testament," translated from the German by Douglass, Edinburgh, 1869, vol. i, p. 80 and following) adds others. Our purpose in this paper is briefly to examine this theory in the light of the facts, and see what degree of probability there is in it.

One evidence of this duplex authorship is thought of late to be found in certain repetitions of the history, particularly the double account of the creation of man, (chap. i, 26–28; ii,) where also the above distinction of the divine names prevails. The latter of those passages, however, is evidently only a statement of the former with ampler details, and in view of the probation following. Another ground of the twofold theory is the variation of style perceptible in the different portions of the book. But this, unless, perhaps, we may except chap. i, is not so marked as to prove a variety of authorship; and if it were, it would show not simply two, but probably several others. Moreover, the sections thus indicated do not usually tally with those denoted by the Jehovistic and the Elohistic usage, and so one argument nearly neutralizes the other. The evidence therefore resolves itself substantially into the use of these two names; and this mark is fortunately so palpable on the surface and recognizable in even a (good) translation, that we shall here confine ourselves to its consideration as determinative of the whole subject.

The following is a fair division of the book of Genesis into sections based upon a clear alternation of these sacred names, and by its means we shall proceed to test the theory of authorship in question:—

I. *The general Creation.*—Elohistic exclusively, (i–ii, 3.)

II. *Eden and the Fall.*— Jehovah-Elohistic almost exclusively, (ii, 4–iii.)

III. *Cain and his descendants.*—Jehovistic almost exclusively, (iv.)

IV. *The Antediluvian Sethites and the Flood.*—Elohistic chiefly, (v–ix.)

V. *The Postdiluvian Patriarchs and the birth of an heir to Abraham.*—Jehovistic very generally, (x–xvi.)

VI. *Circumcision instituted.*—Elohistic almost exclusively, (xvii.)

VII. *The destruction of Sodom.*—Jehovistic almost exclusively, (xviii, xix.)

VIII. *Abraham's later history to the death of Sarah.*—Elohistic chiefly, (xx–xxiii.)

IX. *The marriage of Isaac.*—Jehovistic or Jehovah-Elohistic exclusively, (xxiv.)

X. *The remainder of Abraham and Ishmael's lives.*—Elohistic exclusively, (xxv, 1–18.)

XI. *Jacob supplants Esau.*—Jehovistic almost exclusively, (xxv, 19–xxvii, 40.)

XII. *Jacob's residence in Padan-Aram.*—Elohistic chiefly, (xxvii, 41–xxx, 24.)

XIII. *Jacob's return to Canaan.*—Elohistic almost exclusively, (xxx, 25–xxxiii.)

XIV. *Jacob and Joseph's remaining adventures in Canaan.*—Elohistic exclusively, (xxxiv–xxxvii.)

XV. *Judah's connection with Tamar, and Joseph's imprisonment.*—Jehovistic almost exclusively, (xxxviii, xxxix.)

XVI. *Remainder of Jacob and Joseph's lives.*—Elohistic exclusively, [except the apparently later ejaculation in xlix, 18,] (xl–end.)

Stated in another form the number of occurrences of any of the divine names in each of these sections would stand definitely thus:

Section.	Passage.	Elohim.	Jehovah.	Jehovah-Elohim.	Other Titles.
I.	i–ii, 3	34	..	..	..
II.	ii, 4–iii	5	..	19	..
III.	iv	1	9	..	..
IV.	v–ix	23	12	1	..
V.	x–xvi	..	29	..	11
VI.	xvii	8	1	..	2
VII.	xviii, xix	2	17	..	3
VIII.	xx–xxiii	23	5	..	2
IX.	xxiv	1	12	5	..

Section.	Passage.	Elohim.	Jehovah.	Jehovah-Elohim.	Other Titles.
X.	xxv, 1–18.....	1	..	..	..
XI.	xxv, 19–xxvii, 40.....	2	13	1	..
XII.	xxvii, 41–xxx, 24.....	16	8	1	2
XIII.	xxx, 25–xxxiii.....	27	5	..	3
XIV.	xxxiv–xxxvii.....	9	..	..	7
XV.	xxxviii, xxxix.....	1	11	..	1
XVI.	xl to the end.....	34	[1]	..	7

We do not deem it necessary to exhibit or examine the almost infinitesimal subdivisions proposed by the double-authorship theorists in most of these sections, in order to assign individual paragraphs, verses, or clauses to their presumed originals as Elohistic or Jehovistic. This has already been copiously done in detail by Mr. Quarry, ("Genesis and its Authorship," London, 1866,) and the inconsistencies arising from such a minute dissection are clearly portrayed. The difficulty, rather the impossibility, of making a coherent and homogeneous narrative, like the Mosaic, out of such *disjecta membra*, is sufficient to refute that process, without the trouble of following it out in its tortuosities. Indeed, we might summarily dismiss the whole theory at once by remarking in general that the unity of the entire book of Genesis, in plan and execution, proves irrefragably its unity of authorship. Even the account of the general creation, (section i,) which alone bears undisputed marks of peculiarity in style and phraseology, as well as in scope and spirit, is obviously essential as an introduction to the particular history following it. Inasmuch, however, as the appeal to the facts in the case has thus been made in detail, we shall follow it briefly, but with sufficient particularization to ascertain its measure of trustworthiness, in deciding upon the integrity of the record as a whole.

We might forestall the whole of the discussion in detail by the simple observation, which to most minds would be conclusive of the main question, that the Elohistic and Jehovistic sections do not, after the first one, at all tally with the books into which the author of Genesis himself, expressly and formally, divides his work. These latter are as follows:

1. The General Creation, i–ii, 3.

2. The Fall and its Connections, "Generations of the Heavens and the Earth," ii, 4–iv.

3. The Antediluvian World, "Generations of Adam," v–vi, 8.

4. The Flood, "Generations of Noah," vi, 9–ix.

5. Ethnography, "Generations of the Sons of Noah," x–xi, 9.

6. Postdiluvian Patriarchs, "Generations of Terah," xi, 10–26.

7. Life of Abraham, "Generations of Abraham," xi, 27–xxv, 11.

8. Family of Ishmael, "Generations of Ishmael," xxv, 12–18.

9. Remainder of Isaac's Life, "Generations of Isaac," xxv, 19–xxxv.

10. Edomitish Clans, "Generations of Esau," xxxvi–xxxvii.

11. Remainder of the Life of Jacob and of Joseph, "Generations of Jacob," xxxvii, 2, to the end.

This want of coincidence goes very far toward showing that the writer of Genesis did not have before him documents bounded by the Jehovistic and Elohistic nomenclature; it does absolutely prove that he did not implicitly follow any such documents. In any case we have palpable evidence of his independence and originality of plan, and of his genius and skill in remolding the materials to suit his own purpose. Such features constitute him the author of the present book in a just and proper sense.

The composite theory of the authorship of Genesis can, evidently, be tenable or plausible only in that form which maintains the prior existence of one or more documents (presumably Elohistic and Jehovistic, severally) out of which a later writer (conveniently styled "The Redactor") composed the present book substantially as it now stands. Reduced to this general proposition, the view in question might innocently be entertained by the most orthodox, provided the so-called "redactor" be allowed to have been Moses himself. It would simply amount to a supposition that the book is not wholly original—an admission freely made with regard to many other portions of the Bible without impairing their canonical authority; and that its author made use, in writing it, of such records and traditions as he found extant at the time—a view rather creditable than derogatory to his truthfulness and carefulness. There is nothing antecedently improbable in the existence of such materials, or in their employment by the actual writer of the present work, whoever he may have been; nor would the absolute origination of the information with him add any

thing material to its value as a sacred book. The Mosaic or later authorship is really a distinct question, to be argued separately on its own grounds from historical (outward) and internal evidence. Into that discussion we do not propose here to enter. Nor is it needful. The subject has been amply treated again and again in monographs and extended treatises, from Astruc to Colenso, and but one verdict has been the general and candid result. The traditionary authorship has, after every conflict, come off more and more triumphant. We are not, therefore, disturbed on this score by the recent rehash of the arguments, although done by such accomplished special pleaders as Dr. Kuenen and Prof. Robertson Smith. We have in this paper to do with a much narrower—although subsidiary—question, and a far more recondite one, involving the necessity of considerable detailed analysis and textual comparison; namely, Is there good reason to believe, from an inspection of the book itself, that it was compiled from two or more documents specifically distinguishable by the use of "Elohim" and "Jehovah" as the names of deity? To this, accordingly, without further ceremony, we invite the reader's careful and, possibly, somewhat laborious attention.

A very singular fact meets us on the threshold of this inquiry, namely, that the title "Elohim" occurs more or less in all the above sections except one, and in that one God is called by a greater variety of names than anywhere else. The term "Elohistic," therefore, cannot in any case be used in an absolute or exclusive sense. This is a serious obstacle to the theory in question at the very outset. We may add that the title "Jehovah" likewise occurs in every section except four, and in one of these, in the form "Jehovah-Elohim," it is the prevailing name of deity. In reality, therefore, the term "Jehovistic" is very little more exclusively appropriate anywhere than the other. Thus, a mere glance at the table shows the distinction in question to be far less characteristic than has been assumed. But an examination in detail reveals this fact still more emphatically. We take it up by reference to the sections in the above tables.

In the account of the general creation (section i; chapters i–ii, 3) we of course find no difficulty in assuming this to be the work of the Elohist exclusively; although it looks odd that he

should have added some supplementary strokes in the next section. But why should the Jehovist have nothing to say respecting the final days of Abraham and Ishmael? Section x; chapter xxv, 18. If it be replied, that the name of God occurs but once in that short paragraph, we further ask, Why should the same peculiarity be found in the extended passages relating to the close, respectively, of Jacob and Joseph's career in Canaan (section xiv; chapters xxxiv–xxxvii) and in Egypt? Section xvi, chapter xl–end. The same question may be asked respecting the account of the institution of circumcision, (section vi; chapter xvii;) and the conclusiveness of the objection in this case is enhanced by the fact that the only verse (1) in which the name Jehovah is there used is indispensable to the story.

On the other hand, we may pertinently inquire, Is it reasonable to suppose that the Elohist, who is thus seen to be the only one to give the beginning and the end of the book, and who alone furnishes many of the most striking incidents in it, should have nothing material to add concerning Cain and his descendants, (section iii; chapter iv,) or on the marriage of Isaac, (section ix; chapter xxiv,) or about Judah's connection with Tamar, and Joseph's imprisonment? Section xv; chapters xxxviii, xxxix. That his assumed work contained some notice of these events is certain from the single occurrence of the name Elohim in each of these passages, (chapters iv, 25; xxiv, 3; xxxix, 9.) In the last of these three instances, indeed, its use is exceedingly appropriate, but that is not particularly true of the other two places; and yet all three are inextricably imbedded in the context. If it be said that the original author, in a few marked cases, employed a different term than the one usual with him, or that the later "redactor" changed the word here and there, then either of these substitutes may have occurred anywhere; and both explanations are equally destructive of the basal theory, by rendering the terminology an insecure sign of authorship. Similar reasoning might be applied to the other sections in which one or the other of the divine names very greatly predominates, and it would appear that in these passages the clauses in which the exceptions occur are either so essential to the narrative that no document containing it at all can be fairly presumed to have omitted them, or they are so imma-

terial that no judicious compiler would have thought it worth while to interpolate them.

But the hardest knot for the compilationists to untie yet remains: Who wrote the passages in which God is called by the compound name Jehovah-Elohim? The theory in question compels the assumption of a third document, or set of documents, having this peculiarity, or else some unheard-of process of composition in the matter. In either case the difficulties above noted are immeasurably enhanced. Why, for example, should the Jehovah-Elohist almost alone tell the exceedingly interesting story of Eden? Section ii; chapters ii, 4–iii. Nay, more, Why in that section should the Elohist only give the serpent's language? Vers. 1–5. In other sections, where all three forms of the divine name are interchanged, the puzzle becomes still more complicated. For any mortal to pretend to the instinct to ferret out accurately the lineage of any verse or passage amid these intricacies, argues a self-conceit truly amazing. Yet these theorists, from the veriest sciolist to the astute and learned Ewald, (who is, perhaps, the most dogmatic because the most egotistic of them all,) flippantly discourse of the Elohist as saying this, and the Jehovist that, as confidently as if they themselves had been at the elbow of these assumed personages, or had seen the presumed "redactor" copy the several passages piecemeal, and weave them together. The whole theory to candid minds appears a specious affirmation not justified by a careful examination of the facts. It breaks utterly and hopelessly down by actual application. No modern critic has been able to thread his way among these tangled fragments to the satisfaction of the next comer behind him. The clue is a mistake, and the investigators are on a false track.

Moreover, and in fine, if the compiler of Genesis, whoever he was and wherever he lived, so skillfully dovetailed his materials into a connected and symmetrical history that the most microscopic scrutiny fails to detect the joints, he is fairly entitled to the credit of calling his work his own. Few historians are more original than this. It is useless to waste time in dismembering his narrative and conjecturing whence he may have derived this or that piece of information. It is frivolous and unfair to disparage him as a "redactor" if he has so thoroughly welded his composition into a homogeneous whole and so

smoothly covered his steps that we fail to trace the process or the sources. We may suppose him to have had ever so many documents or early records, or traditionary authorities, but if he has diligently and faithfully and judiciously used them, he has virtually made the matter his own, and has produced a substantially original work, behind which it is useless and unjust to endeavor to penetrate. This the writer of Genesis certainly has done, and we are, therefore, justified in calling him its author.

Still the fact of this peculiar use of the sacred names exists and is patent. How shall we account for it? The opponents of the documentary theory, including various shades of orthodoxy, (Baumgarten, Dreschler, Hävernick, Hengstenberg, Keil, Kurtz, Stahelin, etc.,) commonly explain it as arising from the character in which God is set forth in the several passages. Thus, *Elohim*, they think, signifying deity in general, is used where God is spoken of in a creative or providential relation; whereas *Jehovah*, as the covenant Being, is employed where he is represented in his special attitude toward the Hebrews. This is plausible, and in many cases it may be a just explanation; but in numerous other passages it altogether fails of application. For example, the account of Cain and his descendants (section iii; chapter iv) is almost exclusively Jehovistic, while that of the Sethites, (section iv; chapters v–ix,) who were the direct progenitors of the Hebrews, is chiefly Elohistic. A similar discrepancy prevails in the Elohistic account of circumcision, (section vi; chapter xvii,) followed by the Jehovistic account of the destruction of Sodom, (section vii; chapters xviii, xix.) In the details of the mixed sections, we opine, a like incongruity in this respect will be found to be frequent. We prefer therefore to say that the peculiarity in question probably arises partly from an intentional interchange for the sake of variety, and partly from those inscrutable laws of association which govern writers in their selection of words. It should be observed that a similar peculiarity to some degree characterizes the remaining parts of the Pentateuch, especially the earlier chapters of Exodus, and has even been traced in the other books of the Old Testament. Rationalists like Colenso and Robertson Smith have not failed to distribute Joshua and Judges between the assumed Elohist and Jehovist, and to draw equally unwarranted conclusions as

to the authorship and date of these books. As well might we dismember the Gospels and the Epistles on the basis of the names by which the Redeemer is therein designated. There are some such peculiarities in the New Testament, and a few of its writers to a certain degree affect special terms and epithets as applied to Jesus Christ; but it would be preposterous to make these a guide to the authorship of those pieces.

We conclude, then, that while it is not improbable that the author of Genesis employed written documents as well as oral traditions in composing the book, and while it is possible that these may in some instances have been originally characterized by the prevalent use of the divine names noted above, yet he so thoroughly remodeled and unified these materials that it is now quite impracticable and futile to recognize or separate the elements. We should as little expect to see the attempt successfully accomplished as to pick out and classify according to origin the several pieces of information which Luke acknowledges in his preface (i, 2) that he incorporated into his Gospel. In both cases the whole was fused and recast into a fresh form which fairly bears the mark of individual authorship.

ART. III.—RELATION OF THE PULPIT TO SKEPTICAL SCIENTIFIC THEORIES.

WITH the facts of science theologians have no dispute. But the theories are often widely divergent from the facts, and threaten and assail the primary truths of religion. The facts of science may be susceptible of explanation in harmony with the fundamental principles of Christianity. Not so with many of the theories said to be educed from the facts. These are constantly at war with truths which are vital to the perpetuity and stability of the Christian religion.

What is the duty of the gospel preacher in relation to these skeptical theories? Shall he undertake directly to refute them by formal argument? This seems to be the notion of many. Holding that they are set for the defense of the Gospel, they make their pulpits ring out with defiant onslaughts upon the schools of skeptical criticism, and marshal in formidable array

the categorical proofs that all the latest phases of unbelief are false. Is this wise? It may give a minister the appearance of learning and zeal, but does it prove that he is endowed with a large degree of common sense? Certainly a minister should be ready to give to every man that asketh him a reason of the hope that is in him, with meekness and fear, but it does not follow that he shall volunteer before every promiscuous assembly to parade what he knows about all opposition to the principles of natural religion. "It may be safely said," says the "London Methodist," "that not one in fifty in our congregations knows or cares any thing about the vagaries of skepticism, either new or old. . . . The old function of the preacher is the true modern function. When Paul spoke of coming not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but with words about Christ crucified, full of power and the Holy Ghost, he meant his example to be imitated through all time."

But Paul gives us something more direct and specific upon this point than his example. In his letter to Timothy he made express mention of "profane babblings, and the oppositions of science falsely so called," charging the young minister to avoid them. No matter what these "oppositions of science," or *gnosis*, (knowledge,) "falsely so called," were, they may properly be regarded as standing in the same relation to the pulpit then that philosophical doubtings and quibblings do now, and the discerning Paul enjoins upon his son in the Gospel abstention from them. That Paul's charge was well founded, and that it has peculiar application to the pulpit of to-day, may appear from two or three considerations.

I. Let us regard the pulpit in relation to certain other agencies. Time was when the sacred desk had a sort of monopoly in its contact with the public mind. It was the school of the common people, the means of imparting knowledge, secular, political, or religious, as the case might be, to the masses which congregated to hear. The mighty "election sermons" in this country of less than a century ago are in proof.

Times have changed. The responsibility of imparting instruction is now shared by the schools, the forum, the platform, the legislative hall, and the mammoth press. This is an age of books, quarterly reviews, monthly magazines, weekly

and daily newspapers, and hourly pamphlets. Great assemblies, like scientific congresses, evangelical alliances, ecumenical conferences, are the order of the day. It is also an age of specialists and specialties. Almost every department of labor and thought has become systematized, each particular branch calling for its adept. There are few *general* scientists, historians, or practitioners of great note. Even the pulpit has its evangelists, its prophets, its apostles, its teachers, and its pastors. Few, too few, clergymen are distinguished in all these particulars. Almost every illustrious personage in the world of thought gained his distinction by making some one thesis a matter of special attention.

Another peculiarity of the age is that external lines separating the provinces of workers are less clearly and closely drawn than of old. Practical laborers are all mixed up, as the Sadducees thought family matters would be in the resurrection. Gladstone, the statesman, enters the ecclesiastical arena, and, by a few strokes of his pen, shakes Rome to its center. Agassiz, the doctor, enters the domain of science, and, by the originality and completeness of his demonstrations, gains an estate of honor more enduring than that of princes. Lincoln, the lawyer, steps into the Presidential chair, rules the affairs of the nation through the darkest period of her history, falls in death as the clouds disperse and the glory of freedom and victory dawns, but hands a name down to posterity which shall brighten more and more with every succeeding historic cycle. Moody, the layman, enters the pulpit, and preaching Jesus to the largest audiences which ever hung continuously on human lips, sets the world ablaze with the fire of gospel grace, and rescues perishing thousands from the *débris* of darkest guilt. Huxley, though educated for a physician, is better known as a scientist. Cook was trained for the pastorate, but achieved his fame on the platform. Thousands upon thousands set apart for one work have won their highest success in another. To these irregularities no one is found to demur. None cavil about Moody's ordination papers. His success is his parchment. Mrs. Palmer had no formal license to preach, but many believed for the sayings of the woman, and her call to that department of labor was unquestioned. There are distinguished editors and college presidents who

labored for years as pastors without evangelistic triumphs. What does all this prove? Not that the pulpit, the platform, the forum, and the press, have no distinct lines of work, but that the distinctive features of all are held more in common than of old, and that all share in honor as common media for instructing the people. If a minister, therefore, is required to abstain from the discussion of anti-Christian opinions while breaking the bread of life to hungry souls, he is not thereby debarred from such privileges at proper times and in proper channels.

II. Consider, for a moment, the distinctive mission of the pulpit, namely, the preaching of the Gospel. Christ said: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." Paul said to Timothy: "Preach the word. Be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine; for the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine." There is not in the whole Bible a scientific essay or a philosophical dissertation. Unquestioned facts of science, philosophy, and political economy are sometimes incidentally employed to illustrate or enforce truth, but nowhere, either by example or injunction, are they made the basis of religious discourse. How many sermons there are which bear not the slightest resemblance to Christ's practical sermon on the mount, or Peter's earnest appeal after Pentecost, or Paul's argumentative discourse before Agrippa. They are not like these because they have no Gospel in them. "Recently," says a writer, "I heard a minister preach a sermon from the text, 'What is man,' etc. About three fourths of the hour was occupied in presenting the modern materialistic, spiritualistic, evolution, and development theories—forcibly reminding me of the young lawyer, who, after hearing an eminent divine preach a sermon on the divinity of Christ, remarked to a friend: "I always believed in the divinity of Christ until I heard that sermon, which has completely shaken my faith." Rev. Dr. C. H. Fowler has uttered a sentiment which ought to bring a response from the "amen corner," if such a thing remains in the Church. He says: "We hear so much about scientific truth and about science, that we have grown sick of the conceit and assumption of these babblers. A dying race wants the Gospel, and it is not anxious to have it any more scientific

than it was when presented by the great Teacher. It requires only a limited experience to see that the ministers who boast most about their scientific preaching and knowledge are the ministers who starve their congregations, and who are frequently stationed by the Bishop without the knowledge of the charge, to avoid protests. Give us the Gospel. It is not dead. It still saves. Give it a chance. So we say, we are not anxious for any thing but the facts of a Bible experience." The habitual presentation of skeptical scientific theories is degrading to the pulpit. Look at one or two of these theories.

1. Tyndall's prayer-test, if it is worthy of being denominated a scientific theory. Professor Tyndall is regarded as a materialist. His celebrated Belfast inaugural address was a sufficient declaration of his materialistic notions. In July, 1872, he received a letter proposing that the efficacy of prayer should be tested by making one ward of a hospital the special object of the prayers of the faithful for a term of years, and then comparing its death-rate with that of other wards during the same period of time. This letter he published with favorable annotations in the "Contemporary Review." The plausibility of the scheme gave rise to a general declaration that the Christian world was fairly challenged, and because the challenge was not accepted infidels boasted and believers trembled. At length a better class of thinkers began to give the subject attention, bringing out its under-current of rank skepticism. The idea of making the holy God bend to the unconditioned test of an infidel, in order to vindicate the divine reputation for hearing the cries of the good, was shocking to thoughtful people every-where.

2. The development hypothesis. Though many advanced thinkers are of the opinion that with proper restrictions this theory does not necessarily conflict with divine revelation, there can be no doubt that skepticism in regard to the Bible has all along characterized the spirit of most of its leading advocates. The theory itself contains no element of the Christian faith, and the nearest any of its champions have come to an expressed regard for the Bible has been a manifesto of independence of biblical teachings.

If, then, there is no gospel in Huxley, with his "protoplasm," or Spencer, with his "universal evolution," or Bastian,

with his "spontaneous generation," how much gospel can a preacher get out of even a successful refutation of the theory? Were every minister in Christendom capable of demonstrating as plainly as has Dr. Arthur Mitchell, in his "Past in the Present," that man is not influenced by the law of natural selection in the way brutes may be; that, in consequence of this, his bodily form and structure and mental capacity appear to continue stationary; that by his own exertions and social combinations he sets at defiance the law of natural selection, thereby combating and disproving Darwin's doctrine of the "survival of the fittest"—would such demonstration, primarily and as a habit, be likely to improve men's moral natures? One earnest prayer to God by a devoted minister, leading his congregation, is a better refutation of Tyndall's prayer-test than to shatter it by a thousand arguments. The majority of Christian people pay no attention to the objections of skeptics until their ministers notice them, and then all the contrary arguments are frequently of no avail. "Thousands of unbelievers," remarks Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, "have been born into the family of infidelity by professed preachers of the Gospel, who supposed that they were helping them to faith; the fire fed upon the heaps of leaves which the foolish, well-intentioned speaker cast upon it in the hope of smothering it. Young men in many instances have obtained their first notions of infidelity from their ministers; they have sucked in the poison, but refused the antidote." Dr. Robert Hall says of himself, that in a series of sermons on the Trinity, he attacked various forms of heretical dissent from the orthodox faith—the Arian, the Sabellian, and the Apollinarian. At the conclusion of his discourses he discovered, much to his surprise, that there was among his hearers a small party for each of the heresies he had combated, but which most of them never heard of before he made his onset upon them. And Dr. Fisher, in reporting the anecdote, adds: "One should be sure, before he raises the devil, that he is able to lay him." These observations are not designed to reflect upon the intelligence of religious worshipers. It is not a question of intelligence but rather one of faith. Most Christians commit current doctrinal issues to the care of their pastors, they being too busy in shop, or store, or field, to give attention to them. Only when the six days' work

is done, and they assemble to hear the discourses of the Sabbath, are they open to doctrinal approach. Woe to the preacher that feeds such hungry souls with the husks of unbelief.

It may be said these errors exist and must be exposed. A sufficient answer would be that skepticism should be met on its own ground. The pulpit is not its ground. Darwin and Huxley, in their American trips, occupied no pulpits. What has a gospel pulpit in Maine or Michigan to do with a skeptical lecture in New York or London? If the press scatters the infidel lecture, let it also scatter the faith-giving antidote. In no other way can so many of the infected minds be reached. The manner in which incumbents of the sacred office have run screaming after scientific skeptics, has only served to give the latter a wider publicity and a greater influence. Such ministers do not follow the example of Christ. He refuted skepticism only when, in personal contact, he encountered it. It had taken a most powerful hold upon one of his own disciples before he opened his mouth to refute it. Before the bar of Pilate he answered only such skeptical questions as were put directly to him. When tempted of the devil his only defense was, "It is written" thus and so.

Evangelization is the great work of the ministry. Skepticism may hinder it, but the best way to hinder skepticism is to preach the cross. Salvation from sin is the grandest and most powerful vindication of the truth of Christianity, and no skeptical argument can avail in the presence of a triumphing Christ. With scientific investigation the pulpit, primarily, has nothing to do. The bare announcement of scientific results, unquestionably attained, is a sufficient encroachment upon its fundamental mission. "Unto you, O men, I call" should be the motto of every herald of the cross. Within the domain of conscience, the intuitions and aspirations of the soul, and the perfect adaptations of the word of life, the minister has a field from which he can never be driven. Outside of this sphere he has not so sure a warrant.

III. Viewing the question from a prudential stand-point, it may be asked, Is the average minister intellectually or educationally capable of meeting all the skeptical questions of scientific men? It must not be forgotten that Geology, as related to Anthropology, is a great science. Theology is also a great

science, and it is rare that a man can be alike skilled in both and be much skilled in either. Scientific skeptics, or skeptical scientists, are not fools. Many of them are among the foremost scholars of the age. They may not be good theologians, but in their field they are skillful workmen. Darwin received his early education at the Shrewsbury grammar school. From there he went to the University of Edinburgh, where he studied two years. From there he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, graduating after four years more of hard application. The same year of his graduation he volunteered as a naturalist to accompany an exploring expedition around the world, and was absent in this work nearly five years. It is thus seen that eleven years were employed by him in gaining special culture after he left the grammar school of his own native place. Huxley was over nine years in the schools of training and travel before he ventured largely upon his specific work as professor of natural history in the Royal School of Mines. Spencer gave twenty-one years to study and experiment, both at home and abroad, before he proclaimed or conceived the doctrine of evolution as a universal process, and it was later still before he declared it to be, as he believed, the "basis of the only system of philosophy conformable to the methods of nature." Other masters in these schools, as Lyell, Lubbock, Haeckel, and Laplace, received thorough discipline before plunging into their life-work of scientific investigation. Is it hopeful that the average minister, from the average pulpit, can explode the fallacies of these cultured skeptics, and leave the average congregation better off for having heard the skepticism canvassed? The average minister ought to be wiser than to undertake such a task. He would better content himself with mastering the problems, but keeping silence, save in emergency, or through unquestionably appropriate channels. This would naturally leave the pulpit refutation of skeptical scientific theories to the great preachers and the very small ones. The ostentatious efforts of the latter were probably in the mind of President McCosh when he wrote, that the "most effective means of making young men skeptics is for dull men to attack Darwin and Spencer, Huxley and Tyndall, without knowing the branches which these men have been turning to their own uses."

ART. IV.—THE PROBLEM OF OUR CHURCH BENEVOLENCES.

THE success of our missionaries in foreign lands, the achievements of our Church Extension Society, the work done through our Freedmen's Aid Society, and the work, equally important, each in its sphere and degree, of the other benevolences organized by the General Conference, form a subject that ought to be an inspiration to every one of the million and three quarters of our members, waking a holy zeal and ambition to achieve the utmost possibilities for the kingdom of Christ through these most potent agencies. For these things are the arm of power through which the conquest of the world to Christ is very largely to be accomplished; they are the pounds, the personal property of Jesus, the nobleman who is gone into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom and to return, and which he has given to his servants to see how much each one shall gain by trading. And the need of the work is the voice of God, declaring to us our duty and our golden opportunity. Yet what is the record we are making in the matter? We sustain feebly what missions we have abroad; we utterly fail to occupy many other fields, as promising as our best, and from which comes to us the Macedonian cry. Our work languishes painfully in the immense South and West for lack of means, and we are so far neglecting mission ground within the older Conferences, equally important with the foreign and the domestic border, that large areas show loss in numbers. So many of the Spring Conferences have done so, that the column of total membership in the General Minutes, which normally should show a gain of 20,000, shows a loss of 4,604. The appeals of the proper cases for Church Extension are not responded to in any better degree. Tens of thousands of youth in the South, largely white, who, if educated at all, must be educated by us, have thus far received no aid nor encouragement; and if we examine our own reports of the way we sustain the Tract, Sunday-School, Connectional Educational, and Bible Societies, we shall find no signs of improvement.

This state of things has caused deep concern in the minds

of thoughtful men, which has found expression in many an impassioned appeal, poured forth out of a full heart, from the pulpit or platform and from the press. An article of this kind, written by Dr. Taylor, appeared in the "Manual of the Methodist Episcopal Church," July, 1881; and as it presents the question clearly an extract from it is here given. After quoting Dr. Dorchester's tables, showing the numerical increase of the evangelical denominations, in which our Church stands foremost, Dr. Taylor turns to the subject before us, and, citing the same high authority, he says:

Such are the figures as to the number of full communicants in the leading Churches, taking all the Methodists of various branches, black and white, into the account. But when we arrange the table according to contributions per member for the cause of missions, there is a complete overturning, and we must take in more than seven denominations to find a place for ourselves. Adding both home and foreign work, and calling our Freedmen's Aid Society a home mission work, as it really is, the combined average contribution per year, per member, for the last ten years, among the eight leading denominations, taken as single denominations, is as follows:

1. Congregationalists	$3	59	per	member.
2. Presbyterians (Old and New Schools)	2	05	"	"
3. Protestant Episcopalians	1	57	"	"
4. Reformed (Dutch)	1	47	"	"
5. Baptists (Northern)	0	94	"	"
6. Evangelical Association	0	90	"	"
7. United Brethren	0	79	"	"
Methodist Episcopal Church	0	50	"	"
Divide by eight	8)11	81		
Average per member for the eight Churches	$1	47⅛		

This shows that the common average for the eight leading Churches, including our own, is *almost* three times as much per member as we give. But deducting our own, and dividing by seven, will give $1 61 per member for the seven, or considerably *more* than three times our average. But the Protestant Episcopalians give over *three* times, the Presbyterians over *four* times, and the Congregationalists over *seven* times as much per member as we give.

These Churches have a wealthier membership, in proportion to numbers, than we have; but this cannot be said of the Baptists, who give almost *twice* as much per member as we give; and we are undoubtedly much richer per member than the Evangelical Association, or the United Brethren, both of whom far surpass us in ratio of giving, as our table shows. Our aggre-

gate is great, because our numbers are great; but when we compare our rate of giving, per member, with that of the other Churches, we must hang our heads for shame, rather than lift them up in triumph. It is vain for us to plead our church building, our educational work, or any thing else. Other Churches are at work in all these directions, beating us in some of them, and at the same time leaving us thus sadly behind in missionary contributions, notwithstanding our peculiar boast in that line. But our boast is in quantity rather than in ratio. We boast of appropriating the splendid sum of $778,034 for home and foreign missions, for this year of 1881, when, by the common ratio of the eight leading denominations, brought down by our own low figures, we should have given $2,334,102, and by the higher ratio of some of the Churches we should have given $5,446,238! Shades of St. Paul and St. Wesley, what is the matter with us Methodists!

Now, when we look these stern facts squarely in the face, the conclusion must come home with overwhelming force to our minds that there is something seriously wrong, an important screw loose, somewhere, in our methods and spirit of giving. And what has been said of our missionary giving is equally true of all the rest, when ratio rather than amount is considered.

Who shall tell us where this trouble lies, and how to remedy it? We can no longer plead the poverty of our membership as an excuse; that vanished long ago. We have now a strong middle-class membership, with very many men of prosperity and wealth. We have the means to easily treble every dollar of all our Conference collections, and never feel it. Why do we make so little progress? Are we receiving an unconverted and unconsecrated membership into our Church, or are our methods wrong, and our training of the people defective? It would seem that the latter must be largely the case.

No, we are not so overloaded with an "unconverted and unconsecrated membership" as to explain the matter, or the very Churches excelling us would not continue to receive so large a percentage of their membership from the fruit of our revivals, while we receive next to nothing of the kind in return. Then our "methods" must be "wrong," and the "training of our people defective." But

"WHO WILL SHOW US WHERE THE TROUBLE LIES, AND HOW TO REMEDY IT?"

This question has lain heavily on many hearts for years. Toward an answer, the writer has long been persuaded that the reported statistical tables contain more than all things else, spoken or written, and so has been in the habit of poring over

these statistics, too often considered dry and barren, till they have become familiar and sympathetic and communicative with silent eloquence. And as the eloquent often show by expression an unmeasured reserve of matter, that re-enforces the statements made, but is not contained in them, and as this unmeasured reserve often produces the deepest convictions, so these tables, from between their rigid numbers, imply even greater things than they relentlessly tell; and if the writer interprets aright, they contain the answer to the first part of the great question.

It is plain, however, that the answer does not lie upon the surface of the figures, to be seen by the cursory observer, but deep down in their depths, and not to be reached without long and arduous toil. In order to unearth the secrets of the statistics, a tabulation and classification of the 9,858 charges in the 88 conferences within the United States was undertaken, and after six months of labor, averaging more than thirty-six hours every week, and re-enforced by a large amount of most valuable clerical assistance, the work has been accomplished. A sample of one of the methods pursued is herewith given. One of the points is a "total column," showing how much each charge has contributed per member for all the collections combined. By this column the charges are graded.

TABULATION OF THE BENEVOLENT COLLECTIONS TAKEN IN THE NEWARK ANNUAL CONFERENCE—AND REPORTED IN THE MINUTES OF 1881—SHOWING THE AMOUNT CONTRIBUTED PER MEMBER, INCLUDING PROBATIONERS, TO EACH OF THE COLLECTIONS; ALSO THE GRADATION OF THE CHARGES BY THE TOTAL AMOUNT GIVEN TO ALL, PER MEMBER.

No. of Charges in order.	No. in similar table of last year.	CHARGES.	No. of Members, including Probationers.	Contributed for Pastoral Support.*	BENEVOLENT CONTRIBUTIONS PER MEMBER.							
					Total.	For Missions.	For Church Extension.	For Tract Cause.	For Sunday Schools.	For Freedmen's Aid.	For Education.	For Bible Cause.
							cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.
1	7	Central Church, Newark	342	$2,996	$2 45	$1 47	33	06	10	15	10	22
2	3	Westfield	173	1,590	2 24	1 62	18	06	09	09	14	06
3	4	St. Paul's, Newark	739	4,505	2 14	1 62	16	03	03	14	03	14
4	10	Calvary, Orange	181	2,210	2 08	1 44	13	06	08	15	06	17
5	2	Hedding, Jersey City	473	3,293	2 05	1 69	14	03	03	06	03	06
6	8	St. James, Elizabeth	352	2,736	1 87	1 27	14	08	08	09	08	09
7	13	Lafayette, Jersey City	216	2,130	1 84	1 53	06	05	02	07	02	09
8	6	First Church, Orange	459	2,555	1 82	1 34	19	04	05	03	04	13
9	17	Englewood	86	1,095	1 64	99	..	06	06	53	..	..

* Pastor's salary, parsonage rent, and Presiding Elder's and Bishops' support.

No. of Charges in order.	No. in similar table of last year.	Charges.	No. of Members, including Probationers.	Contributed for Pastoral Support.	Benevolent Contributions per Member.							
					Total.	For Missions.	For Church Extension.	For Tract Cause.	For Sunday-Schools.	For Freedmen's Aid.	For Education.	For Bible Cause.
					cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.
10	20	Montclair	202	$2,594	$1 46	$1 04	10	05	05	05	05	12
11	27	First Church, Dover	187	....	1 46	1 20	04.3	04.3	04.3	04.3	04.3	04.3
12	12	Plainfield	573	2,500	1 45	88	10	04	22	09	07	05
13	5	Trinity, Jersey City	405	3,380	1 19	1 00	12	01	01	01	01	01
14	11	Roseville, Newark	294	1,112	1 18	95	05	01	01	08	05	04
15	30	Centenary, Jersey City	240	1,696	1 12	91	04	04	01	04	04	04
16	24	Summit	82	1,290	1 10	87	05	04	02	04	05	05
17	15	Morristown	556	2,710	1 08	79	04	03	03	03	03	13
18	14	St. Mark's, Staten Island	95	906	1 00	44	07	06	09	11	11	12
19	19	Market-street, Paterson	585	2,555	98	75	09	02	02	04	01.7	04
20	25	Trinity, Staten Island	281	1,812	97	57	07	07	07	07	04	07
21	55	Park Church, Elizabeth	166	1,474	93	73	04	03	03	03	04	04
22	39	Hackettstown	506	1,762	92	83	01	01	01	02	02	02
23	73	Port Morris	69	322	90	48	07	04	04	14	03	08
24	22	Livingston	86	370	90	50	09	03	13	06	02	07
25	26	Halsey-street, Newark	782	2,463	89	66	04	03	04	03	04	07
26	64	South Orange	94	1,134	85	69	02	01	02	04	02	04
27	33	Bound Brook	125	1,039	83	67	05	01.6	06	03	..	02
28	1	Bernardsville	106	1,179	83	50	05	02	01	05	03	09
29	21	Kingsley, Staten Island	150	1,261	80	67	05	02	02	03	01	..
30	28	West Side Avenue, Jersey City	156	1,665	79	64	03	02	02	02	03	03
31	54	Centenary, Newark	309	1,763	77	54	15	03	03	05	04	03
32	23	Palisades, Jersey City	138	1,047	77	72	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7
33	29	Trinity, Newark	292	1,650	73	65	02	02	02	..	02	02
34	16	Free Tabernacle, Hoboken	172	1,635	72	58	08	01	01.7	01	01	..
35	50	Woodbridge	154	1,700	71	49	04	04	04	05	04	05
36	35	Franklin	143	1,000	69	50	03	03	02	03	03	03
37	36	West End, Jersey City	156	....	67	42	08	04	02	06	02	08
38	62	Stanhope and Waterloo	148	927	64	35	14	01.4	01.4	01.4	00.7	12
39	32	Watsessing	93	959	63	54	03	02	02	02	..	..
40	46	Arlington	84	980	63	56	01	01	01	01	01	01
41	71	Bethel, Staten Island	230	1,498	63	47	01.7	01.7	04	3 01.7	03	01.7
42	40	Raritan	182	803	62	27	08	01	07	08	01	08
43	43	Grace Church, Staten Island	115	1,671	61	38	04	04	04	04	04	04
44	37	Linden Avenue, Jersey City	114	1,192	58	38	04	02	03	04	02	02
45	34	Nyack	305	1,917	58	39	02	02	02	04	02	07
46	47	Washington	444	1,620	57	45	04.5	01.3	01	02	02	..
47	48	Haverstraw	398	1,865	57	42	05	01	01	04	01.5	03
48	52	St. Paul's, Jersey City	757	....	55	43	01.3	01.3	01	01.3	01.3	05
49	38	Rockland Lake	76	859	54	33	04	03	01	04	03	07
50	63	Spring Valley	75	556	53	25	05	..	03	..	03	17
51	51	New Providence	104	883	53	21	07	04	04	05	03	10
52	74	First Church, Hackensack	93	1,114	53	42	06	..	02	..	..	02
53	41	Fulton-street, Elizabeth	315	1,888	53	37	05	01.6	02	03	01.6	02
54	79	Union and Plattenburg	170	620	51	32	04	02	03	03	02	06
55	..	Scotch Plains	38	275	50	26	03	03	13	03	03	..
56	31	Hillsdale	50	628	48	24	22	..	02	..	..	..
57	56	Arcola	28	516	46	46	..	..	..	..	..	..
58	65	First Church, Hoboken	390	2,740	46	35	02.6	01.5	01	01	02.6	02.6
59	73	Succasunna	178	792	46	27	02	02	03	03	01	08
60	68	Andover	162	749	46	40	00.6	01	02	01	00.6	01
61	52	Rockaway	167	811	46	38	01	01	01	02	00.6	02
62	99	New Prospect	147	1,202	45	37	01	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7	03
63	..	Wortendyke	52	....	44	40	..	02	02	..	..	02
64	49	Simpson, Jersey City	380	2,120	43	29	03	02	02	02	02	04
65	58	Prospect-street, Paterson	244	1,306	43	25	03	02	02	06	02	03
66	60	Woodrow, Staten Island	105	995	43	28	03	02	04	02	03	02
67	59	Waverley, Jersey City	94	1,470	43	32	05	01	..	01	01	02
68	57	Clinton	194	738	42	34	02	02	01	01	03	..
69	..	Hibernia	90	723	41	22	06	02	03	01	04	02
70	118	Eighth Avenue, Newark	564	1,895	40	30	02	03	01	02	01	02
71	87	St. Luke's, Newark	407	1,796	40	20	06	03	03	05	01	01
72	61	St. Paul's, Staten Island	246	1,542	39	33	02	01.5	..	01.5	..	00.4
73	119	Denville and Rockaway Valley	104	658	38	26	..	..	02	..	02	09
74	66	Second Church, Rahway	239	1,276	38	27	02	01	01.7	02	02	02
75	70	Madison	227	1,261	38	29	01	01	01	02	03	02
76	89	Asbury, Staten Island	194	1,026	37	25	03	02	01.5	02	01	02.5
77	45	Bloomfield	316	1,788	37	31	01.6	00.6	00.6	01	01	00.6
78	91	Asbury, Hackensack	93	933	37	27	..	01	02	01	02	03

No. of Charge in order.	No. in similar table of last year.	Charges.	No. of Members, including Probationers.	Contributed for Pastoral Support.	Benevolent Contributions per Member.							
					Total.	For Missions.	For Church Extension.	For Tract Cause.	For Sunday-Schools.	For Freedmen's Aid.	For Education.	For Bible Cause.
							cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.
79	101	Chatham	77	$374	$0 36	$0 29	08	05	..	..	..	..
80	85	Metuchen	81	900	36	31	02	..	..	02	..	..
81	128	Sparta	109	810	36	23	02	..	02	..	..	09
82	18	Quakertown and Mount Salem	330	993	35	20	08	01	01	08	01	05
83	110	Mount Hermon	204	693	34	22	02.4	00.5	02	02	00.5	05
84	78	Union-street, Newark	400	1,687	34	25	01	01	01	01	01	03
85	98	Janes Chapel, Jersey City	138	494	34	24	01	01	01	01	02	02
86	112	Mendheim	143	609	34	18	06	01	02	02	01	..
87	67	Newton	223	1,012	33	31	02	..	..	..	..	..
88	69	Green Village	86	416	33	22	05	01	01	02	01	..
89	42	Belleville	139	1,340	32	19	04	01	01	01	01	05
90	103	Roselle	69	728	32	18	03	08	04	01	01	01
91	92	Wesley Chapel, Phillipsburg	203	874	30	20	02	02	02	01	01	..
92	124	First Church, Phillipsburg	400	1,280	30	21	01	00.7	01	01	00.8	03
93	81	Peapack and Chester	154	802	30	20	02	00.7	00.7	02	01	03
94	82	Verona	122	879	29	19	02	..	01	01	01	02
95	100	Clinton and Pine Brook	183	850	28	16	08	01	01	08	08	01
96	108	Perth Amboy	210	1,405	27	21	01.4	00.9	00.9	00.5	..	01.9
97	121	Mount Horeb	223	892	27	16	02	01	02	00.4	01	04
98	94	New Germantown and Fairmount	217	712	27	16	06	01	01	01	01	00.5
99	86	Alpine	114	672	26	20	02	01	01	01	01	01
100	107	Belvidere	274	742	26	18	02	01	01	01	01	02
101	88	Clarksville and Junction	191	794	26	20	02.6	00.5	00.5	00.5	00.5	00.5
102	102	Cross-street, Paterson	497	1,900	26	21	01	01	01	01	01	..
103	126	Vienna and Janes Chapel	229	850	25	20	01	..	00.4	01	01	02
104	97	West Milford	104	564	25	20	02	..	01	..	02	..
105	95	Maplewood	40	210	25	25	..	..	..	..	..	..
106	114	Mount Hope	68	454	25	18	..	01.5	01.5	01 5	01.5	01.5
107	76	Bloomingdale	252	891	24	16	02	01	00.4	02	01	02
108	80	Flemington	198	1,035	24	16	08	02	01	01	00.5	..
109	75	Somerville	191	1,148	24	24	..	..	..	..	..	..
110	136	Port Jervis	578	1,505	23	15	00.7	..	00.7	00.7	..	06
111	133	Sergeantsville, etc	171	599	23	18	02	00.6	00.6	01	01	..
112	168	Bayonne	133	1,296	23	15	03	..	03	..	..	02
113	166	Sparrowbush and Morgana	115	400	23	13	06	..	01	04	..	..
114	163	Everettstown, etc	185	753	22	16	01.6	01	01	00.5	00.5	01.6
115	155	Readington and Allentown	254	728	22	16	02	01	01	01	01	..
116	83	Davis Memorial, Newark	139	827	22	14	01	01	01	01	01	01
117	90	St. John's, Staten Island	93	678	22	15	03	01	01	01	..	..
118	109	Passaic	243	1,484	21	12	01.6	00.2	01	01	00.2	00.2
119	171	Thiell's, etc	150	760	21	10	01	04	01	02	01	01
120	138	Basking Ridge and Pleas't Plains	133	745	21	14	..	01	01	..	..	05
121	72	Bloomsburg and Finesville	267	1,047	20	19	01	00.4	00.4	..	00.4	..
122	113	Little Falls	96	650	21	08	02	08	02	02	01	02
123	84	Asbury and Bethlehem	207	678	21	17	00.5	01	00.5	00.5	00.5	01
124	122	Anderson and Mount Lebanon	144	617	21	14	01	00.7	01	00.7	01	01
125	104	Mechanicsville	240	726	20	12	02	01	01	01	01	04
126	123	Stony Point	146	860	20	15	01	00.7	01	..	00.7	00.7
127	..	Johnsonsburgh	41	136	20	17	..	..	..	..	..	02
128	151	Broadway	134	474	19	15	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7
129	77	Wesley Chapel and Sufferns	89	587	19	17	..	01	01	..	..	..
130	154	Second Church, Dover	169	1,113	19	15	02.4	00.6	00.6	00.6	..	..
131	96	Lafayette	108	705	19	11	02	01	01	03	01	..
132	93	Milford	142	680	18	11	01	01	02	01	01	01
133	105	Summerfield, Staten Island	282	1,326	17	17	..	..	..	..	..	..
134	131	Kingwood, etc	186	564	17	08	01.6	01	01.6	01	01	02
135	150	Tranquillity	206	830	17	15	01	..	..	..	..	01
136	134	Millstone	42	212	17	12	05	..	..	..	..	..
137	116	Port Oram and Tebo	229	766	17	13	..	01	01	..	..	02
138	130	Flanders, etc	173	634	16	09	02	01	00.6	01	01	02
139	120	Summerfield and Montana	205	480	16	12	02	00.5	00.5	..	00.5	..
140	135	Dunellen	76	....	16	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
141	137	Walnut Grove and Millbrook	110	504	15	09	02	01	01	01	..	02
142	147	Emory, Jersey City	340	1,416	15	14	..	00.3	00.6	..	00.3	..
143	152	Green's Bridge	98	522	15	11	02	..	01	..	01	..
144	..	Hilton, Newark	73	180	15	15	..	..	..	..	..	..
145	163	Springfield	150	730	15	14	00.7	..	..	00.7	..	..
146	123	Irvington	97	779	14	10	01	01	..	01	01	..
147	149	Branchville and Frankfort Plains	125	350	14	09	01.6	00.7	01.6	..	01.6	..

No. of Charges in order.	No. in similar table of last year.	Charges.	No. of Members, including Probationers.	Contributed for Pastoral Support.	Benevolent Contributions per Member.							
					Total.	For Missions.	For Church Extension.	For Tract Cause.	For Sunday-Schools.	For Freedmen's Aid.	For Education.	For Bible Cause.
							cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.	cts.
148	177	Barryville	135	$602	$0 14	$0 10	01.5	00.7	..	00.7	00.7	01.5
149	..	Campgaw	52	416	13	09	..	02	..	..	..	02
150	117	Buttzville and Free Union	145	670	13	06	01.3	00.7	00.7	01.3	00.7	02
151	145	Whitehall	63	323	13	08	..	03	..	..	..	01
152	106	Frenchtown	238	....	13	19	01	01	..	..	01	..
153	..	Riverdale	79	354	13	13	..	..	..	..	..	..
154	140	Mount Bethel and Beattystown	89	132	12	06	01	01	01	..	01	02
155	157	Hope	202	563	12	06	01	00.5	00.5	..	00.6	03
156	146	Port Colden and Changewater	112	355	12	06	00.8	00.8	00.8	00.8	00.8	00.8
157	139	New City and Centenary	69	460	12	03	01.5	01.5	01.5	01.5	01.5	01.5
158	159	High Bridge and Lebanon	238	852	11	05	04	..	..	01	..	01
159	148	First Church, Rahway	134	857	11	07	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7	..
160	129	Columbia and Hainesburg	180	551	11	08	00.5	00.5	..	00.5	00.5	00.5
161	..	Hurdtown	54	220	11	07	02	..	..	02	..	..
162	162	Harmony and Stewartville	64	634	11	06	01	00.6	00.6	00.6	00.6	01
163	161	Grace Church, Paterson	621	1,554	11	08	01	00.5	00.3	00.3	00.3	00.5
164	143	Centerville and Greenville	156	399	11	08	01	00.6	00.6	..	..	..
165	..	Mechanicsville Dist., Jersey City	29	294	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
166	..	Pamrapo	69	420	10	07	..	..	..	01	01	..
167	182	Crawford	50	400	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
168	176	Forestburg	112	290	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
169	164	Libertyville and Coleville	114	370	10	05	01	01	01	01	01	..
170	170	Paterson Avenue, Paterson	151	1,304	09	05	00.7	01	00.7	..	01	..
171	160	Monsey, etc	93	707	09	02	01	01	01	01	01	01
172	175	Middle Smithfield	212	580	08	07	00.5	00.5	..	..	00.5	..
173	..	Bowersville	71	321	08	07	01	..	..	..	..	..
174	173	Boonton	298	1,160	08	07	00.3	00.3	00.3	00.7	..	..
175	178	Stillwater and Swartzwood	288	611	08	05	01	00.7	00.7	00.3	00.3	..
176	181	Stockholm	93	411	08	03	..	01	03	..	..	..
177	174	Cokesbury and Califon	358	669	08	05	01	00.3	00.5	00.5	..	00.5
178	142	Otisville	95	543	07	02	..	01	01	01	01	01
179	169	Oxford	114	680	07	05	..	..	01	..	02	..
180	167	Walpack and Millbrook	158	420	07	03	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7	00.7
181	158	New Dover	49	165	06	04	02	..	..	..	..	..
182	195	St. John's, Newark	171	774	06	06	..	..	..	..	..	..
183	127	Hainesville and Centerville	89	560	06	06	..	..	..	..	..	..
184	153	Deckertown, etc	150	571	05	05	..	..	..	..	..	..
185	183	Westtown	123	495	05	05	..	..	..	..	..	..
186	..	Morning View	42	118	05	05	..	..	..	..	..	..
187	180	Centerville, (Elizabeth Dist.)	64	311	05	05	..	..	..	..	..	..
188	..	Blairstown	287	902	04	03	..	..	..	..	..	00.8
189	141	Oakland	78	325	04	04	..	..	..	..	..	..
190	..	South Market-street, Newark	53	486	02	02	..	..	..	..	..	..
191	132	Vernon, etc	151	658	01	01	..	..	..	..	..	..
192	..	Franklin-street, Newark	375	2,093	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
193	..	De Groot Church, Newark	136	1,015	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
194	144	Strawbridge, Newark	93	308	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
195		Chapel-street and Houston-street	61	210	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
196		St. Paul's Mission, Newark	..	950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
197	..	New Vernon	46	268	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
198	172	Parsippany	43	300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
199	..	Whippany	35	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
200	9	St. Philip's, Paterson	18	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
201	..	The Notch	12	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
202	..	Rutherford	37	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
203	..	Palisades, etc	42	417	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
204	..	Linden	23	220	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
205	..	Mount Zion	42	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
206	..	Mount Zion, Staten Island	54	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

The conferences were not all tabulated exactly in this form, but all on such principle as to bring out as fully all the facts used in this article, as well as others of great importance not here used. In all cases, the "Total" column, by which the

charges in each conference are graded, has been a prominent feature; and every blank is noted. These tables show:

104	charges,	comprising	24,377	members,	contributing	from	$2 50	up.
61	"	"	14,272	"	"	$2 00	to $2 49	
123	"	"	25,762	"	"	1 50	to 1 99	
389	"	"	79,504	"	"	1 00	to 1 49	
545	"	"	100,362	"	"	75	to 99	
1,145	"	"	201,155	"	"	50	to 74	
2,517	"	"	429,061	"	"	25	to 49	
2,468	"	"	408,384	"	"	10	to 24	
1,759	"	"	340,746	"	"			09
727	"	"	45,711	"	"	nothing.		
* 240	"	" about	12,000					
9,868	"	"	1,661,854	"				

These figures still only give averages in each charge, taking from the higher givers and imputing to the lower, till all are on a level, and then recording that level. But if we select a representative church of the 104 reported giving $2 50 and upward per member, and watch the process of raising the money, we shall find at least one third of the membership absent on any day that can be selected for a collection; another tenth at least will give nothing, though present. About one member in one hundred in this class of churches will be found to be a large giver, and about ten times as many, in moderate circumstances, large givers for their means. By noting the subscriptions, and counting the pieces in the basket, taking account of their denominations, it will be seen that about thirty-six of every hundred names on the record have given about as much as they usually give to the ordinary basket collection taken by the trustees, leaving the remainder, a little more than one tenth of the membership, as giving something more than they usually put into the basket, but still sums that cannot be called large or liberal for the means of the givers.

The next class, the 61 charges giving $2 to $2 49 per member, will show about the same results, except that the percentage of large givers is a little smaller, say one in one hundred and twenty-five. The 123 charges giving $1 50 to $1 99 have not over one large giver to one hundred and fifty members, with about ten times as many liberal givers with smaller means. The 389 charges giving $1 to $1 49 show the same relative results, except that the proportion of large givers is still smaller, probably one in two hundred, with about twelve times as many large givers from the middle and lower classes.

* Reporting no members, (averaging, say, 50 each.)

If we now take a representative charge from the 545 giving from 75 to 99 cents, we shall find the class giving small sums, but more than the ordinary basket amounts, a little smaller, not exceeding one tenth of the whole, and the large givers not to exceed one in three hundred, with about twelve times as many liberal ones from those of less means, while those giving as in the ordinary basket collection are relatively a little larger. The 1,145 giving from 50 to 75 cents will follow the same rule, except that the large givers do not exceed one in five hundred, with perhaps fifteen times as many liberal givers of moderate means.

When we come to the 2,517 charges giving 25 to 49 cents, we have reached a class of churches where the proportion giving nothing is larger. If one third are absent, not less than one fifth of the whole, if present, will give nothing, and there is not more than one large giver in a thousand members, with perhaps fifteen times as many generous givers of limited means. The 2,468 charges giving 10 to 24 cents per member will follow the same rule, except that the large giver will not exceed one in twenty thousand, with say twenty times as many liberal givers from the middle ranks, and the small givers who exceed their usual basket contributions will not be more than one in twenty. Among the 1,759 charges giving from next to nothing to 9 cents, there are no large givers, nor is there more than one liberal giver in ten thousand members from the middle classes, while not more than one in a hundred will be found giving more than to the usual basket collection.

Then, tabulating by these rules, we have:

Amount contributed per member.	Number of charges.	Number of members.	Giving nothing.	Giving as in ordinary basket collections.	Somewhat more than in ordinary basket collections.	Large givers from middle and lower classes.	Large givers.
$2 50 up	104	24,377	10,567	8,776	2,352	2,438	244
2 00 to $2 49	61	14,272	6,184	5,138	1,685	1,150	115
1 50 to 1 99	123	25,762	11,163	10,134	2,573	1,720	172
1 00 to 1 49	389	79,504	34,451	31,791	8,095	4,770	397
75 to 99	545	100,862	43,707	42,696	10,086	4,037	336
50 to 74	1,145	201,155	87,167	87,436	20,115	6,035	402
25 to 49	2,517	429,081	228,843	164,767	28,606	6,436	429
10 to 24	2,468	408,384	217,805	168,002	20,419	2,056	102
09	1,759	340,746	181,731	155,268	3,407	340	...
No report	713	45,711	45,711	.....	.....	....	...
No members..	240	12,000	12,000	.....	.....	.....	...
	.....	1,681,854	879,329	674,008	97,338	28,982	2,197

According to the General Minutes, these eighty-eight Conferences raised for all the collections $738,762, from which should be deducted about $24,000 reported in the educational column, but evidently raised for local institutions and not for the Educational Society established by the General Conference, leaving $717,762.

If we consider the 2,197 large contributions, ranging from $7,000 down to $50, from some man considered rich in the country, who is liberal in giving the latter sum, to average $125; the 28,982 generous offerings from the middle and lower classes, ranging from $50 to $5, to average $10; and the 674,008 giving as they do in the ordinary basket collection, to average 10 cents for all the collections—and allow five per cent. of the whole for the gifts of those not members—we shall have: From the rich and generous, $274,625; from generous among middle and lower classes, $289,820; from those contributing as in ordinary basket, $67,400; from persons not members, $35,888; leaving to those influenced to give something more than to the ordinary basket, and whose sums may range from $50 from the man who ought to give $5 to 10 cents from one who ought to give $1, the sum of $50,008, to be credited to 97,338 persons, making an average of 51 cents to each.

Here, then, we have 879,329* members giving nothing, and 674,008* giving indifferently what they would have given in the ordinary trustees' collection which each benevolent collection displaced, being 1,553,337 members utterly unmoved to give any thing by such presentation of the benevolences as they have received; while only 128,517, less than one in thirteen, have been influenced at all by the presentation as it came to them to give any thing, and of these only 31,189, less than one in fifty of the whole membership, give in a manner worthy of the cause.

Yet these 1,553,337 members are not "unconverted or unconsecrated," but are in the main good and loyal and faithful Christians; many of them enjoy a high state of grace. They comprise a majority of our most excellent members, whom we

* These numbers are not made up by the same persons in every case, some of the 879,329 being absent, or present and giving nothing, when one collection is taken; but enough of the 674,008 will be found failing to contribute to some of the collections to fully sustain the figures.—One tenth of our members may be considered too poor to give any thing.

rightly count the salt of the earth. These have consecrated themselves to God, and mean to extend his kingdom to the best of their ability; but these great interests have not yet arrested the thought so as to move the heart of a single one of them. "Defective" indeed must be the "methods" that do not reach this class of members.

Very few of the preachers have studied this subject enough to make them even see and remember the relative amount of claim that each collection has upon the benevolence of their people; for many of them seem to make no difference in effort for a collection for the Church Extension Society, which uses $150,000 a year, or the Tract Society, which uses $20,000, and seem unconscious of any reason why they should be dissatisfied with the same pittance for each. The division of the "omnibus" collection, when it is taken, shows the same utter lack of attention, or unconsciousness of a difference in amount of the respective claims. Many of the great men in the ministry are not in advance of their obscurest brethren in this respect.

If, in all the charges, the membership were divided into four quarters, with respect to their ability to give, the pastor would not usually fall below the line separating the first fourth from the next below, and yet only a minority of them give any thing worth mentioning; this is proved by the number of collections where the displacement required by a generous contribution by the pastor could not have occurred. How can any pastor inspire his people with a theme that does not inspire him?

Our colleges and Conference seminaries are monuments of what may be done when the preachers lead their people in contributions, from even much smaller support than they now receive. And we may be assured this reform will never be made general until the preachers lead their people in the contributions. A very few pioneers have gone over this advance ground, and find it perfectly practicable for the march of an army of ten thousand Methodist pastors abreast over it.

At the last session of the Newark Conference, the following was adopted as a *minimum standard* of contributions to be asked from all the members of the Churches, namely: For Missions, 40 cents; for Church Extension, 8 cents; Freedmen's

Aid, 7 cents; Tract, Sunday-School, and Education each, 2 cents; and Bible cause, 4 cents—making in all 65 cents per member. Now this is too low by half for an *average standard* in all our older work in the northern States, except such places as may be in special adversity. And yet if we take this standard, and consider a collection slighted that falls below it, we can find in the 9,858 charges in these eighty-eight Conferences just 71 charges, and no more, without a collection slighted,—not one to a Conference. The Philadelphia and Rock River Conferences stand best by this rule, having 11 charges each with no collection slighted, the New York East follows with 9, and the Newark Conference stands fourth with 6, followed by Troy with 4 charges in which no collection was slighted.

The statistical figures have yet many things to tell, but their insertion here must have a limit, lest they swell this article so as to exclude it from the Quarterly Review. Have they not thrown much light on the first part of the question, if they have not fully answered it?

"How to remedy it?" The second part of the question is far more difficult than the first, but the solution of the first must make it much easier. Perhaps it may be well to interpolate a question here on general principles:

What reason have we to suppose an effective remedy can be found? In answer we have:

1. If, as before asserted, the need of the work is the voice of God, telling us our duty as well as our golden opportunity, then we may have all confidence that a complete remedy may be applied, without asking any single person in the Church to do any thing unreasonable. The Lord never requires anything unreasonable in his service, though the reasonableness is not always apparent to all minds.

2. Other denominations are doing more than would be required by the most advanced proposition in this article. The Presbyterians are regularly raising more than five times as much as we per member for these things on ground where our wealth is not much inferior to theirs, and where we are far exceeding them in amounts raised for increase of local church property; and this, too, where this increase is not in new churches to accommodate incoming members, but where our membership is

nearly stationary. The Evangelical Association, having their field mostly among the Germans and their descendants, are as a rule much below us in ability; they are much like us in their methods in most things; they have their churches to build, schools and colleges to provide, and the like, in a more emphatic sense than we, and they are making great efforts in those lines, and yet are doubling the amount of our offerings to Church benevolences. The Wesleyan Methodists, the ability of whose masses certainly does not exceed the ability of ours, are said to be giving five times as much to these things as we are.

3. We have nine conferences of foreign-born brethren in the United States: seven German, one Swedish, and one Norwegian, and, if the lower nine tenths of our entire membership contributed as much as the lower nine tenths of these nine conferences, we should have annually a million and a half in our collections. Yet they are far poorer than the American-born membership, are more heavily taxed to build their churches and support their schools, and were mostly brought up under State Church influences where the voluntary system is unknown.

4. The effect of a little earnest effort among us proves what might be done if earnest effort were made general. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society takes a sort of amateur collection—that is, they glean in the collection field where a numerous body of strong men have been appointed to reap. The result is as follows: 3,602 charges report these collections, 1,455 of them $2 and under, with many hundreds more under $3. Probably these small collections are the spontaneous offerings of single persons, or at most a very few, who have heard of the movement, on the respective charges; and yet where there are but 2,147 collections above $2, we find 1,000 of them larger than all the six collections (other than the missionary) ordered by the General Conference put together, and after these follow 605 others nearly as large as the six combined. The ground all over the collection field is proved to be so plastic that it shows the footprints of the earnest woman wherever she has gone. What would be its appearance if the whole itinerant army should fall into line and obey marching orders? If the will were present with us, the way would soon

be found or made. Methodism has done many things manifold more difficult.

But "How?" returns the great question with increasing force; how move the will of our mighty Methodism, and set the millions upon making the way? It must be remembered, there are some active minds with noble hearts who always catch the most advanced idea the moment it flashes upon their atmosphere, and act at once upon the new light. There seem to be not more than 31,179 such in our Church, with respect to the benevolences. The masses, even of the best of people, are not mentally so constituted, nor even morally. They form their opinions and receive their convictions more slowly, are more the creatures of habit, and must be taught more by example, and they acquire many valuable characteristics by imitation. These must be got to doing something in the right direction to lay the foundation of the right habit; they must be constantly exercised in practice up to their best convictions, and the light of their full duty must be kept constantly upon them; then individuals will from time to time be seen leaving the masses to walk in that light; next small masses will break away and advance, then larger, till reform itself may become epidemic.

We have hitherto acted upon the masses by means calculated to move only the few; hence we have not reached the 1,553,337 members, many of whom are the salt of the earth. We can gain little by more vigorously working present plans. Our Church has reached its maximum by these, and is retrograding in places already. Our talented and zealous Secretaries, our anxious Boards of Management, our Bishops, and other prominent men, lay and clerical, have been making the most powerful appeals, visiting as many churches as possible, addressing the conferences, Annual and District, and sending burning words through the press. The result is like the crack of the whip over a large team: the free horse springs into his harness, while his companions take no heed. The crack of the whip is a success up to the limit of the free horse's strength; beyond that it is a failure. Men who are sensitive to these things have been doing wonders, and some churches, blessed with such men, have written their record in noble deeds; while a multitude of charges, able to treble their offer-

ings of ten and fifteen years ago, have been retrograding during that time.* The mass of our members have been listening as to a pious hyperbole.

The misdirected zeal of some pastors has led them to overdo, and so undo, their work. How often have such come before their people, saying, "The cause is good, the need is unspeakable, we must get all we can," and so make an impression of a boundless claim on minds feeling keenly the limitation of their already heavily taxed means. The result is, the people feel they must fix a limit at the point of prudence, or the pastor will fix it at the point of exhaustion. Thus, teaching the people always to take the opposite side, as of an open question, at every presentation, it is easy to argue themselves into the belief that they need all their money at home. A clear statement of the measure of the claim, easy to be met by every one in his degree, with an expenditure of the zeal in reaching every member, and in creating a public opinion throughout the Church, that of course every member must do his part as certainly as that every one must maintain a good moral and religious character, and that all the Church must be equally diligent with the pastor in bringing it about, would produce large collections, joyfully given, and keep the whole Church in readiness to advance in a body whenever the cause demanded. A proposition zealously advocated for some years past is the ordering all collections by calendar, and the question at Conference concerning all, as now concerning the Missionary. But it may well be feared the remedy would be only partial; many churches have taken all the collections with solemn punctiliousness, and reported for all told less than ten cents per member.

Moreover, the Missionary cause is now presented to ninety-two per cent. of our churches. A calendar could make no improvement in this, nor do better than this for the others; yet more than a million and a half of our members give nothing, even for missions, but what a minority of them would have put into the trustees' basket. And ninety-two per cent of our pastors answer complacently that they have taken the Missionary collection, and the amount is sure to go unchallenged.

* The writer has not had time to get the number of these retrograding churches, but has seen enough to show it to be one of the most painful facts brought out by this investigation.

A better way would be to fix a minimum standard for each collection, and ask the pastor at Conference whether he had taken all the collections, and how his church compared with the standard. A still more important question would be, How many of your members have contributed up to the standard? The Discipline now requires the Presiding Elder in Quarterly Conference to ask how much has been raised for each collection. Let another question be added, How many of the members have contributed up to the measure of the minimum standard? The Discipline provides for canvassers for Missionary funds. Let the committees of all the causes combine and extend the system to all the collections, dividing the proceeds according to a scale, except when contributors direct otherwise. The contributions should be paid in periodically, and in such way as may best suit the locality. A public meeting should be held at the time of each payment, devoted to the benevolences, at which a report should be read and the cause advocated. The report should show the number of contributors, as well as amount in all, and addresses should be made on the importance of every one doing his part, as well as on the nature and object of the benevolences. Then a short season of prayer should follow for God's blessing on the work. The progress made from meeting to meeting, in bringing the number of standard contributors up to the number of members, would always be an interesting subject.

A central office for gathering and distributing information, on this subject, would be a great power. It might be arranged for by concert action on the part of the different boards of management. Here all the conferences could be tabulated, somewhat as the Newark Conference is done in this article. These tables could be sent, through the Quarterly Conferences, to every official member and to all thoughtful people on every charge. They would show not only the amount given per member to each cause on every charge, and the relative standing of the charges, but, in their succession from year to year, also, the progress in reaching non-contributors, and make it plain just where improvement in method might be applied. These tables, with whatever other communications it might be wise to send with them, would make the power of the central office felt in every Quarterly Conference, if they were placed

in the hands of the members present at the time of asking the disciplinary questions; and the discussion of the relative standing of the charge encouraged. When the attention is fixed upon the comparative standing of the different charges, well tabulated, there must always be much interest excited, and a fair degree of emulation.

The true motive to be cultivated is, of course, an intelligent appreciation and deep love for the cause of God and of humanity, as represented in these things; but this may be of too slow action, and that of emulation is the best available to reenforce it. And the very practice of benevolence, even from motives of emulation, will not only create a good habit, but promote love for the objects benefited.

The different Secretaries have more than they can do to look after the strong churches and large collections; they cannot reach the average church with the needed effect. If they try, they will jostle each other, and confuse and discourage the people with an endless array of applications; while a central office, by tabulation and concise circular and correspondence, aided by our connectional organization, adapted, above all other systems in existence, for making such enterprises successful, can press home, with the cogent logic of facts, the full force of these claims upon every charge and so upon every member.

It is the multitude of non-contributors and small givers that makes the office necessary. They will need nearly all its attention, and on them nearly all its work must be bestowed. The liberal givers can be much more easily induced to respond to any reasonable call for an advance. If, for instance, a call was made for $50,000 from twenty contributors, $50,000 from fifty, $50,000 from one hundred, $50,000 from two hundred, $100,000 from one thousand, $100,000 from two thousand, $100,000 from four thousand, $100,000 from ten thousand, and $100,000 from twenty thousand, making $700,000 in all, on condition that the rest of the membership bring up their average to $1 per member, this last condition would contain nine tenths of the difficulty. Indeed, if it were undertaken, the interest among the large givers, in the progress of the great mass toward an average of $1, would be so great, that the required number of each class above named would be almost spontaneously forthcoming. The effect of a wise and

persistent effort to bring this remaining multitude up to an average of $1, would be to raise up from these masses many a choice spirit, not yet awakened to the importance of these things, to increase the numbers of the classes above. There is many an uncut diamond buried up in the drift of our membership—the agitation of the diamond wash is ever bringing them to their receptacles.

The proposed office would also be of great use for tabulating the results of missionary appropriations in the older conferences. We have almost nothing of the kind now, but we must have; we absolutely must have large sums for use in the older work, and when it is forthcoming the results of its use need to be carefully tabulated. More light is needed here, that we may avoid the errors of former years. A confused idea of the proper use of missionary money has often prevailed in the minds of those charged with its application. Many of them have seemed to think it was to supplement the ability of weak churches, and so the money was scattered in dribs to produce but little effect further than an appetite for more of the same sort. Now we humbly submit that the proper use of missionary money is not that it may be ground up to be the pabulum of weak churches, but to be used as seed corn for a harvest of self-sustaining and strong churches. No church that has not a prospect of being self-sustaining in the not too distant future should receive missionary money. We have seen large sums distributed among churches in a condition they had been in for twenty years past, and were about sure to be in for twenty years to come. When a church has reached its maturity in any place, then provision should be made for it, as best can be, with means on the ground. Missionary money given to it is misapplied, and any misuse of money is sure to react disastrously on future collections.

The graded tabulation of results in Church Extension and Freedmen's Aid would be equally interesting and profitable to those interests.

Let "An average of one dollar from the lower nine tenths of our membership" be the watchword of our Church. Let every Bishop take it up; let every Presiding Elder salute each Quarterly Conference four times a year with it. Let every pastor pray it and write it and preach it in public and from

house to house. Let the 31,179, at whose expense the Church has been lauded for the mighty works already done in these fields, take it up and help proclaim it to their brethren; and the undertaking will be found within easy possibility.

Wonderful events, that no language can describe, no imagination safely attempt, wait at the door of such an undertaking. An average of one dollar from the lower nine tenths of our members, means three millions annually in our treasuries within the next ten years. In proportion as it is approximated, the three millions will be approached with equal step. Let it be done. Amen. Then hail! every Popish land. Hail! all the floods of antichristian Europe, flowing in upon our shores. Hail! all the heathen world. The arms of the Church shall take you up and bear you to Christ, and by doing so will gather strength to do twice as much in the following decade.

Another urgent reason why we should induce our people to give their full share to these things is that the work may have the benefit of their prayers. Our brethren and sisters on the outposts, where the kingdom of Christ is most terribly in collision with the kingdom of Satan, send in the eager request, "Pray for us." But 1,553,337 of our members cannot pray for them; 93,338 more can pray but halting prayers. When they say, so many millions of times, "Thy kingdom come," as far as these immeasurable provinces are concerned, the words have no meaning. Let this hinderance disappear, and they will turn their prayers upon these fields like the vernal sun to vitalize the seed of the word for a harvest such as the days of miracles have not known. "Greater works than these"—"because I go unto my Father." For the doing this will not fail to bring about a degree of spiritual life and added power, new even in any phase of Methodism.

And so, above all that may be said about the importance of training our people to give to these benevolences, that the work may be carried on in the fields depending on them, our members need these things on their own account as a means of grace. We shall never have a sturdy, world-conquering spiritual life, without such an interest in the people without and the regions beyond as would prompt a response with alacrity to the Macedonian cry, though that response should involve self-sacrifice, manifold what has ever been called for

by our benevolences, when the burden is properly distributed. Preaching and prayer and song will not waken this interest; it must grow by exercise in acts of self-denial for the welfare of others.

Now, 1,553,337 of our members, if not 97,338 more, so far as they have any feeling at all on the subject of these benevolences, are in the condition of a respectable family without children, whose door-bell has been rung by some one now out of sight, to call their attention to a little foundling in a basket. They are indignant at the intrusion, would like to deal with the perpetrator, and have no thought about the little stranger but how, with least disgrace to themselves, it may be removed to the almshouse. The most humane of the family, or perhaps the most curious, may uncover the little face, and a little cry may rouse contending emotions of pity, increasing disgust, and resentment. If, in sheer decency, at the request of a passing neighbor, it be taken in temporarily and cared for, and if, like the infant Moses, it be a "proper child," it will win its way, and first with those who do most for it, until it grows into the family life, so that adoption, surname, and heirship will settle themselves by gravity. If we say a Church's enterprises are her children, these benevolences are almost the only spiritual children of our Church. The Church lives in two realms, that of the natural man, and that of the spiritual man. God is the center of the realm of the spiritual man; self, of the natural man.

Our motives have their life in one or both of these realms, and according as we follow them we are training ourselves Godward or selfward. In raising the means for sustaining the Church at home it is hard to keep from the predominance of the selfward educating element. In many respects it is as much so as men's daily avocations, and much of the money given to support one's own church will always be given from about the same motives as actuate men in providing for their own household. The provision of proper church privileges amounts to the provision of a comfortable religious home. The wholly consecrated, the spiritually mature, do all unto the Lord; others, "babes in Christ," "walk as men." Paul "could not speak unto [them] as unto spiritual." We need these collections as a means of grace. Every one of our growing millions

needs them more, far more than the most advanced has yet understood, to train us Godward. Here we give, not expecting any thing in return; we give for Christ's sake, that others who will never repay us may have the Gospel, and we expect to wait for all recompense till the resurrection of the just. And the more these things are so presented to our people as to induce them to take hold of them, the more will abound the spirit of love to God and faith in his truth, and the more of their means will be invested in that which moth and rust and thieves cannot reach, and so become a means of grace, blessing the giver more than the receiver.

A protest is often heard in behalf of the poor and struggling churches—generally uttered with the assumption that what is given to the collections is just so much damage to home interests. But Christ comes to all churches, through these benevolences, as the hungry, (for the bread of life,) thirsty, (for the water of life,) a stranger, (far from the bliss of a spiritual home,) naked, (without the robe of righteousness,) sick, (a billion of his human brethren are diseased with sin unto death,) in prison, (of superstition, and befouled in the dungeon of depravity.) Blessed is that people, rich or poor, to whom Christ comes in any form; and his form is the most profitable for them to meet him in, to whom he comes. Christ is not a thief or a robber come to lessen the prosperity at home, though the manner of his coming may be a paradox to the natural man and to them that "walk as men." Christ has given us an object lesson on this subject, if we be able to learn. A poor and struggling widow, two mites her all, cast in her gift; her money went to the object of her love, as ours always will, and she went her way; the Lord of glory standing by—perhaps she never knew. She is the subject of his most forcible words to the men that were to turn the world upside down. Why did he thus commend her, if not to give to the Church in all time an emphasized example?

Christ's coming to the poor and struggling Church is like the coming of Elijah to the starving widow of Zarephath, craving a morsel of bread. One handful of meal, a little oil, starvation beyond. What a contribution did he ask her and her son to make! What an inroad on the single meal that stood between them and death! But he said he came in the name of the

Lord, and bade her not fear to obey. She believed him, and the meal and oil failed not; and while others were starving around —and she would have starved but for that little cake, first taken from her store—herself and her son were kept alive, and she entertained a boarder more illustrious than kings, and her works and words now stand blended with the works and words of God. How often did Jesus say, "He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear." Alas! many have no ear for his voice as it comes to us from the necessities of his cause. The mistake is of the kind made by those who at the judgment will say in astonishment, "When saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?" Now and here we meet him in these characters. Let us not fear. Though it be done unto the least (promising) on the most barren field, as well as the case admits of, the doing soul will have all the blessedness of doing it unto Him.

Summary.

I. The deplorably low rate of contribution, per member, to the benevolences is explained by the fact:

1. That 879,329 members give nothing at all, and 674,008 others give an average of ten cents per member to all the seven collections put together, being what they would have put into the ordinary trustees' basket collection, displaced in each case by the benevolent collection—making together 1,553,337—more than $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$ths of the whole membership, utterly unmoved, by such presentation of the claims as they have received, to give any thing; and only 31,189 members, or less than one in fifty, give in a manner worthy of the cause.

2. That the preachers have given so little attention to the subject, that most of them seem to have no conception of the measure of each claim, or that there is a difference in the relative claims of the several benevolences; and that only a small minority of them are contributors to any extent themselves.

3. That by the *minimum standard* adopted by the Newark Conference, namely, Missions, 40, Church Extension, 8, Freedmen's Aid, 7, Tract, 2, Sunday-school, 2, Education, 2, and Bible, 4 cents; total, 65 cents per member, every one of the 9,858 charges in the United States, except 71, slighted one or more of the collections. This standard is too low by half for an

average standard in most of the churches, and a fair average standard of double this amount would show less than thirty charges in the United States that have not slighted any of the collections.

II. The whole trouble lies with the lower $\frac{1}{10}$ths, or, to use decimal numbers of proximate accuracy, with the lower nine-tenths of the members. Yet these might easily be brought up to an average of $1 per member, without asking any one to do any thing unreasonable. This is shown

1. By what is being done by other denominations.

2. By other branches of Methodism.

3. By our conferences of foreign-born brethren, even with our present methods.

4. By the success of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. In four cases out of five, where they have made a fair degree of effort, they have raised from nearly as much as six of the General Conference collections combined, to large multiples of these six collections combined.

III. 1. We can make no considerable improvement by more vigorously working our present methods.

2. The adoption of the Calendar plan, it has been clearly shown, could be of very little advantage.

3. A method is needed that will allay the apprehension of excessive and innumerable demands, and by which the different claims will cease to be in any degree dissipating and counteracting forces, and all become cumulative and conspiring to produce the proper convictions in the minds of the people.

4. The best plan that now seems practicable is to adopt standards, and especially a *minimum standard*, and to devise means on every charge, by collectors or otherwise, for reaching every member. If it is deemed wise to take all together, let them be divided by scale, except where contributors direct otherwise, and let them be paid in periodically—monthly or quarterly—and let the occasion be celebrated by a public and special meeting, devoted to these interests; and then let each preacher answer the question at Conference, as now concerning missions, "How much has been raised?" and "How many of the members are contributors up to the standard?"

IV. Nearly all of our people—and who shall say how many of our preachers?—have almost every thing to learn about these benevolences as a means of grace; and yet this is their most important function in the Church. Immeasurable as is their power for good to the receiver, when rightly worked they are more blessed to the giver.

ART. V.—GEORGE BOURNE, THE PIONEER OF AMERICAN ANTISLAVERY.

SEVERAL ably written accounts of the rise, progress, and history of the Antislavery conflict in America have been published, but for lack of data covering the earlier presentations of that form of Antislavery known as "abolition without compensation," or "immediate abolition," they have failed to account for its origin. They have not explained why there was so great a change from the spirit and method of the advocates of *emancipation* of the era following the Revolution. It is fully time, therefore, that the persistent advocate of the doctrine of "immediate abolition without compensation," the originator of the American Antislavery Society and conflict, should be duly noticed, more especially as it will relieve the Churches from the apprehension that the contest originated with opponents of Christianity.

As it has been so long taken for granted that Mr. Garrison was the originator and prime leader of the Antislavery conflict, I will, before giving a sketch of

THE PIONEER OF "ANTISLAVERY" IN AMERICA,

present to the public the copy of a letter addressed to the writer by Mr. Garrison in 1858. It was written *currente calamo*, in answer to one addressed to him giving an account of the formation by the writer of the African Civilization Society, "to promote the Christian civilization of Africa," and "the cultivation of cotton there by free labor." In this beautiful panegyric Mr. Garrison renders ample testimony to the friend and preceptor from whom he derived his doctrines, his enthu-

siasm, and who animated his courage for his life-long work of abolition:

BOSTON, Nov. 18, 1858.

MY DEAR FRIEND—It gave me the greatest gratification to receive and read your letter of the 8th instant. It seemed next to receiving an epistle from your venerated father, whose memory will ever be dear to me, and whose labors, sacrifices, and perils in the cause of the millions in our land who are "appointed to destruction" ought to be biographically chronicled and perpetuated. I confess my early and large indebtedness to him for enabling me to apprehend, with irresistible clearness, the inherent sinfulness of slavery under all circumstances, and its utter incompatibility with the spirit and precepts of Christianity. I felt and was inspired by the magnetism of his lion-hearted soul, which knew nothing of fear, and trampled upon all compromises with oppression, yet was full of womanly gentleness and susceptibility; and mightily did he aid the Antislavery cause in its earliest stages by his advocacy of the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation, his exposure of the hypocrisy of the Colonization Scheme,* and his reprobation of a "negro-hating, slaveholding religion." He was both a "son of thunder," and "a son of consolation." Never has slavery had a more indomitable foe or freedom a truer friend.

You inquire whether your father was not the author of the work entitled, "Slavery Illustrated in its Effects upon Woman," published in this city, in 1837, by Isaac Knapp. He was, as every line of it bears witness. I wish it could be republished and a million copies of it be distributed broadcast. . . . I thank you for sending me a copy of the Constitution of the African Civilization Society, and the pamphlet by Benjamin Coates, which I have briefly noticed in the "Liberator" of this week. I am not prepared to state my views of this new movement at length, but I heartily wish prosperity to every benevolent effort to increase the growth of free cotton, whether in Africa, India, or elsewhere, and thus to strike a heavy blow at slavery pecuniarily. I am in hopes, however, that we are nearer the jubilee than such a move-

* Mr. Garrison's phrase, "hypocrisy of the Colonization scheme," would have been more accurate had he written "hypocrisy of *some of the advocates* of Colonization;" for while George Bourne had many conflicts with those Colonizationists who presented that scheme as a *cure for slavery*, his boundless love for the cause of Christian missions permitted him to look upon the work of Christian civilization in Africa with great favor. Had the published objects of the American Colonization Society been identical with those of the colored men now enlisting in the work of the Christian civilization of Africa, he could have had no controversy with its advocates. When Mr. Garrison penned the foregoing letter, recommending that the "life, labor, and sacrifices" of George Bourne in behalf of the enslaved "should be biographically chronicled and perpetuated," he did not know that his own life and labors would have been several times chronicled before even this brief sketch should be made public.

ment would seem to imply. Still, let every just instrumentality be used for the eternal overthrow of slavery. I will send a copy of the "Liberator" to your society with pleasure.

Yours to break every yoke,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

To THEODORE BOURNE.

Mr. Garrison's account of the effect produced upon him from the teachings of George Bourne is not only an eloquent eulogy, but a positive declaration of the source from which he derived the peculiar doctrine of "abolition without compensation," that distinguished the modern *Abolitionists* from the *Emancipationists* of the former period. It also explains why George Bourne is called the Pioneer of Antislavery. He was the early and *persistent* advocate of the doctrine that no recompense should be made to slave-holders. Almost all opponents of slavery who had preceded him had recognized the propriety of compensating the slave-owners when a ransom was demanded. Mr. Bourne looked upon compensation as a compromise with oppression and sin, and labored with great energy to overthrow that as an error. Long before the earnest labors of Benjamin Lundy commenced in Western Virginia, George Bourne, as will be seen, had violently attacked the system in Central Virginia, by preaching, lecturing, and publishing tracts and books written with great earnestness and vigor. In order of sequence, of the three pioneers whose thoughts and whose labors gave tone to the modern Abolition movement, we may thus arrange them: George Bourne, 1805–1845; Benjamin Lundy, 1815–1838; William Lloyd Garrison, 1830–1865. To what extent Mr. Lundy may have been influenced by the labors of Mr. Bourne in Virginia does not appear, but he upheld the standard nobly until it was grasped by Mr. Garrison. The extensive acquirements, effective eloquence, and fearless courage of the earliest of these three pioneers had much to do with his success in starting the movement; yet without the conversion of Mr. Garrison to his views the doctrine of "immediate and unconditional emancipation" would not have attained as speedily its growth and its influence upon national affairs. As appears from the lucid and discriminative articles on Mr. Garrison by Dr. Dorchester, Benjamin Lundy had also made an impression upon him in favor of Antislavery principles; but, as we perceive from his

own testimony, he "felt and was inspired by the magnetism of that lion-hearted soul which knew nothing of fear," and which had for years faced danger and death in behalf of the oppressed.

His Ancestry and Birthplace.

Rev. George Bourne was born on the 13th day of June, 1780, at Westbury, Wiltshire, England. It was his signal privilege to be descended from an ancestral line embracing some of the names illustrious as martyrs and confessors in the first annals of the Reformation and the era succeeding, and to be early placed under decided religious influences and among favorable religious associations. His father, Samuel Bourne, was for thirty years a deacon of the Congregational Church at Westbury. His mother's name was Mary Rogers, a lineal descendant of John Rogers, the Protomartyr in the reign of persecuting Queen Mary, and who was the gifted translator and editor of the Bible which he published under the *nom de plume* of "Thomas Mathews," supplementing and completing the work of Tindale and Coverdale. As a coincidence showing how different lines of early Reformation families united to give that remarkable development which fitted the pioneer for his work, it may be mentioned that his maternal grandmother was Mary Cotton, a descendant of Dr. Rowland Cotton, son of Rev. John Cotton, the first Puritan minister of Boston. On his father's side he reckoned the martyr James Johnston, who suffered death at the Cross of Glasgow, in 1684, in defense of "the Covenant and work of Reformation," at the time of the bloody Anglican persecution against the Presbyterians of Scotland. Here, then, were three lines of succession from men who loved the truth more than honor, or rewards, or life itself. No wonder that he stemmed the tide of slave-holders' opposition for seven years in Virginia without fear, and, sustained by Almighty power, denounced the Divine judgments upon the transgressors, which were so terribly fulfilled in the retributions of the late war. From his earliest years he manifested an aptitude for learning, and a strength of mind which gave ample promise of that power and force which enabled him to face all opposition and encounter all reproach in behalf of what he esteemed to be the truth of the Gospel. After pursuing academical studies,

in which he attained great proficiency, being foremost as a linguist and mathematician, he assisted his father in the management of his business, (cloth manufacture;) but not finding it congenial he entered upon a course of preparation for the ministry of the Gospel, and studied at the seminary at Homerton, London. Being a stanch Nonconformist, and inclined in favor of a republican form of government, he wrote articles which attracted attention, even of the cabinet ministry of that day. He took part in the growing discussions regarding slavery and the slave-trade, along with the Wilberforces, Clarksons, Buxtons, and their compeers.

In the year 1802 he paid a visit to the United States to ascertain for himself the propriety of making this the field for ministerial labors. He was so much gratified that he determined to return and settle here, believing that in this favored land greater freedom of conscience and liberty could be enjoyed than in England. At that time Dissenters were still compelled to use the clergy of the Church of England for certain services which can now be performed by Dissenting ministers. After his return to England, and determination to make the United States his home, he obtained the consent of a young lady of Bath, Somersetshire, to whom he was greatly attached, to cross the Atlantic with him and share his future lot. She was likeminded, an earnest, cheerful, devoted Christian, and possessed of the qualifications which are requisite in one who would share the minister's lot. She had been led to consecrate her life to Christ under the ministry of the Rev. Joseph Hughes, and was privileged to belong to the congregation of the Rev. William Jay. She was one of the earliest teachers who engaged in Sabbath-school work in the city of Bath, and was also connected with families who were noted for their devotion to the missionary work just then enkindling the Christian Churches with renewed zeal for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. The Olands, Chaters, and Thomases, known in Baptist annals, were among her kindred. They were married in St. James' Church, in Bristol, September 6, 1804, and shortly after sailed for New York. While here in 1805 he met the notorious scoffer, Thomas Paine, at the house of a bookseller in Maiden Lane, in which interview he obtained from Paine the confession of his motives, and of his capacity

for writing his infamous attacks on Christianity, which was recently republished in the "Christian Advocate." Mr. Bourne's first settlement was at Baltimore, where also for some years he edited the Baltimore "Daily Gazette." About the year 1809 he removed to New Glasgow, Va., and thence to Port Republic, Va. The first Presbyterian church built in that town was erected partly through his instrumentality and for his occupancy. He afterward removed to Harrisonburg, Rockingham County, Va., where he originated and became Secretary of the Religious Tract Society, and also performed regular ministerial duties. While in Rockingham County he came directly in contact and conflict with the system of American slavery as practiced in its palmy days, and his whole soul revolted at the injustice and iniquities which he constantly witnessed. Believing himself to be ordained to preach the truth, he failed not to denounce the evils of the system publicly and privately. He was not satisfied with denouncing the oppressors and the unjust judges of ancient Israel and Judah, but applied the divine oracles to the case of the oppressors in Virginia, and in Rockingham County, in the nineteenth century. This was a style of pungent application to which they were not accustomed, and it aroused bitter opposition in that vicinity. Some of the real Christians rallied round him, and quite a number were led to remove from Rockingham County and settle in the land of freedom in the new regions north of the Ohio River. But his steadfast opposition to the system of slavery was a constant offense to the slave-owners, who determined to get him away from Virginia; but he was equally determined to stay, and proclaim the truth. He was, of course, the object of persistent persecution from "fellows of the baser sort," as well as from professed disciples of Christ. One instance, which occurred in January, 1812, shows the trials to which he and his wife were continually subject. While he was absent on a preaching tour to some other station, a number of the ruffians went to his house, took out most of his goods from the lower story, and destroyed them in the road; they would have demolished all that was in the house, but were told that the lady was sick in the upper part, and some of them, with a little humanity, deterred the rest from going up-stairs to disturb her.

Among many instances of his intrepidity in preaching against

slavery in the very seat of its power, is the following: Being requested by some of his people to preach on the sin of theft, particularly intended for the benefit of the slaves, who were guilty of all sorts of petty thefts, especially of poultry, he complied with the request. He preached a forcible sermon from the eighth commandment, giving the moral and social aspects of the sin in its various phases, not forgetting some wholesome advice to "servants against purloining." After which, and in his peroration, especially addressed to masters, he said, "But what do you think of the sin of kidnapping men and women (made in the image of God) from the coast of Africa, whose whole crime is their color, and stealing and selling them into slavery? What do you think of those who continue the robbery, and sell their children for slaves? If the theft of money, produce, poultry, and other values is so great a crime, what terrible turpitude and depravity does it not evince to sell the image of God, and keep men in bondage?" and more, to like effect. If a bombshell had suddenly exploded in the midst of that congregation, (as actually occurred in churches of Charleston years afterward,) it could not have produced greater alarm and consternation in that audience. When service was over the fierce looks and stern visages of the bulk of the hearers who crowded around him, and their angry remonstrances, showed that indeed a spiritual thunderbolt had fallen upon them from that pulpit, and the lightning flashes gleaming upon them from the sacred page served to light up the moral darkness induced by slavery.

Mr. Bourne was so determined on "carrying the war into Virginia," and maintaining it, that he acquired the art of setting type, and printed his diatribes against American slavery right there. While at Harrisonburg, Va., about 1812, he wrote and published a book called "The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable." It abounded in that style of invective which secured the attention of, if it did not always convert, the slave-owners, and made them more anxious than ever to ostracise and banish him from Virginia. He was a Micaiah to them, constantly prophesying evil to the covetous slave-holders; an Elijah, continually denouncing the judgments of Jehovah upon those who oppressed the poor and needy, "whose own shepherds pitied them not," and "did not feed the flock of the slaughter." In that

book he developed his theory of "immediate abolition without compensation," and, while forcible in argument, it was also terrible in its denunciations. Its invectives are so keen and so pungent as to have formed the model for that style of denouncing the evils of slavery which became afterward so noted in the armory of Garrison, and his friend Wendell Phillips, and others. It was a continuous miracle that his enemies did not kill him. His life was in continual danger, so much so that his wife, the faithful sharer of his toils and sacrifices, lived for years in a state of dread that at any time he might be brought to her lifeless; but he was preserved to ring the alarm-bell at the North; to teach those who would train others "to shout the battle-cry of freedom."

He was compared to Luther, to John Knox, and to Elijah the Tishbite in his zeal against the worshipers of Baal. His denunciations of judgment upon the South and the nation, if they persevered in upholding slavery, were as severe as any of those of the ancient prophets, and read almost like inspired predictions, so literally and accurately have they been fulfilled in the terrible carnage and desolations which attended the tremendous conflict between the forces of slavery and freedom. His opponents among his ecclesiastical brethren of the Presbyterian Church determined to silence him, and drive him from the sacred soil of the "Old Dominion." They followed him with ecclesiastical persecution; the Presbytery of Lexington, Va., suspended him, and presented him to the General Assembly as a setter forth of strange and unacceptable doctrines, offensive to the Churches of that region. Not heeding their "godly admonition," nor paying regard to their suspension, he with greater vigor and boldness denounced the iniquities which he beheld around him. He used his knowledge of the art of printing to publish and scatter his animadversions and denunciations against slavery, and gave himself and his adversaries no rest. Like the apostle, he asked those modern "rulers, elders, and scribes," "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; for I cannot but speak the things which I have seen and heard." In obedience, however, to the rules of the Presbytery, he appeared in due form before the General Assembly. There his presence and his arguments forced the question of slavery upon the rep-

resentatives of the Presbyterian Church. The Rev. Dr. Campbell, of Pittsburg, described the scene presented at one of his encounters with the magnates of that venerable judicature as one of exceeding interest. It took place in the city of Philadelphia. Dr. Campbell stated that he could only compare it to the appearance of Martin Luther before the Diet of Worms. On the side of the modern reformer, burning with zeal for the purification of the Church from the pollutions of slavery, were a few sympathizing friends; on the other were almost all the dignitaries of the Presbyterian Church, South and North; the occupants of the places of trust and power, clerical and lay, determined to silence this Antislavery advocate who would turn the Church and nation right side up. The scene was, indeed, one of transcendent interest, for there, in the consciousness of truth and right, and with the keen argument, wit, invective, and eloquence which distinguished him, the intrepid advocate of freedom proclaimed the truth as he held it, showing the modern Israel their sin in harboring slavery within the bosom of the Church. He drew from the armory of the Scriptures "the smooth stones from the brook," and with the sling of his transcendent logical and argumentative power he smote the Goliath of modern slavery some powerful blows. He so far convinced the Assembly by his able vindication of his course, that he was relieved from the ecclesiastical censures, and the suspension was removed. But as he still continued to preach against the system, he was again presented before the bar of the General Assembly, and again the vexed question was brought to the notice of the entire Church. For four successive sessions of the General Assembly, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, he compelled their attention, and as the result of these debates the resolutions known as the "Resolutions concerning Slavery of 1818" were passed. Meantime he had been compelled to quit Virginia, whence he removed to Germantown, near Philadelphia. The Minutes of the Presbyterian Church of those years present the case, of course, as favorably as they could for the slave-holding prosecutors of George Bourne, who by Jesuitical cunning endeavored to turn aside the force of his denunciation. The terrible results of the endeavor of that Church to compromise between the truths of the Gospel and the evils of slavery demonstrate the necessity

for promptness in resisting the beginnings of evil policy in the Churches.

After a few years' service in Germantown he was called to preside over the Academy at Sing Sing, Mount Pleasant, Westchester County, N. Y., and also to take pastoral charge over the Presbyterian Church there. In 1823, while at Mount Pleasant, he published a work called, "Lectures on the Progress and Perfection of the Church of Christ." In this book he concentrated the history of the Church, and in a very lucid manner portrayed its passage into the "Wilderness:" the heresies, persecutions, wickedness, and worldliness of the Anti-Church and Antichrist, which persecuted the true Church; unfolding also its gradual emergence out of the Wilderness, and with prophetic eye bringing to view the coming glory of the millennial kingdom.

About the year 1824 he was called from Mount Pleasant to take charge of the Congregational Church just commenced at Quebec, Canada, of which he was the first pastor. Here he beheld in full array "the Woman sitting upon the scarlet-colored Beast, and arrayed in purple and scarlet color, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls." In Quebec, at the time, Romanism was dominant, the Romish hierarchy had complete control over the entire province, and Mr. Bourne was now placed where he could observe with his penetrating eye the actual workings of a system to which he had given much attention and study. He now witnessed the evils of the system when it exercised unlimited power over its votaries. The slight check upon it from the nominal control of the British Government did not extend to social life, and Romanism had full sway. At that time, whenever the processions of the "Fête Dieu," "Corpus Christi," or other festivals of the Papacy, passed by, every one was compelled to kneel, or take his hat off, before the "Host" and the hierarchs accompanying. The few Protestants who then resided at Quebec chafed under the yoke, but George Bourne set them an example which animated their courage to resist compliance with the custom of "bowing down to idols." He passed, whenever necessary, with no recognition, made no obeisance, and yielded no homage to Rome's mandates. The priests and hierarchs were angry and alarmed when they saw that his example was

followed by the Protestants, and that, in so far, their prestige was being injured; but he cared for neither their frowns nor their threats. On the contrary, he began preaching against the errors of Rome with all the intrepidity which had marked his course in Virginia against slavery. Very soon he originated, and became Secretary of, the Quebec Bible Society, auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was also interested in the formation of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. He devoted much of his time to the study of Romanism from its authorized books, and from the practical exhibition of its results, as witnessed at that time in Quebec and in Canada generally. A good story is told of the manner in which he foiled a Romish priest and made him afraid to destroy Protestant Bibles. Mr. Bourne would loan copies of the Scriptures to any Roman Catholic who could be induced to read them. On one occasion a priest discovered a Romanist reading the Bible, and, demanding it from him, he carried it away to his own house so that the man "should not be injured by reading a heretic's Bible." The Romanist soon informed Mr. Bourne what had occurred; he at once put on his hat, and, taking his walking stick in hand, he proceeded to the priest's house, asked for him, and demanded the book. The priest at first refused, alleging that he had a right to take any heretical book away from his parishioners. But Mr. Bourne was too sharp for him; he told the priest that the book was the property of the Bible Society, and that if he did not return it to him before twelve o'clock next day he would have him arrested on the charge of robbery. The priest returned the book before that hour, and did not have the pleasure of making an *auto-da-fé* with it.

It required great courage to compel the priest to return the book, as the bigotry and hatred of heretics belonging to that sect was rampant at that time in Quebec, and his life was there at all seasons in danger in consequence of his fearless attacks upon the Papacy. He maintained the conflict, however, with great vigor, and became not only the champion of Protestant Christianity, but the emancipator of Protestants from the subserviency which had induced them to wink at compliance with Romish exactions. While other champions have arisen who have done valiantly for the Church of Christ against Rome, to

him belongs the credit of taking the early lead in the conflict against the Papacy in the United States. Having thoroughly investigated the system in Canada, he beheld with alarm the prospect of its growth in the United States, from the European immigration which commenced to increase in volume about the year 1828. He perceived that American Protestants knew but little of the dangers to be apprehended, and that few of the ministers knew much about the Papacy from actual experience of its power. He determined to return to New York and make it his special duty to withstand the inroads of Romanism, and arouse the attention of American Christians to the true character and design of the Papacy, and to the dangers which would environ the Republic should Popism gain ascendency. With this design he removed to New York in October, 1829, and on the first day of January, 1830, he commenced the publication of the "Protestant," the first journal published in America devoted to the Antipapal controversy. Its prospectus was commended by scores of the leading ministers of the various branches of the Church.

His trumpet blasts awoke the sleeping genius of Protestantism, and although many thought that his solicitude for the safety of the Republic, and of the Churches, was greater than necessary, and that his style of attack lacked in the *suaviter in modo*, yet none questioned his great ability to conduct the controversy which he originated against Romanism. Subsequent events have shown the guiding hand of Divine Wisdom in sending him to Canada to acquire that insight into the Papal system which fitted him afterward to arouse the Christian Churches to the conflict against its errors. When he raised the standard of Protestantism, in 1830, in New York, there was no "Protestant Society," no "Christian Alliance" or "Christian Union," to stand behind and encourage him. As with his work against slavery in Virginia, he had to commence single-handed, unsupported by any association. Having for years confronted the devotees of Rome in one of its chief strongholds, and waged bitter contest against them, and possessing an exhaustive knowledge of the rise, progress, and continued apostasies of the "Antichrist," the pseudo-Church "which persecuted the saints," he was not particular in his choice of epithets wherewith to characterize its hierarchs, its priest-

hood, and its false doctrines. Being profoundly versed in scriptural and prophetic lore, the strong terms and trenchant language used by the apostles concerning the predicted apostasy seemed to come first to his hand and tongue. Hence his writings abound with the epithets of the Apostles John, Paul, and Peter, concerning the "Man of Sin;" "Son of Perdition;" "Babylon the Great;" "the Scarlet Beast;" "the great Harlot;" "deceivers;" "false teachers;" "lying wonders;" "strong delusions," etc. He used the words Babylon and Babylonians interchangeably for Rome and Romanists. As he did not believe Romish baptism to be valid; Romish priests to be ordained ministers of the Gospel; the Romish mass a Divine ordinance; or Mariolatry and Papacy to be true Christianity, he conformed his language to his belief. The Romish house of worship to him was a "mass-house;" priests, "mass-mummers;" and convents and monasteries, "cages of unclean and hateful birds."

This style of language, so common among the Reformers, and among the sturdy Covenanters and the Irish Protestants of that day, while it served to stir up Protestants, did little toward the conversion of Romanists, who, being unaccustomed to the scriptural language of the apostles, supposed that they were the objects of a tirade of abuse, and, shutting their ears, failed to understand the force of his arguments and demonstrations drawn from Scripture, history, and reason. He frequently met the fierce opposition of men influenced by prejudice and passion, who could not bear in patience his exposition of the doctrinal errors and "pernicious ways" of their priestly leaders; but he braved all the storms which he raised, and accomplished his purpose of arousing Protestant Christians against the insidious designs of the Jesuits and other emissaries of Rome in the United States. He had the satisfaction of being at last supported by a goodly array of the ministry and the wise-hearted among the laity who influenced public opinion. He was the originator of the "Protestant Reformation Society," which led to other associations, the Christian Alliance being one of them; these after a time united, and were merged into the "American and Foreign Christian Union," a society which for many years maintained a good conflict against the Papacy.

He continued the publication of the "Protestant" for three years, and a constant controversy against the hierarchy of Rome; preaching and lecturing incessantly against Romanism, and pointing out the political dangers which have been so lamentably verified since the control of the Tammany Hall organization passed into the hands of the hierarchy, by the connivance of ambitious and designing political demagogues. Dr. W. C. Brownlee became his principal coadjutor, and the "Protestant Vindicator" succeeded to the "Protestant," which maintained the controversy for some years longer. But he did not forget his ancient foe, slavery; he was equally devoted to the destruction of that iniquitous system, and as a result of his labors, coupled with those of Mr. Garrison, who had established the "Liberator" in Boston, in 1831, the "American Antislavery Society" was formed. Thereafter his attention was divided between the two foes of the Republic and of a pure Christianity. He traversed the Eastern and Middle States extensively, lecturing and preaching against either of them or both, as seemed necessary. It was said of him and of his associates, as of the apostles at Thessalonica, "Here come those who turn the world upside down." Besides his constant labor of editing, preaching, and lecturing, he wrote miscellaneous articles chiefly against the "twin systems of error," and several books intended to arouse the sympathies of the North against slavery.

Under the title of "Picture of Slavery in the United States," he published his former work, originally printed in Virginia, "The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable," adding largely to it from his personal recollections of the system and its evils, and illustrated with pictures of scenes that had occurred under his notice there. He also published "Slavery Illustrated in its Effects upon Woman," depicting the terrible social evils resulting from the complex features of Southern society, and the laws regulating slavery. These publications drew upon him a storm of censure and abuse from the South, and denunciations from the proslavery press and ministry of the day, but opened the eyes of the lovers of freedom, and nerved them to greater boldness. These books contain the system of "abolition without compensation" which became the shibboleth of the Garrison wing of Abolitionists.

Picture of Slavery.

To those who have not seen the volume it may be well to present a few extracts from Bourne's "Picture of Slavery in the United States," the first portion of which embodied much of the text of the book published by him in Harrisonburg, Va., about the year 1812. In one of the paragraphs of the introductory chapter the following appears:

Will subsequent ages credit so monstrous a statement—that *preachers of the Gospel* eighteen hundred years after angels had sung "On earth peace, good-will to men!" were proverbially devoted participants in all the enormities and iniquity of man-stealing?—P. 9.

That any person should have effrontery sufficient to commence and persist in an infernal trade with the bodies and souls of men, where the illumination of the Gospel determines our duties, responsibility, and destiny, is proof, more than ample, of the innate tendency of the human race to every moral obliquity. What apology shall be patiently heard at the present era for upholding a traffic which necessarily includes every species of iniquity, and which is the offspring of an unhallowed avarice that conducts to hell?—P. 9.

The conduct of religious professors and rulers loudly demands the severest castigation.—P. 10.

Slavery originated in avarice, indolence, treachery, evil concupiscence, and barbarity; and its constant fruits have been robbery, disease, FAITHLESSNESS, profligacy of every species, and murder. Crimes of every degree, and blood-stained with all hues of *atrocity and cruelty*, have incessantly marked its course, until, after three hundred years of infernal desolations, the long-suffering of God and the patience of man are almost exhausted.—P. 81.

Effects of Slavery on the Slave-holders.

1. The first effect of slavery. It inflames them with haughty self-conceit.
2. A marble-hearted insensibility.—P. 86.
3. They become sensual, and lose that instinctive pudicity which God, for the wisest and holiest purposes, has implanted in the hearts of mankind.—P. 87.
4. Slave-holders are always irascible and turbulent.—P. 98.
5. It destroys every correct view of equity, and fills the practitioner of the system with all injustice and knavery.—P. 104.
6. It renders men violent in cruelty.—P. 122.
7. It is the prolific source of all infidelity and irreligion.—P. 131.

The illustrations used in connection with the foregoing propositions were so startling as to arouse that intense aversion to slavery at the North that marked the controversy. In his prelude to this portion of his book he says:

> Time and labor are too precious to be wasted in boyish fencing with a blunt lash, and shooting, children-like, with pop-guns.

THE PRESENT CONTEST IS A WAR FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF SLAVERY!

> The period has arrived when slavery must be entirely abolished. To tolerate its abominations for an hour extends a pestilence through the Union, adds fuel to the volcano which is ready to burst forth with all its devastating fury upon the Republic, increases a mass of moral corruption which now is mortifying in the body politic, and with the most open, provoking effrontery calls for the vengeance of Heaven, and the retributive curse of God upon our guilty country. What citizen with a sane mind can possibly suppose that the righteous Arbiter of Providence will much longer permit a horde of oppressors, haughty, presumptuous, "past feeling, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful," profligate, unrighteous, turbulent, persecutors, cruel, impious in principle and filled with all practical ungodliness, to doom two millions of our fellow-immortals, American citizens, to every contrivance of misery and vice here, (and to hell hereafter,) only to gratify their atrocious hardheartedness and lusts, and to glut their insatiate thirst for despotism and blood?
>
> The only effectual and Christian method to remove the danger and curse of kidnapping, with all its ferocity, anguish, and crimes, is evident: instantly, universally, and altogether, to proclaim liberty to the captives, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.—P. 136.

It was from these and other like statements in regard to slavery and the slave-holders, that the early abolitionists drew their "inspiration" in their attacks upon that system. Accepting these views and principles, Mr. Garrison received and held aloft the abolition standard on which these legends were inscribed: "Abolition without compensation;" "No compromises with slave-holders;" "No communion with men-stealers;" "The contest is a war for the *extermination of slavery*."

The results of their efforts have become historical, terminating only after the moral warfare became first political, then sectional, and finally an armed strife involving the loss of over a million of lives, five thousand millions of dollars, and a legacy

of two thousand millions of war debt, and hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans. Had the energies of the three Pioneers been devoted to the work of insuring the passage of laws securing to the slave-owners one thousand millions of dollars in bonds, payable from proceeds of revenues and lands, it is possible that the terrible price paid for the freedom of the slaves might have been saved. But "what might have been" cannot be known until the last scene in the grand displays of divine Omnipotence shall have been enacted, the great books of God's Omniscience shall be opened, and the universe shall resound with glad hosannas and hallelujahs to Him "who doeth all things well."

As a corroboration of the fact that the opposition to slavery sprang from within the pale of the Churches, and not merely from the benevolent impulses of humanitarians, the following extracts will be timely. At the close of the "Picture of Slavery" is an article entitled

MANSTEALING AND SLAVERY DENOUNCED BY THE PRESBYTERIAN AND METHODIST CHURCHES.

At a meeting of delegates to form a National Antislavery Society, convened at Philadelphia, December 4, 1833, it was

Resolved, That George Bourne, William Lloyd Garrison, and Charles W. Dennison, be a committee to prepare a synopsis of Wesley's Thoughts on Slavery, and of the Antislavery items in the note formerly existing in the Catechism of the Presbyterian Church of the United States; and of such other similar testimony as they can obtain, to be addressed to Methodists, Presbyterians, and all professed Christians in this country, and published under the sanction of this convention.

In conformity with that appointment the committee selected from the records of the Presbyterian Church every article of general interest which adverts to this momentous subject. This they published under the title of "Presbyterianism and Slavery." They also published, under the title of "Methodism and Slavery," all that is admitted as obligatory in the Methodist Discipline, with every thing material in the tract of John Wesley respecting slavery.

These, with other valuable articles, appeared as an Appendix to the "Picture of Slavery," and afford important aid to those who seek for information upon those topics.

Many of the old citizens of New York remember the bitterness of the contest, the stormy meetings, the continual uproar,

and the frequent mobs and riots which the Antislavery controversy occasioned in New York as well as in numerous other localities. Some have thought that, if the doctrine of "compensated emancipation" had been presented instead of Abolition, the result would have been achieved without the terrible expenditure of life and treasure which eventuated. Others believe that no moral suasion or offered compensation could have removed the curse of slavery, and that it is useless in this case to speculate on "what might have been"—we know what was, and what has been—and that perhaps Divine Justice required the awful retribution of blood for blood. In this view it would seem that this eminent servant of God was *conscious of a mission*, that he could not avoid the duty allotted to him, and that his courage, fidelity, and intrepidity were bestowed upon him to enable him to discharge the task. A striking instance of his courage was admiringly related by the late Thomas Downing and by Dr. Henry Highland Garnet, as occurring during the Antislavery riots in New York about the year 1834.

An Antislavery meeting was held at Broadway Hall, in Broadway above Howard Street, next to the famous Tattersalls. That large, quaint building stood gable end to the street, and its sloping roof descended just below the side windows of the hall of meeting. Among other noted speakers Mr. Garrison was present; while the exercises were progressing, an onslaught was made upon the meeting by the "plug-uglies," "butt-enders," "subterraneans," and other ruffians, sworn to exterminate the Abolition fanatics. Armed with sticks and clubs, and with a furious noise, they rushed upon the terrified audience, aiming particularly, however, at the rostrum and the speakers. Mr. Garrison was safely got away through one of the side windows. George Bourne stood forth to receive the "Tammany Braves," and placing his cane before him with hands extended he said, "Stand back, ye villains! what do you want here? Stand back, I say!" The leaders and the advancing band stood still for a moment in astonishment and mute admiration of the courage of the burly looking "dominie," whose splendid physique and fearless eye showed them an undaunted foe. At last one of them swung his hat, and cried out "Three cheers for the dominie!" which they gave with a

will, and, leaving him unmolested, they chased out the remainder of the audience, who were glad to escape without personal violence. Garrison, the special object of their venom, escaped unharmed. The Pioneer of Antislavery and "Antipopery" had so frequently faced excited crowds and angry mobs as to be quite prepared for such demonstrations. But the limits of this sketch permit only a glance at his persistent labors in his busy ministerial life of over forty years, during which he originated and took large share in the arduous work of the great controversies mentioned, in their preliminary stages. Shortly after his return to New York from Canada, he united with the Reformed (Dutch) classis of New York, of which he continued a member until his death. His first pastoral charge in New York was in Provost-street, (now Franklin,) afterward at Houston and Forsyth Streets, and subsequently at West Farms, but most of his time was devoted to the controversy against Popism and slavery.

In addition to his labors of preaching, lecturing, and journeying in forming Antislavery and Reformation societies, he edited and had republished many of the controversial works of the sixteenth and following centuries. Among others Fulke's "Confutation of the Rhemish Testament Notes, and the Rhemish Testament;" Baxter's "Key for Catholics, or Jesuit Juggling;" Scipio De Ricci's "Female Convents;" "Secreta Monita," of the Jesuits; "Taxatio Papalis;" "History of the Waldenses;" "Middleton's Letters from Rome;" "Luther, on the Galatians;" "Davenant on Colossians;" Bower's "History of the Popes," etc.

Mr. Bourne was one of the most indefatigable students and workers of his day. He was scarcely ever without pen and paper, or book, in hand, even at his meals. In addition to the constant demand upon him for matter for his paper, he was incessantly preparing articles for magazines, editing and indexing books; reading, revising, and preparing books for the press, for the Harpers, the Appletons, and other publishers. To avoid "rusting out" he was also engaged lecturing and preaching, Sabbaths and week-days. Very few men surpassed him in the variety and extent of his literary acquirements. To great mathematical knowledge he added large attainments in philological lore, and as a linguist he ranked high.

His proficiency in the Hebrew language was shown in his preparation of the English-Hebrew portion of Roy's Hebrew Lexicon. His memory was exceedingly retentive, and was stored with treasures culled from the richest sources. It was said of him that he was a living concordance, gazetteer, Bible dictionary, etc. His general style of preaching was extempore and incisive. He was a fluent speaker, forcible, convincing, eloquent, and at times terrible in his denunciations of the giant evils and iniquities of this era. Multitudes thronged to hear him wherever he was announced to speak upon these topics. Rev. Dr. W. C. Brownlee was wont to say, "There were two men to whose preaching he *always* listened with delight—Rev. Dr. Alexander and George Bourne." Among the books of which he was the author are the following, in addition to those referred to: "Picture of Quebec," "Old Friends," "The Reformers," "Lorette, the History of a Canadian Nun;" also, his masterly analysis of the history, doctrines, and practices of the Church of Rome, published under the title of "American Text-Book of Popery," and "Illustrations of Popery." This was pronounced by Rev. Dr. Dowling, compiler of the "Pictorial History of Romanism," the best compendium on Popism, especially for ministers and students, that has ever appeared. It was the result of forty years of study and thorough acquaintance with every phase of the controversy. It is the concentrated information derived from over seven hundred volumes of writings of the most noted doctors, bishops, deans, cardinals, saints, and popes of the Romish Antichurch, and of the Greek, Oriental, and English Churches, and of the "Fathers" and historians of the first four centuries. It is a picture of Romanism drawn from its own records, chapter and verse being given for every quotation. It contains also a chronological table of the date of every corruption and innovation upon the apostolic simplicity and primitive usages of the Churches of Christ. The argument from history which he has thus presented is a very strong one against the pretensions of the Papal hierarchy to be "the Church of Christ founded by the Apostle Peter." He has therein demonstrated it to be the mystical Babylon, begun in apostasy from the faith, amplified by succeeding teachers of errors during centuries of increasing corruption, and fully displayed as the Antichrist by the Council of Trent.

Mr. Bourne possessed a cheerful disposition, and the fruits of pure and active religion were manifested in his daily walk and conversation. His faith was ardent; no doubts of the sovereignty of God or of the final accomplishment of his designs ever entered into his mind. His discriminating eye beheld in the events of the passing period the glimmering of the dawn which precedes the rising of the millennial day. He recognized the approach of the Sun of Righteousness who will dispel the moral darkness of pagan and papal superstitions, and believed that the predictions of the Divine oracles in regard to the "Mystery of Iniquity" are in process of fulfillment; and in the expositions of those prophecies he constantly delighted. Religion was the medium through which he viewed all sublunary things, and to which all his labors were made subservient. His love of the truth was so strong, and his zeal in its defense so great, that sometimes he appeared to transcend the limits of gentleness in his controversial writings. This was partly the result of an ardent temperament, and partly because of his own keen perception of the truth; owing to this he did not so well realize the position of some of those in mental darkness, who, from wrong education, powerful discipline, evil habits, innate proclivities, and selfish bias, were impervious to the light, and yet might be better approached by gentle arguments than by open denunciation. Some have supposed that, at times, more of the *suaviter in modo*, combined with his *fortiter in re*, would have rendered his labors still more extensively useful in the conversion of the devotees of Rome and of slavery; but no one doubted his whole-souled devotedness and sincerity in his life-work of the destruction of those evil systems. With regard to other matters, and in the social relations of life, Mr. Bourne manifested cheerfulness, kindly interest, and sympathy toward all. In personal appearance he was agreeable and prepossessing; of a vigorous frame and robust constitution; affable in manner, ready in conversation, and beloved by those who knew him best. He seemed to be in most respects eminently qualified to be the leader in developing one of those momentous changes in society which mark the onward progress of the race.

In all the great movements in human affairs and events which have changed the current of history, or of reforms which have turned human activities into new channels, one in-

dividual has been usually selected or permitted by Divine Providence to "blow the trumpet," to "sound the alarm," and marshal the forces to the conflict. The cause and the individual at the outset are almost identical, and the "trumpeter," usually also the standard-bearer, has frequently had to advance to moral battle-fields almost alone, depending upon the aid of an Almighty arm, (invisible to others.) While thus beginning to attack the strongholds of error, responsive minds and sympathetic hearts gather round the messenger; the cause is extended by agitation and strengthened by accessions, until, after much conflict, often "*vi et armis*," the victory is accomplished.

It was thus with the originator of the "Antislavery conflict." Believing that all other preceding modes and plans of opposing slavery were futile and incompetent for the mighty task, he felt called upon to institute a new form—that of

IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL EMANCIPATION.

He looked upon slavery not merely as an evil, but as a SIN, and consequently his message was "to stop sinning!" "For that there is no excuse or allowance." Other plans had regarded slavery as an evil to be mitigated or removed by pliant means and remedial measures; his method viewed slave-holding as the giant sin of the country, to be destroyed root and branch without remedy. With that view of the subject he entered into the moral conflict, with nothing but the sling of argument, and the smooth stones of God's word, at a time when the leaders of the American "Israel" were either quiescent or terrified by the "giant" of slavery. The testimony of John Wesley against slavery as "the sum of all villainies" was already hateful to Southern Methodists, and Northern Methodists were learning to whisper the adage with bated breath, for fear of offending "their Southern brethren," and the testimony of the Book of Discipline against the system was practically ignored. George Bourne arraigned not only the Presbyterian Churches for their complicity with the system, but notably the Southern Methodist and Baptist Churches as well. By his "Picture of Slavery," and by his labors among the Methodist Churches, North, he aroused many of the Northern preachers to that enthusiasm for liberty which culminated in the division of the M. E. Church.

The Southern Churches regarded George Bourne as an "agitator," a "firebrand," a "disturber of their peace," and the Northern proslavery ministers and presses opposed and calumniated him with much vigor. Religious newspapers, which then bespattered him with reproaches and ridicule, have, since the edict of Emancipation, been loud in praise of those who carried out his plans and methods. Some have had the candor to admit that his estimate of slavery and his prescience far excelled their own.

The limits of this sketch will permit no further extended notice of his busy life. Toward its close he gave his principal attention to the contest against the papal hierarchy, leaving that against slavery to the abolitionists under Mr. Garrison, and the antislavery men under their various names and leaders. He was for some years acting editor of the "Christian Intelligencer," the organ of the Reformed Dutch Church, in whose office, then situated in Fulton-street, the present site of the Fulton-street Union Prayer-Meeting, he received the heavenly message to "come up higher." On the afternoon of November 20, 1845, while seated in his usual place reading his letters, he was seized with an attack resembling apoplexy. Physicians were sent for, but in less than forty minutes, and before their arrival, he had calmly breathed his life away. The attack was pronounced one of heart disease. So far as mortal judgment can decide, he was ready for the glorious change, and "made meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light," having long enjoyed "the peace of God, which passeth understanding," through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus ended, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, the life of the intrepid pioneer of antislavery. The funeral services were held in the Middle Dutch Church, corner of Lafayette Place and Fourth-street, on the Sabbath following, the 23d of November. Rev. Thomas De Witt, in the course of his remarks, said of him, that, like as was said of John Knox, the Scottish Reformer, "There lies one who never feared the face of man." To use the language of another, who ardently loved him—Lewis Tappan:—

Thus has fallen an intrepid advocate of human rights, with his harness on, in a vigorous old age, after a life of singular health, activity, and usefulness. His death is a severe loss to the Anti-

slavery cause, the cause of Protestant Christianity, and the Republic of Letters. Throughout his whole life he was an example of laborious efforts for the intellectual, moral, and physical good of his race. He was the vindicator of oppressed humanity, and labored incessantly for the deliverance of men from political, ecclesiastical, and physical bondage. He was as bold and uncompromising as John Knox, and dealt hard blows, but not with an unamiable temper, upon the foes of truth, freedom, and Christianity. He was a man of wit, keen in his invectives, and terrible in his rebukes. He was honest, sincere, frank, intrepid, self-denying, laborious, "fearing neither wicked men nor the devil."

This concise and eloquent analysis of his character and labors was from one of his coadjutors, who knew him long and intimately, and rendered him much aid in doing his life-work. His opponents, who received the hard blows which he dealt at the false systems which he attacked, perceived only the sterner side of his character, and supposed him to be severe and harsh in temper, but he was only so against systems and those who supported error knowingly; to others he was affable, genial, and tender, always ready to sympathize and side with the oppressed of every nation.

It would appear, as has been said, as if he were "conscious of a mission," and could not rest while the American Churches tolerated slavery. Like the ancient prophet, applying the words to our American Israel, he could say, with burdened feeling:

> "For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace,
> And for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest,
> Until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness,
> And the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth."

Art. VI.—THE METHODIST ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE.

Now that the Methodist Ecumenical Conference, which was held in City Road Chapel, London, September 7–20, 1881, has become an accomplished fact, and has entered into history, it may be proper to inquire whether the results realized, and likely to be realized, justify the toil, time, and expenditure involved in the holding of such a Church Council. What were

the expectations of those who persistently urged forward the great movement, is matter of record.

In the first address sent forth by the Committee of Correspondence appointed by the General Conference of 1876, the following considerations were presented in favor of a General Methodist Council:

That such an Ecumenical Conference would be a great blessing to the Church and the world can hardly be questioned. It would tend to harmonize and unify the different Methodist organizations, to break down caste and local prejudices, and to bind together in closest fellowships a people essentially one in doctrine, spirit and purpose. It would lead to such adjustments of the missionary work as to prevent friction and waste. It could not but be extremely suggestive in regard to modes and agencies for the more successful performance of the Church's work of evangelization.

It would, doubtless, give a great impulse to the cause of Temperance and of Sabbath observance, to Sunday-schools, and to all the beneficent activities of the Church. The relation of Methodism, as a whole, to education, to civil government, to other Christian bodies, and to the world-wide mission work, would certainly come to be better understood. In a word, an increase of Christian intelligence, of conscious spiritual power, and of faith in the redemption of the race from the bondage and degradation of vice and immorality, would, without question, be realized. A more earnest consecration, an intenser glow of enthusiasm, a more daring purpose of evangelism, and, consequently, more powerful revivals and larger beneficences in every department of Christian endeavor, would mark the future progress of the Church. Such an Ecumenical Conference of Methodists would, moreover, attract the attention of scholars, thinkers, and reformers, and would lead to a discussion of the movement, and of the whole Methodist history, work, and mission, in every leading newspaper and periodical in Christendom. Methodism has every thing to gain and nothing to lose by this discussion.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, adopted a report favoring the proposed Conference, May 8, 1878, which contains the following words:

The great achievements of Christianity have, however, always been the *unseen*, the "mighty working" of a kingdom which "cometh without observation;" and we should look for the greatest and most pervasive benefits of an Ecumenical Conference of Methodism in its effect upon the *spirit*, the *experience*, the *hopes* and *zeal*, of so great a people. The dying words of our father under God, "The best of all is, God is with us," would have a new meaning to those assembled in such a Conference, and "the

fruit" of such a state of mind communicated to those who sent them "would shake like Lebanon."

Other Methodist bodies expressed similar convictions, and there were individuals of prominence and influence in every part of the Methodist domain who were enthusiastically in favor of the movement. But, on the other hand, "some doubted," a few "snuffed at it," and many were indifferent. The time has now come to consider results. The first Methodist Ecumenical Conference is already a thing of the past. Something has been secured in the way of achievement. A great fact has been imbedded in Methodist history, a fact which, in the judgment of many, marks an epoch in its marvelous career. We may, doubtless, as a world-wide body, represented in a constituent assembly, lift up our Ebenezer with pious assurance. and say, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us."

That the Conference, in every particular, met the expectations of the Church, or realized the ideas of the projectors, is not to be presumed. The work was new, the distances for correspondence and intercourse great, the modes of ecclesiastical procedure in the different Methodist bodies somewhat diverse, the convictions as to what might, or might not, properly be introduced into such an assembly wide apart, and the necessity for compromise and conciliation on all sides quite imperative. The leading men in the different Methodist bodies in many cases did not know each other except by general reputation, and in some instances had been long alienated from each other. There had been separation, strife, hot blood, and the clash of arms; and to some extent the noise of the battle still sounded, and the wounds received were not wholly healed. The rules and regulations adopted for the government of the Conference were differently interpreted on opposite sides of the Atlantic, and needed careful re-adjustment after the sessions had commenced. The restrictions imposed were, perhaps, needlessly severe; but an excess of caution was to be preferred to even possible disturbance of harmony. With increased confidence will come larger liberty, and another Ecumenical Conference will assemble under quite different conditions. It was necessary that every Methodist body should be represented on the programme, and this prevented, in some instances, the best possible selection of essayist or invited speaker. The denomina-

tional relation as well as the competency of the candidate had to be considered. But the intellectual loss was slight, and the fraternal gain immense. Some topics required ampler discussion, and should have been allowed extended time, but such an arrangement would have brought more prominently to the front the leading men of the larger Methodist bodies; for the range of selection is much wider in those bodies. It was proper that the black man should have his place as well as the white; the mission fields in common with the home Churches were entitled to consideration; and not only ministers, but also laymen, had to be given an opportunity. It would have been better far for universal Methodism if Australia had been represented on the programme of exercises and in the chair of the Conference, even though some of the most eloquent voices of British Wesleyan Methodism had been silenced, and one less of her distinguished leaders had presided over this great Methodist convocation. In regard to the presidency of the Conference, it may be added, the committee of arrangements met with the same kind of embarrassment as in the selection of speakers. It was important that every great division of Methodism should be represented in the chair of the Conference. But the best men could not always be secured in this way, and a change of presidents every day involved some inconveniences. The Episcopal Churches could unquestionably have furnished the ablest presidents; but none of us would have been satisfied if the non-Episcopal bodies had not been represented in that high office. As it was, the British Wesleyan Conference, the Methodist New Connection, the Primitive Methodist, the United Methodist Free Churches, of Great Britain; and the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Protestant Church, in the United States; and the Methodist Church of Canada, had each its chosen representative in the chair of the Ecumenical Conference.

That this Methodist Pan-Council, notwithstanding all these difficulties and embarrassments, was a success, has been a blessing to the Church, and will be productive of great good hereafter, may be maintained from a number of considerations.

1. It was something that such a Conference was assembled; that every Methodist body, with no notable exception, was

represented; that of the four hundred chosen delegates hardly a score were absent, and they only because of sudden Providential hinderance; that many laymen were included in the list of members and were interested participators in the proceedings; and that the Conference, as a whole, was fairly representative of the business ability, the social position, the beneficent activities, the ripe culture, the earnest evangelism, the organized work, the brain, the heart, and the life of universal Methodism. Such a body was entitled to respect, and it received it.

2. There was genuine fraternity and growing fraternity from the beginning to the end. Men who parted in anger thirty years ago, and who had not spoken to each other since, met as brethren, shook hands in friendship, and wept and worshiped together, as they remembered how the Lord had brought again Zion. Delegates from the United States, Episcopal and non-Episcopal, from the North and from the South, passed days and weeks in each others' society, in travel and in the Council, without ever a harsh word being spoken, without a feeling of unkindness, and without a question that they were all one in Christ Jesus. The different Methodisms of the world came better to know and more highly to appreciate each other. Brotherly love was immensely increased. It was plainly seen that, with different polities, and working in various ways, the several Methodist organizations all cherished the same doctrines and sought the same end. The members of the Conference had a common religious experience, and whenever a vital truth of the spiritual life was touched the same thrill of love and sympathy stirred and united all hearts. Never before in the history of Methodism was the feeling of brotherhood among all branches of the family so tender and powerful as it is to-day. The members of the Council mingled freely together, and who were Bishops, who ministers, and who laymen, could not always be easily determined. The example of such a spirit of unity and fraternity is of inestimable value. It is an edifying spectacle to the Christian world.

3. If any measure of the wicked spirit of caste remained in the Churches of Methodism, it must have been fatally struck down at this Ecumenical Conference. The black men who were delegates were treated precisely as if they had been white men. There were no distinctions whatever. The seats

assigned to the representatives of the colored Churches were as desirable and prominent as any seats in the house. Men of African descent had their places on the programme side by side with the ablest ministers and most distinguished laymen of the Caucasian bodies. Rev. William Arthur, M.A., and Bishop L. H. Holsey, of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of America, were called to the platform at the same time, one as essayist and the other as invited speaker. So also of Rev. Joseph Wood, M.A., Primitive Methodist Church, and Rev. J. M'H. Farley, of the Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, who bought himself and his wife and children out of slavery. The Rev. Bishop D. A. Payne, D.D., African Methodist Episcopal Church, was followed by Rev. Joseph Kirsop, of the United Methodist Free Church. Rev. Charles Garrett, British Wesleyan, read an essay, and Rev. E. W. S. Peck, one of the colored delegates of the Methodist Episcopal Church, delivered the invited address. Rev. Bishop J. P. Thompson, of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, discussed, in an essay, "Innovations upon Established Methodist Usages and Institutions," and Rev. Dr. S. Antliff, of the Primitive Methodist Church of Great Britain, filled the place of invited speaker. The colored brethren took their full part in the voluntary discussions. They seemed to be readily recognized by the chair, and were listened to with an interest amounting almost to greediness by the British public—a fact which they were not slow to perceive. In society they were every-where welcomed and treated with marked consideration. They dined with Reverends and Honorables at the table of the Lord Mayor of London, and at the most exclusive boards of the aristocracy of English metropolitan Methodism. One of the African delegates declared that he did not know that he was black except when he looked in the glass. The Business Committee placed in the chair of the Conference, September 17, Rev. Bishop D. A. Payne, D.D., the senior superintendent of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and no delegate hinted dissent. The gentle and self-possessed Bishop performed his duties to the entire satisfaction of the Conference; and, in response to his invitation, such men as Rev. Dr. J. M. Reid, Rev. E. E. Jenkins, M.A., ex-President British Wesleyan Conference, Rev. Dr. J. H. Rigg, and Rev. R. S. Maclay, D.D., came forward and dis-

charged their assigned duties. Who will say that that day in City Road Chapel was not an eventful one in the history of Methodism, and in the progress of the race? But what would have been thought of the man who, twenty years ago, had made a prediction that, in the year 1881, a negro Bishop would preside, in the city of London, over a great Ecumenical Conference, representing the Methodism of the world?

It deserves to be placed on record that the colored brethren bore themselves with meekness and becoming modesty in the midst of their many honors, and that their part in the exercises of the Conference and in the outside meetings was, in the main, most creditably performed. It ought also to be stated that the men of African descent were treated with no more respect and kindness by any person than by the delegates of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In the Conference and out of it, they were as courteous and brotherly in their bearing toward the colored representatives as if they had been the recognized leaders and princes of the Methodist Israel.

4. This Ecumenical Conference has certainly secured for Methodism a more general consideration, from all classes, in all countries, than it had ever previously received. The secular as well as the religious journals have discussed the great movement which, beginning with the Wesleys and their fellow-laborers, has extended into all lands, and won its triumphs among all conditions of mankind. Some of the criticisms of the Conference and of Methodism have been unjust, snarling, and captious, but these have been the exception and not the rule. In general, the public journals have candidly and cordially conceded the power and excellence of the work wrought by Methodism. It has been fairly acknowledged that Methodism is a great revival and reformatory power; that its spirit is earnest, aggressive, and diffusive; that its peculiar polity is pre-eminently adapted to evangelistic and missionary labors; that its organizing force conserves, develops by activity, and trains for holiness and usefulness, those who have been saved from their sins and made members of the Divine household; and that the whole movement has been kept in the line of its original purpose to spread scriptural holiness, to bring sinners to repentance, and to hasten the establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom in all lands.

Another thing generally admitted in respect to Methodism, is the beneficial influence which it has exerted over all other evangelical bodies. It has imparted a measure of its spiritual life to every religious organization with which it has come in contact. The whole Protestant world has felt the influence of this manifestation of "Christianity in earnest." Methodism does not advance as rapidly in comparison with other evangelical Churches as it once did, for the reason that it has so thoroughly Methodized those bodies. Its members and children are at home in those Churches, because they find there the spiritual life which was first excited or kindled into a glow at Methodist altars. Rev. R. W. Dale, a leading English Congregational minister, and well known in this country, in a great meeting held in the Town Hall in Birmingham, said:

He might, perhaps, be permitted to regard himself that evening as the humble representative of those various Churches scattered all over the world who, from year to year, and from generation to generation, thanked God for the fire kindled in the hearts of their ecclesiastical ancestors by that great movement of which the Methodists were the living representatives. What would have happened to the Christianity of this land but for the descent of the fire from heaven which came upon their fathers? They (the Congregationalists) had a history stretching back some three centuries. It was just three hundred years this very autumn since the Bishop of Norwich complained that Robert Brown was disturbing his diocese with doctrines which he looked upon with great alarm; and since then Congregationalism had been doing what lay in its power to sustain the religious life of England. But they had come to a condition of great weakness when the movement with which the Methodists were associated arose, and they would be ungrateful to those through whose ministry God conferred upon their fathers, and through them upon them, the highest and noblest blessings of his grace, if they did not bless God continually for Methodism.

In the criticisms on the Conference which have appeared in Europe and in this country, two points have been made, though in various forms, which may be briefly noticed. It has been avowed that the Conference was inclined to engage in laudations of Methodism. The *Nonconformist and Independent*, for instance, in an article generally commendable in its tone, says:

It might have been well if some friendly voice could have broken in upon the speeches of the early days to remind the Conference that Methodism and Christianity are not synonymous.

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It might have been said with just as much propriety of the Pan-Presbyterian Council, "Somebody should remind these Presbyterians that the Reformed Churches do not include the whole of Christianity." And if the *Nonconformist* had withheld its criticism till the close of the recent Congregational Union at Manchester, it might, perhaps, have felt disposed to say to that body, "All the Christianity in the world does not express itself in the Congregational forms." In truth all such criticisms are unjust and superficial. The Conference was a *Methodist* Conference; the Council was a *Presbyterian* Council; the Union was a *Congregational* Union. Neither one, so far as we remember, sought to exalt its own work and mission by a disparagement of other evangelical Churches. When God has accomplished a great work by any body of men, it is right that the fact should be mentioned. It is a Pharisaic humility which hesitates to magnify the grace of God in us. God has wrought a victory of faith through the Presbyterian Church, which justifies its Pan-Council and all its ministers and members in singing the long-meter doxology on every appropriate occasion. When the Congregational Union glorifies the principles of Congregationalism, we think of its three hundred years of history, of the obloquy and persecution patiently endured, and of the faith of the Gospel firmly maintained; and we feel less inclined to find fault than to join in its song of praise and triumph.

Methodism, after a century and a half of life, meets in its first Ecumenical Conference. It has grown from infancy to a stalwart manhood. It has had a struggling life, but a life of power. It has planted its victorious standards on many a shore. Its onward march has been militant but triumphant. "In time past" the Methodists were "not a people, but are now the people of God;" they "had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy." A Church has been raised up in the wilderness, saved out of the world, redeemed from the power of Satan. This Conference meets to consider the ways in which God has led his people, the work which has been accomplished, and the greater work which remains to be accomplished. It would have been strange if the Conference had not remembered that the words of Christ were the life of Methodism; if it had not made grateful recognition of the hand of God in its

marvelous history; if it had not given heed to the statistical results of the great movement; and if it had not recognized the power of Methodism to purify and elevate society, to influence other religious bodies, to promote great reforms, to advance the cause of Christian education, to use the press for the promotion of the Gospel, to carry forward missionary work in all the earth, to maintain Christian unity, and to make itself a bond of brotherhood among the nations. It is not strange that the evangelical agencies of Methodism were considered, that its possible perils were discussed, that its need of a trained and educated ministry was affirmed, that its work for different classes in society was reviewed, that its resources for the evangelization of the world were estimated, and that its catholicity —its earnest fellowship with all Christian workers—was distinctly and emphatically avowed. All this, to be sure, relates to Methodism, and Methodism was precisely the subject which the Conference had met to consider. It was not responsible for Congregationalism, or for any other form of the religious life. It considered its own work, its opportunity, and its accountability. But the intimation that the Conference thought Methodism synonymous with Christianity is unjust, unprovoked, and cruel. However high Methodism lifts its denominational standard, it lifts still higher the common banner of a crucified Lord; and it will be found standing side by side with all evangelical bodies in "the supreme conflict," as Mr. Dale expressed it, "between the freedom of the Protestant faith and the remaining power of Rome; between the truth of Christ and the spread of unbelief."

Another objection made is that the Conference was not properly ecumenical, that it was pretentious to use the word, that Methodism is but a small part of Christendom, and that a proof of its restricted development exists in the fact that the addresses made to the Conference were, with a single exception, delivered in the English language. It was never claimed that the Conference was ecumenical as it respects the whole Church, but only so far as Methodism is concerned. "Harper's Weekly," in its issue of Sept. 24, 1881, says:

> The great Methodist Council which is now sitting in London is a very interesting and important assembly, and in the truest sense ecumenical, as representing every part of a great Christian Church.

The members of the Conference came from all lands, and represented more countries and a greater extent of territory than any of the ancient ecumenical councils. It is true that the business was transacted in a single tongue; but that rather shows the diffusion, predominancy, and aggressive power of our English speech than limits the domain of the Conference; for the clerical members of the body are accustomed to preach, in their regular ministrations from Sabbath to Sabbath, not only in English, but also in German, French, Italian, Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, and in the various dialects of India and the islands of the South Pacific seas. We conclude, therefore, that it was not improper to describe the convocation held in City Road Chapel as a *Methodist* Ecumenical Conference. It is evident that the prediction of the Committee of Correspondence, appointed by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in May, 1876, that the proposed Ecumenical Conference of Methodists "would attract the attention of scholars, thinkers, and reformers, and would lead to a discussion of the movement and of the whole Methodist history, work, and mission, in every leading newspaper and periodical in Christendom," has had an abundant fulfillment. As was anticipated, Methodism had every thing to gain and nothing to lose by this examination and discussion. Never in its whole past history did the denomination stand so proudly before the world.

5. This Ecumenical Conference has rendered possible future Methodistic co-operation in England and America. That such co-operation is desirable does not need argument. The waste of money and men, resulting from unfriendly rivalry of different branches of the one Methodist family, is inexcusable folly and wickedness. There are serious evils in this connection to be removed, both in England and America. It is not proposed to discuss the question, "What constitutes a sufficient ground for independent denominational existence?" albeit it is a question which Methodism ought to consider. However this question may be answered, it is plain that Christian Churches, holding the same faith and maintaining substantially the same usages, ought to be friendly and co-operative bodies. The Conference has made this so plain that it now amounts to a conviction. The feeling and purpose of frater-

nity, if not of organic unity, is certainly growing among the different Methodist bodies in the British Empire. There are those who see the hand of God in these divisions of Methodism, but that great evils have resulted from them is beyond doubt, and whether their continuance is justifiable is now the question to be considered. We should be more active and powerful for good, as Professor E. H. Plumtre suggests, in a recent number of the "Contemporary Review," "if we were more than we are as lights shining in the world, winning men as they were won of old, not by skill of speech, but by the beauty of a life; if to the force of individual example we could add that of example corporate and combined, as seen in a united Church, a reunited Christendom. The true difficulties of faith, the most formidable weapons in the artillery of unbelief, are found in the unreality of our lives, the bitterness and triviality of our controversies." Let us hope that in the history of Methodism the era of trivial and bitter controversy has passed, and that in the future she may be able to furnish an "example corporate and combined" of a practically reunited Church as an argument and influence for a "reunited Christendom." The Methodists in England could, without fear, now hold a joint convention for the consideration of their common interests and work, and there is certainly nothing to hinder such a consummation in the United States. The American delegates in the Ecumenical Conference, episcopal and non-episcopal, white and black, were on the best of terms, and had a genuine spirit of fraternity and love to the very last hour of their pleasant and profitable intercourse. There is every reason to hope that the celebration of the centennial of our organized existence as an American Methodist Church, in 1884, will present us to the world as thoroughly one in spirit, concurrent in purpose, helping and not hindering each other, and gradually growing into closer organic relations. May the bright and hopeful prophecy of the clear-sighted William Arthur—"In the next Ecumenical Conference we shall have represented fewer Methodisms and more nationalities"—become a sure and glorious accomplishment!

The relation of the different Methodisms is not more vital anywhere than in the mission fields. Antagonism has, with rare exceptions, in the good providence of God, been avoided;

but contiguity, joint occupancy, and rival interests constantly tend to excite disturbances. Nowhere is it more important to remember that there is but one Methodism and one Christianity than in the presence of the heathen world. Co-operation, as well as fraternal feeling, is specially valuable, and makes possible a great economy of men and means in doing the work of evangelization in a papal or pagan country. If the advice of the Ecumenical Conference is regarded by the respective missionary authorities of the different Methodist organizations, harmony and efficiency will be secured. The report of the committee on the prevention of waste and warfare in the foreign missionary work, which was unanimously adopted, contained the following suggestions:

1. That any Methodist body desiring to take up a new mission field should, if possible, select one not occupied by any other Methodist body, or, if the field be large enough to admit of joint occupancy, a portion of the field should be chosen not already occupied by Methodists, or if the work must necessarily be intermingled, cities and towns not already occupied by Methodists should be chosen by those proposing to enter, always considering, however, that it may be important to have centers for each body in the capital cities of states and provinces, and that some cities are of such great population as to admit of joint occupancy. 2. In case of any trespass, real or imaginary, upon these guiding principles, we advise that the largest measure of forbearance and charity be exercised. Alienation or strife in the presence of those whom we come to save must be exceedingly disastrous. Let each case of alleged interference be fraternally and carefully examined by the missionaries, all the considerations, *pro* and *contra*, be carefully weighed, and a decision reached that shall not be tainted by any selfishness or desire for denominational aggrandizement, but solely influenced by pure and noble desires for the greatest glory of our common Master and the greatest good of his kingdom. 3. That when different bodies of Methodists, for any reason, have entered the same field, there should be the frankest and most brotherly mutual recognition, and, as far as possible, co-operation. Where this prevails, any evils that might possibly arise will be reduced to a minimum, and beneficial influences might even arise from the loving coexistence of the bodies in the same field.

The committee declined to recommend any joint council of reference, as such provision did not seem to be necessary; but it did suggest, as pertinent to the subject, "that the tone of home feeling and the practice of the home Churches must

inspire and influence the missionaries of the foreign fields in all their relations to each other. When the feeling of fraternity and catholicity has sufficiently penetrated the Churches at home, and influenced the home practices, there will be little likelihood of misunderstanding and collision in the mission field abroad."

The following resolution contemplates not only fraternity, but also practical alliance of means and energies in the work of foreign missions:

That it be submitted, and hereby is submitted, to the General Secretaries of the various Methodist bodies represented in this Conference, whether it might not be possible, by correspondence, to prepare a plan for co-operation in the establishment and support of training schools in foreign mission fields.

Provision was made for the publication of a "Year-Book of Statistics" for all Methodist bodies, and arrangements were initiated which will probably lead to a common Catechism, and possibly, though more remotely, to a common Hymn Book, for all Methodism. It was recommended to each Methodist body "to appoint one day in each year as a children's day for devotional services among children, as far as possible in harmony with other Methodist denominations in their respective localities."

The Conference issued an "Address" to the Methodists of the world, prepared by Bishop Peck, with, perhaps, here and there a conservative stroke from the hand of William Arthur, which has been widely published and read, and which must be productive of great good.

It was resolved to hold another Ecumenical Conference, in the United States, in 1887, and arrangements were made for the creation of an Executive Committee, for the distribution of the delegates among the different Methodist bodies, and for all other essential preliminary arrangements.

6. The Conference expressed its judgment clearly and powerfully on certain great moral questions which concern, not only Methodism, but the whole Christian world. It recognized the good which has resulted from the prohibition of the common sale of intoxicating liquors on the Lord's Day in Scotland, Ireland, and other places, and commended the principle of this legislation. It approved the labors of Christian women in connection with orphan houses, hospitals, and institutions

of a kindred character, and also in the promotion of the great work of foreign missions. It said, on the last day of its session, that the subject of Temperance had been so prominently before the Conference, and its judgment had been so pronounced in condemnation of the great evil, that any further deliverance on that subject was not required. It declared that the growth and manufacture of opium, and its importation into China, "under the direct sanction of the British government, and as virtually a government monopoly, is a serious obstacle to the spread of Christianity in China." It commended "to the sympathy and support of the Churches all wise and well-directed efforts to substitute arbitration or other forms of amicable and pacific references in the settlement of international differences in place of an appeal to the sword, and thus help to hasten the coming of that reign of peace so closely associated by promise and prophecy with the ultimate triumph of Christianity." It remonstrated against all efforts to legalize vice under any pretense or for any purpose.

The Conference, beyond all dispute, rendered the ties tenderer and stronger which bind together the two great English-speaking Protestant powers of the earth, and so substantially advanced the cause of righteousness and peace. It is a significant fact that the English people, especially in religious circles, no longer call the Americans "cousins," but "brothers."

An American journal of the highest rank, discussing, a year ago, the Pan-Presbyterian Council and the proposed Methodist Ecumenical Conference, said:

> We shall watch these great movements with growing interest. We trust that Council and Conference will not be rival, but co-operative institutions, and that they will show a catholic spirit toward each other; and we can assure the able and godly men who will compose these important bodies, that many who are not Christians, and many who are in the realms of doubt and disbelief, will look to their proceedings for fresh assurance that the Christian Church is in harmony with the ripest culture and best thought of the age, and has still a great work of beneficence and uplifting to accomplish for all classes and conditions of our fellow-men.

The "trust" was not misplaced. A thoroughly catholic and co-operative spirit has characterized both Council and Confer-

ence. A fraternal Address from the Pan-Presbyterian Council was presented to the Conference by the hand of Mr. Hugh Matheson, expressing "a very profound appreciation of the great spiritual work with which the name of Methodism is associated, and affirming the beneficial influence which, indirectly, that work has had on other Churches." The Address declares that "the Church of God on earth, though composed of many members, is one body in the communion of the Holy Ghost, of which body Christ is the Supreme Head, and the Scriptures alone are the infallible law." It seems to us that, on this basis, not only the Churches holding the Presbyterian system, but all the Churches of Protestantism, might form an alliance. The Address expresses the desire that "this Ecumenical Conference may one day have a wider scope, and may lead ultimately to closer relations among Christian Churches which, however separated otherwise, are near each other in their faith, their spirit, and their aims." The Conference adopted an excellent response to this address, written by Dr. James M. Buckley, and containing the following pledge of fraternal co-operation:

> Whatever the struggles awaiting the Christian Church may be, we shall confidently rely upon you to defend evangelical principles against extremes of Romanism and Rationalism, and against all "Romanizing germs" in the Protestant communions; and in dependence upon the God of our fathers we pledge you the co-operation of all true Methodists every-where. Permit us, in conclusion, honored fathers and brethren, to express the hope that your prosperity in Christ may increase more and more, and that all who love the Lord Jesus in truth, as it is justly set forth in the "Preface to the Harmony of the Confessions of the Reformed Churches," being by a friendly league united together in Christ, may vanquish all antichrists, and may sing that hymn to the Lord our God, "Behold how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

We believe that a council of all Protestant Churches, to consider the things which they hold in common, to combine their influence against the forces of sin and Satan, and for the maintenance of the great cardinal doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, and to devise ways and means for the more successful prosecution of the work of God, would mark the brightest epoch in the history of our race. Such a council would confound infidelity and stop the mouths of gainsayers. It would advance

the spiritual life in all Protestant bodies; it would elevate the standard of Christian morals; it would secure a growing reverence for God's word and ordinances; it would secure civil freedom in many lands; it would lead to a wiser outlay and a greater economy of forces in the mission fields of the Church; it would give a new impetus to the cause of Christian education; and it would promote, every-where and among all men, that fear of God, that love of souls, and that sense of dependence on divine grace, and of the absolute need of rectitude and purity which are the source and sustenance of a Christian civilization.

The great need of Christendom is not a vain and impossible uniformity in doctrinal beliefs or forms of worship, but a real oneness in the Holy Spirit and in the work of the world's evangelization, and that this unity be practically manifested to men. We rejoice in the results of the recent Methodist Ecumenical Conference, not only because it has produced an increase of Methodist fervor and power, and lifted the denomination higher in the public estimation, but also because it has done something to prepare the way for that visible Protestant unity which must herald the millennial glory.

Art. VII.—KENNICOTT'S COLLATION OF HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS.

The Ten Annual Accounts of the Collation of Hebrew Manuscripts of the Old Testament; begun in 1760 *and completed in* 1769. By Benjamin Kennicott, D.D., F.R.S.; Member of the Royal Society of Sciences at Göttingen; the Theodore-Palatine Academy at Mannheim; the Royal Academy of Inscriptions, etc., at Paris; Keeper of the Radcliffe Library, and Fellow of Exeter College in Oxford. Sold by Mr. Fletcher and Prince, in Oxford; Mr. Woodyer in Cambridge; Mr. Rivington, Payne, Dodsley, and Fletcher in London. MDCCLXX.

The enthusiasm with which the Revised New Testament was received by the whole world where the English language is read or spoken, shows the estimate placed upon the word of God by the masses of the people. Despite the attacks of skepticism heralded by pretentious philosophers, *the people* believe the Bible to be a divine revelation. They regard its promises with hope and its threatenings with awe. No doubt many looked with interest for some authorized modifications of the denun-

ciations against sin; but the eagerness of the examination was an involuntary admission of the authority of the Book.

Every person on earth has a direct interest in the volume which reveals our origin and destiny. Any thing which may throw light on the inspired word, or aid to the better understanding of its meaning, is eagerly sought for by every thoughtful immortal being.

The committee which wrought so faithfully for years past to bring out the Revised New Testament is now engaged in preparing a revision of the Old Testament. This recent movement gives to similar work in other ages a special interest.

The work which stands at the head of this paper was printed in London in 1770, and contains ten annual accounts of an effort to collate the Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament. The work was begun in 1760 and completed in 1769, by Dr. Benjamin Kennicott, a Fellow of the Royal Society. The various appendages to his name, which are entered in full on the title-page, and which in that day were no meaningless or formal titles, show how he was regarded as a scholar. His membership of societies of the most learned men in Göttingen, Mannheim, and Paris, is full proof that he had more than a British reputation for solid learning; and his rank as Fellow of Exeter College in Oxford, and his office as Keeper of the Radcliffe Library, show how highly he was honored in his own country. The work of his life, recorded in this volume, proves his eminent qualifications for the stupendous task which he accomplished.

He commenced life, as a scholar, with a strong confidence in the integrity of the Hebrew text, and with the theory that if the printed copies of the Hebrew Bible differed from the most ancient manuscripts of Moses and the prophets the variations were few and unimportant. In 1748, he declares, he became convinced that our Hebrew text had suffered from transcribers, and that there were such corruptions in that text as, in many instances, greatly affected the sense.

He found many written copies, before generally unknown, differing essentially in many particulars from the printed copies of the Old Testament. In 1758 the "Delegates of the Press" at Oxford recommended him to prepare a collation of all those Hebrew manuscripts which were preserved in the

Bodleian Library. The Right Rev. Dr. Secker, then Lord Bishop of Oxford, and afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to Mr. Kennicott, urging him to devote his life to the work of collating the Hebrew MSS., and proposed to unite with others in furnishing him maintenance during the time necessarily employed in the work. The following is the form of the letter:

DEANERY OF ST. PAUL, *March* 10, 1758.

SIR:—I have long wished that the Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament at Oxford were collated. If you are willing to undertake it, I think you are the fittest, and I am glad the Delegates have pitched on you. I presume you would have been glad if they would have made proposals to you, rather than have desired you to make proposals to them; but what advice would be proper in either case I am unable to say. If an annual salary be proposed, it will probably be expected that the number of years for completing the work shall be fixed. I hope, whatever doubts or difficulties may arise, the design will not be soon abandoned from despair of getting through them. This is all that occurs at present to your loving brother and servant,

THO. OXFORD.

A subscription was started, of which a copy is found in the volume. The interest taken by the scholars of that day, as well as their confidence in Dr. Kennicott, is shown by these subscriptions. These amounts were to be paid each year:

University of Oxford	£40	0	0
University of Cambridge	30	0	0
University of Dublin	30	0	0
Archbishop of Canterbury	10	10	0
Archbishop of York	10	10	0
Right Rev. Dr. Sherlock, Lord Bishop of London	10	10	0
Lord Bishop of Durham	10	10	0
Lord Bishop of Winchester	10	10	0

There are twenty Lord Bishops in the list, with subscriptions from £3 3*s* to £10 10*s*. Then there are ten Deans represented in the contributions. Five colleges are also found giving £5 5*s* each. The name of Sir William Blackstone, author of "Commentaries on Law," is down for £1 1*s*, and a long list of men of less distinction. Encouraged by such men, and with the assurance of subsistence, the work was commenced. At first Dr. Kennicott proposed to secure the collation of all the manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland, but soon the plan comprehended the collation of all in Europe,

as far as time and expense would permit. This examination proved that, as the oldest manuscripts had been most frequently transcribed, the copies of them contained the most errors. As several of the Hebrew letters are very similar, it was naturally to be expected that transcribers would, on this account, be liable to make mistakes in copying; and the mistake of one Hebrew letter would often materially change the sense of a passage. It was found, also, that the printed Hebrew Bibles generally in use agreed with the latest and "worst" manuscripts. The older the manuscripts the more they differed from the printed text. The author claims further, that the old Hebrew manuscripts not only furnished various readings which rendered the sense clear and consistent where the printed copies are unintelligent and contradictory, but that they also were vindicated by the apostolical quotations. Some of the passages in the New Testament quoted from the Old, which do not agree with the printed Hebrew text, perfectly agree with these old manuscripts. He declares that in one important prophecy twenty-eight out of thirty-two manuscripts confirm a quotation made by St. Peter and St. Paul, and this in a case where the reading, as printed in the Hebrew text by Masoretic authority, invalidates the reasoning of both of these apostles. These Hebrew manuscripts not only correct many of the mistakes which have been introduced for eight hundred or one thousand years past, but they also confirm the authority of the Greek and Syriac Versions.

At this time there were known to be between four hundred and five hundred Hebrew manuscripts in different parts of the world, of which England had more than any other country. There were well preserved one hundred and ten, containing the whole or parts of the Hebrew Bible, in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and in the British Museum. In these one hundred and ten manuscripts were seven copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch. As the only copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch which had been printed was from a manuscript preserved in France, these seven found in England were important in correcting various errors and corruptions in the copy found in France.

The author introduces a very important reason for his work, in the fact that some parts of these old manuscripts are

already obliterated by age, and other parts were constantly decaying. He claimed that when the various readings shall have been published, the Christian world would have a safe and authentic record, even if the old manuscripts should entirely perish.

Dr. Kennicott, in order to render his work complete, commenced a search for other manuscripts. One was found in the Cathedral Library of Wells, and several others in different parts of Europe. Forty-one, containing the whole or parts of the Hebrew Bible, were found in the Library of the Vatican. Our author was granted full permission to carry forward his work in this library. He was not allowed to remove a scrap from the building, and his work must be done under the eye of Cardinal Passionei, who presided over the institution. Aside from this restriction, his liberty was complete.

As a result of examinations the first year, he found over two thousand variations from the printed text in the oldest and best manuscripts of the Pentateuch, many of them materially affecting the sense. Of these he found seven hundred words which differ from the Hebrew text, but agree with the printed Samaritan Pentateuch. He very naturally, but no doubt too hastily, came to the conclusion that the Samaritan Pentateuch is the more reliable. In the Book of Isaiah there were found one thousand readings different from the printed text, as the manuscript used in this investigation was one of the oldest and most reliable of any in existence.

The effort to bring to light new manuscripts was remarkably successful. Old rolls, which careless librarians had thrown about as of little consequence, proved to be ancient manuscripts of priceless value. Two more were found in the public libraries of Oxford. Edward Wortley Montague was found to possess one. Two were found well preserved in the library of the Collegiate Church of Westminster. One Hebrew manuscript was discovered, almost by accident, in the Library of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and two in Trinity College, Dublin. These two had been brought only a few years before from Africa.

During the second year of Dr. Kennicott's work, three gentlemen, and a part of the time four, were employed to assist him. Ten manuscripts had been completely collated, and parts of two others. These collations were carefully transcribed, and

the original collations deposited in the Bodleian Library. During this year the examination of all manuscripts obtained in foreign countries was commenced. Prof. Constanzi was paid £200 for his assistance in examining those found at the Vatican. So satisfactorily was this work completed, that Cardinal Spinelli, Dean and Superior of the College of Cardinals, gave Dr. Kennicott letters of recommendation good in any part of the Catholic world.

Several Hebrew manuscripts were found in the Imperial Library at Florence, and two learned men were employed to copy and collate them. Search also brought to light several valuable Hebrew manuscripts in Hamburg, and Prof. Reimer was engaged to collate seven of the most ancient and valuable. In the Royal Library at Turin there were also found several manuscripts which proved of great value; and these were brought into requisition to aid in the great work by two Hebrew professors. In Spain some twenty Hebrew manuscripts were found well preserved, and access gained to them.

So successful was our author in finding manuscripts of which the world at large had never heard, that search was instituted in nearly every great city in Europe. He assumed that the more manuscripts he could obtain, the more complete would be his undertaking. To what extent he succeeded will appear further along.

The third year was largely spent in collating the manuscripts found at Cambridge, and the results filled nine large volumes. Besides these, five or six assistants had been engaged on those manuscripts found in foreign countries.

From the report of the third year, it would seem as if all Europe had become interested in this movement. Learned men were ready to furnish all needed assistance. At Turin, Florence, Geneva, Magdeburg, Hamburg, and Paris, manuscripts were found and men employed to assist in carrying on the work.

In the Library of the Sorbonne there were found twenty-nine Hebrew manuscripts; in that of St. Germain des Pres, three Hebrew manuscripts, and four of the Greek Version, one of them over a thousand years old; and in the Royal Library of Paris forty, some of which were of great value.

The investigations brought to light in Venice a manuscript complete of the Old Testament, written in Syria in the year

1106. This Dr. Kennicott secured by purchase. Among the manuscripts of special value was one containing the Samaritan Pentateuch presented by Archbishop Usher to Sir Robert Cotton. It is the only complete one in Europe written by the same hand. It was written about the year 1300, and is now the property of the British Museum.

Although Gesenius, since that day, has shaken confidence in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Dr. Kennicott attached great value to it, and maintained that the quotations in the New Testament generally agree with that version.

He quotes Dr. Cudworth's comments on a certain text, in quaint if not obscure language, "But lastly, that which is most of all considerable: although these Hebrew copies which we now have received from the Jews read it otherwise, yet that incomparable antiquity of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which seems to be truer in many places than our copies are, hath it as it is four several times quoted in the New Testament."

In a manuscript received from Lekkerkirk, (near Rotterdam,) the word signifying "all" is found in Deut. xxvii, 26, and quoted by St. Paul in Gal. iii, 10. The whole force of the passage depends on this word, which is not found in any other Hebrew manuscript.

The result, so far, of the search for manuscripts is as follows. In Italy, 117; Germany, 87; France, 70; Holland, 32; Spain, 20; Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden, 10. Total abroad, 336. To these we add those found in Great Britain, and we have 460.

In the record for the fourth year, the author tells us how the mechanical part of his work was done. A copy of the Hebrew Bible was cut up into slips and pasted on sheets, so that only two verses would be found on each sheet. These sheets, at the end of the year, filled in some cases with reading, were bound up and made thirty folio volumes. This statement gives us some idea of the immense work such a collation involves. As there are 23,185 verses in the Old Testament, there must have been over 11,000 folio pages, being over 350 in each volume. He declares he worked from ten to fourteen hours each day.

In the year 1766 Dr. Kennicott prepared a collation of the four printed editions of the Hebrew Bible then in common use. It was claimed by some that the variations were few and

unimportant. All these four were found to be printed from the more recent manuscripts, and differed more or less from the oldest manuscripts and the New Testament quotations.

The first was what was called the Eton copy, printed in Rome in 1487. The second was the Bible used by Luther, and belonged to him, and was printed in 1494. It is now in the Royal Library at Berlin. In 500 words or letters this book differs from modern copies, and over 200 instances of difference in the Masoretical points. The third and fourth copies he obtained were the first edition of the whole Hebrew Bible, printed in 1488, and a Pentateuch in 1492. These last differed materially from the modern copies, and agreed more fully with the old manuscripts. These four copies were all printed from different manuscripts, and no one from the other. The author also gives us a list of printed copies of the whole or parts of the Hebrew Bible which had been printed up to that time, as far as known.

No manuscript of the Hebrew Bible is positively known to exist which was written before the year 1000, except the one at the Sorbonne, although there are some which are without date that bear evidence of great age. It is believed, that on account of the great number of variations, the Jews, who had possession of most of these old manuscripts, by common consent secured the destruction of as many as they could reach of these ancient manuscripts, after making copies which they regarded as correct and uniform.

Dr. Gill made a thorough examination of the Talmuds, both of Jerusalem and Babylon, to find quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures. The Talmud, which contained traditions among the Jews in respect to the Mosaic laws and customs, was found to contain many quotations which threw light upon passages in the Bible, and these the Jews could not destroy with the manuscripts.

During the entire time employed by Dr. Kennicott in his collations the search was kept up throughout the whole world for old manuscripts. In 1768 one of great value was found and purchased. It had belonged to a synagogue in Jerusalem. A rabbi, born in Spain in 1194, built a synagogue in Jerusalem, and this manuscript, which was written in the thirteenth century, was preserved with great veneration. When Jerusa-

lem was captured, in 1517, by the Emperor Selim, the manuscript was seized by a Turkish officer, who carried it to Aleppo. It was finally purchased by an English gentleman, and at last found its way into the hands of our persevering author. It was found to contain the books of Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, written in hemistichs. During the year 1768 the work of collating the two editions of the Hebrew Bible was completed, and it was found that in 12,000 words or parts the two copies differed from each other. Dr. Kennicott insists that these differences are due to the errors of modern manuscripts, as they were printed from different copies.

We now reach the last report made by the learned and industrious Dr. Kennicott. Ten years had been spent, with a great number of assistants, composed of the most illustrious scholars of Europe, in the commendable effort to obtain the word of God free from additions or alterations by man. He exhibits the fervor of a true Christian heart, as follows:

> The Bible had ever appeared to me a book of infinite consequence to myself and the rest of mankind; and I considered it as a gift worthy of God, and worthy of all human acceptation. The many difficulties formerly occurring in the perusal of it I had usually attributed to my own ignorance, particularly of the original text, and to the want of exactness in our English translation. When I learned the Hebrew language, and for some years afterward, I was of the same opinion with most divines, that every word and letter in the printed Hebrew text was pure and genuine. I therefore concluded that neither the real obscurities nor the apparent inconsistencies were at all chargeable to the inaccuracies of transcribers; and of course that a remedy was not to be sought in any attempt to correct the printed Hebrew text. I became afterward convinced of my mistake, and when convinced upon evidence which seemed abundantly satisfactory, I thought it my duty to endeavor to convince others.

The scholars of Europe received the reports of Dr. Kennicott's work with every possible mark of satisfaction; but he says, "some thought it right to vilify the man who thus offered his discovery, reflecting on him illiberally and very absurdly for writing (as they called it) against the word of God." To impress, as far as possible, the learned with the vast labor which had been performed, he says he compared the printed copy of the Hebrew Bible, letter after letter, with every word of every chapter in one hundred and forty Hebrew man-

uscripts, and adds, that every such collation, containing its whole catalogue of omissions, additions, transpositions, with all marks of *rasures*, was transcribed, and either the original collation or its transcript deposited in the Bodleian Library. He declares that every manuscript which he could find in Europe, Asia, and Africa, about five hundred in all, had been examined and collated during the ten years. He added six printed editions of the whole of the Old Testament, and six printed editions of very large parts of it, and in these twelve editions are about one hundred and sixty thousand verses. The patience, enthusiasm, and learning combined in one man for such a marvelous task are not found twice in a thousand years. We are to-day enjoying the fruit of Dr. Kennicott's devoted labors in the light thrown across passages once obscure or unmeaning. It would have been a great satisfaction if he had furnished us specimens of these different readings to show how material the differences were, but they are not found in his review of each year, excepting in one case, page 36, etc. In one manuscript, now in the library of the Margrave of Baden-Durlac, the Book of Daniel is placed after Malachi. One manuscript was found in square characters without the vowels and points which the Masora are supposed to have added. If his theory is true, this must have been written before the eighth century. We can easily pardon a man like our author for claiming, in his closing review,

> Since we have now seen the various objections, attended with their several confutations; since we have been witnesses to the last breathings of a dying opinion concerning the integrity of what is greatly corrupted; and since the absolute necessity of such a collation as I have undertaken is at last proved to universal satisfaction, I cannot but congratulate the public on this collation being now completed.

The amount of money contributed toward the expenses of the work was £9,117 7*s* 6*d*, nearly $50,000. "So much," he says, "to the honor of 'Revelation,' a work sacred to the glory of God and the good of mankind." We have no means of verifying the statement of facts found in this "report." It was accepted without question by the best scholars over a hundred years ago when first announced. Our purpose has been to present these marvelous statements of the author "without note or comment," for their historic interest.

Art. VIII.—WAS JESUS A WINE-BIBBER?

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

A Calm View of the Temperance Question. By Chancellor Howard Crosby, D.D., LL.D. Delivered in Tremont Temple, Boston, January 10, 1881, and published in the New York "Independent," January 20, 1881.

The Bibliotheca Sacra, January, 1881. Art. III, "The Biblical Sanction for Wine." By Rev. Horace Bumstead, Atlanta, Ga.

The Presbyterian Review, January, 1881. Art. IV, "The Bible Wine Question." By Rev. Dunlop Moore, D.D.

I. The Question Stated and its Importance Noted.

More than eighteen hundred years ago it was said of Jesus Christ, "Behold a man gluttonous, and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." (Matt. xi, 19; Luke vii, 34.) One particular of that accusation men have continued to repeat until this day. They have said, and they have not ceased to say, Jesus was a drinking man. His enemies have insisted upon it, that they might cast disgrace upon his character and discredit upon his cause. Lovers of strong drink have affirmed it, that they might shelter themselves under the cover of his example. Some of his most candid and conscientious followers have felt themselves compelled to admit the charge, and, without pleading his practice as a precedent, have attempted his defense. Others, perhaps no less conscientious or candid, have frankly avowed that no defense is demanded, but that his course as a moderate drinker is to be copied. It would seem as if this latter class had of late entered into a conspiracy to strengthen their own position by a determined attack on the lines of their opponents. For, at the opening of the present year, and almost simultaneously, Chancellor Crosby on the platform of the Monday Lectureship, Dr. Moore in the pages of the "Presbyterian Review," and Prof. Bumstead in the pages of the "Bibliotheca Sacra," made vigorous onslaught on those who hold that the Bible does not lend its sanction to the use of intoxicating beverages, and, in particular, on all who quote the example of Christ in favor of total abstinence. "No unbiased reader," Chancellor Crosby declares,* "can for a moment doubt that wine as referred to in the Bible *passim* is an intoxicating drink, and that such wine was drunk by our Saviour and the early

* "A Calm View of the Temperance Question."

Christians." And again, "It is impossible to condemn all drinking of wine as either sinful or improper without bringing reproach upon the Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles. There has been an immense amount of wriggling by Christian writers on this subject to get away from this alternative, but there it stands impregnable, *Jesus did use wine.*"* Dr. Moore affirms,† "Christ himself drank wine, the wine from which John the Baptist abstained, the wine which is classed with *sikera*, (Luke i, 15.) . . . Jesus himself drank the common wine of Palestine. . . . He did discriminate between an excessive and a temperate use of wine that could intoxicate." Prof. Bumstead asserts,‡ "The Bible sanctions the use of wine by the example of Christ. The sanction is undeniable and emphatic." And again,§ "The example of Christ is utterly irreconcilable with the theory of those who plead for total abstinence."

These are very serious charges. If they can be substantiated they will prove exceedingly damaging, if not utterly fatal, to the claims of total abstinence. The example of Christ must be regarded as determinative in this matter. If abstinence was his practice it is our duty. If moderation was his rule it may be our custom. To this extent we are in perfect accord with the authors just quoted. If their premises are correct their conclusion is inevitable. It is idle to deny this as many do. It will not do to say that Christ's indulgence in intoxicating drink would not concern us any more than his going barefoot, riding on an ass, or remaining unmarried. ‖ For this comparison holds good only in case the former like the latter belongs to the category of things indifferent; that is, such as may, *cæteris paribus*, be innocently done or left undone. To that sphere many who discountenance their use relegate alcoholic beverages. They regard the question of their use as purely "prudential," and decide it solely on grounds of expediency. But is their procedure valid, or their classification correct? Does the question belong to morals? Is wine-drinking under any circumstances right, or is it a sin *per se?* We believe

* "A Calm View of the Temperance Question."

† "Presbyterian Review," January, 1881, p. 88.

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 86. § *Ibid.*, p. 109.

‖ Wendell Phillips' Reply to Dr. Crosby in "Moderation vs. Total Abstinence," p. 43.

no better answer can be given than that of Tayler Lewis:* "There is one evil state of soul condemned throughout the Bible. It is *that state* to which we give the name intoxication, or inebriation. . . . It is the act of a person in health, voluntarily, and without any other motive or reason than the pleasurable stimulus, using any substance whatever, be it solid or liquid, to produce an unnatural change in his healthy mental and bodily state, either by way of exciting or quieting the nerves and brain, or quickening the pulse. This was wrong, a spiritual wrong—a sin *per se*—not a matter of excess merely, but wrong and evil in any, even the smallest, measure or degree." And we believe this all the more strongly, because the tendency of modern scientific investigation is to demonstrate the use of alcohol in any form or quantity in health to be a sin against one's own nature. And on this point we would be willing to abide by the decision of Prof. Bumstead, who devotes over thirteen pages of the "Bibliotheca Sacra" (48–61) to a discussion of the physiological action of alcohol. In summing up the results of "the latest and best science" in this regard, he says,† "There is a practically unanimous verdict from all authorities that alcohol is not needed, and is likely to do harm, in a state of perfect health." How accurately this states the situation will appear from such unimpeachable testimony as follows. Sir Henry Thompson, in his recent letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury,‡ says, "The habitual use of fermented liquors to an extent far short of what is necessary to produce that condition, [drunkenness,] and such as is quite common in all ranks of society, injures the body and diminishes the mental power to an extent which, I think, few people are aware of." Sir William Gull, in his testimony before a select committee of the House of Lords,§ said: "The constant use of alcohol, even in *moderate measure*, may injure the nerve tissues and be deleterious to health; and one of the commonest things in society is, that people are injured by drink without being drunkards. It goes on so quietly that it is difficult to observe, even though it leads to degeneration of the tissues

* American preface to the "Temperance Bible Commentary," pp. xii, xiii.

† "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 60.

‡ Quoted in Judge Pitman's "Alcohol and the State," p. 88.

§ Reprinted and reiterated in "The Alcohol Question," a series of papers which originally appeared in the "Contemporary Review."

and spoils the health and the intellect. Short of drunkenness, I should say from my experience, that alcohol is the most destructive agent we are aware of in this country." Prof. Binz, of Bonn, who, with Dr. Anstie, of England, has been chiefly quoted in support of the food value of alcohol, says,* "While I thus share in the views of the late Dr. Anstie, so ably upheld in England, I do not hesitate, on the other hand, to declare with respect to the healthy organism, that I consider the use of alcohol in health as entirely superfluous." Dr. Parkes, of the British Army Medical School, arrives at these conclusions with reference to the use of spirits in the army,† which are equally applicable to all men under every circumstance: "Looking back to the evidence, it may be asked: Are there any circumstances of the soldier's life in which the issue of spirits is advisable, and if the question at any time lies between the issue of spirits and total abstinence, which is best? To me there seems but one answer. If spirits neither give strength to the body nor sustain it against disease, are not protective against cold and wet, and aggravate rather than mitigate the effects of heat—if their use, even in moderation, increases crime, injures discipline, and impairs hope and cheerfulness—if the severest trials of war have been not merely borne, but *most easily* borne, without them—if there is no evidence that they are protective against malaria or other diseases—then I conceive that the medical officer will not be justified in sanctioning their use under any circumstances." Dr. Henry Maudsley, the leading English authority on mental diseases, declares,‡ "If men took careful thought of the best use which they could make of their bodies, they would probably never take alcohol, except as they would take a dose of medicine, to serve some special purpose." Dr. B. W. Richardson says,§ "Thus by two tests science tries the comparison between alcohol and man. She finds in the body no structure made from alcohol; she finds in the healthy body no alcohol; she finds in those who have taken alcohol changes of the structure, and these are changes of disease. By all these proofs she declares

* "American Journal of the Medical Sciences," July, 1876, p. 262.

† "Manual of Practical Hygiene," (1873,) p. 284.

‡ "Responsibility in Mental Disease," p. 285.

§ "Moderate Drinking, For and Against, from Scientific Points of View," (1878,) p. 20.

alcohol to be entirely alien to the structure of man. It does not build up the body; it undermines and destroys the building." Dr. W. H. Dickinson of St. George's Hospital, England, after recounting, with accuracy, the structural changes which alcohol initiates, and the structural changes and consequent derangement and suspension of vital functions which it involves, aptly terms it "THE GENIUS OF DEGENERATION."* Dr. T. M. Coan, who aims to show that the latest science gives its sanction to moderate drinking, yet confesses,† "In robust and perfect health they (fermented liquors) are entirely superfluous; and they are sometimes injurious by promoting too much assimilation, making too much blood." Prof. William James, M.D., in a lecture delivered before the students of Harvard College, (May, 1881,) teaches‡ that the effects of alcohol, even in moderate quantities, are, "on the whole, likely to be injurious," and that its use "is not consistent with a state of perfect health." Dr. Markham, F.R.S., in reviewing the latest scientific utterances in regard to alcohol, well says,§ "It is scarcely possible to read fairly the works of distinguished physiologists who have discussed the question, without feeling that they have been, in spite of themselves, as it were, driven, by the legitimate consequences following from their premises, to the conclusion that alcohol is unnecessary and injurious to the human body."

An effort is made to escape the force of this evidence by an attempted discrimination between alcohol and beverages containing it, and between distilled and fermented liquors.‖ But the only distinction which exists is one of degree. Alcohol is always one and the same thing in kind, in whatever form or under whatever disguise we find it. It is "alcohol that gives type" to fermented as well as to distilled liquors, "and allies them too closely" to call for discrimination. "So far as our chemistry tells us, the form of the alcohol is just the same, only (in wines and beer) the flavoring and addition of actual food is different. We do not recognize this as 'the alembic in which

* E. M. Hunt, M.D., in "Alcohol as a Food and Medicine," p. 43, quoting from "The Lancet," 1872.

† The "State of the Alcohol Question," "Harper's Monthly," October, 1879.

‡ "Boston Daily Advertiser," May 19, 1881.

§ Quoted in Hunt's "Alcohol as a Food and Medicine," p. 59.

‖ "A Calm View," etc. "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 486.

nature has turned a powerful and dangerous element into a beneficent minister.'" * Careful and repeated experiments made by the most accurate and authoritative experts have fully demonstrated the fact that the alcohol in fermented liquors does not, except in the most infinitesimal degree, enter into any chemical combinations whatever. † The authorities whom Chancellor Crosby and Prof. Bumstead cite in support of the professed distinction between large and smaller amounts of alcohol do not cover the case. Prof. Parkes, whom the former imperfectly quotes, simply says, that science fails to give at present accurate information on the subject, and "the usual arguments for and against the use of alcohol cannot be held to settle the point." His other utterances, such as the one we have quoted above, and especially those in reply to Anstie as to food-value, etc., place him completely in opposition to our authors. Drs. Anstie and Binz are quoted by both in evidence of the consumption of alcohol in the body and so of its inferred value as a food. But neither quote Dr. Parkes' reply, ‡ to which Anstie gave his assent, (in "The Practitioner," July, 1874, p. 27,) that "even if the complete destruction within certain limits were quite clear, this fact alone would not guide us to the dietetic value of alcohol. We have first to trace the effect of that destruction, and learn whether it is for good or evil. You seem to think that the destruction must give rise to useful force, but I cannot see that this is necessarily so." Dr. Parkes further says, that it is important to notice, in determining the weight of Anstie's testimony, that he sought to prove the food value of opium and tobacco as well as of alcohol. With reference to this subject, Dr. Ringer declares § that "Even if the greater part of the alcohol is consumed, and thus ministers to the forces of the body, yet alcohol, by depressing functional activity, favoring degenerations, etc., may do more harm than any good it can effect by the force it sets free during its destruction." Dr. Davis, than whom few are better qualified to

* E. M. Hunt, M.D., Sanitary Editor of the New York "Independent," in the issue for Feb. 3, 1881, who refers to an expression of Chancellor Crosby in his "Calm View," etc.

† *Vide* Thudichum and Dupré, "On the Origin, Nature, and Varieties of Wine," London, 1872, p. 159.

‡ "The Practitioner," Feb., 1872, p. 85.

§ "Therapeutics," London, 1876, p. 276.

speak, states* that "the only *force* it (alcohol) develops is the catalytic *force* of *inertia*, by which it holds in check those natural molecular changes that would take place were it not present."

There is one practical argument which shows conclusively that the use of alcohol in any quantity is incompatible with man's perfect health and physical vigor. It is the fact that those who seek this, and who come nearest to its attainment, do so at the cost of total abstinence. We refer especially to athletes, whose training, from the time of Samson † and Milo ‡ to that of Hanlan and Dr. Carver, § has included abstinence from all alcoholic drinks. These men find that any indulgence in stimulants is fatal to that perfect "precision, decision, presence of mind, and endurance," on which their success so often hinges. ‖ And the conclusion is unavoidable, that these stimulants are equally damaging to the best physical condition of other people. ¶ In such a case their use is a sin against the body. And in saying this we need imply nothing as to that "large class of people," so pathetically described as living on "the confines of health." ** If people are sick let them take medicine. But let them also be sure that alcohol is what they need, and take care that they do not write their own prescriptions. Whoever else may claim a place in these ranks of invalidism, there was One who never belonged there. Christ possessed a perfect physical nature, in full health and vigor. If we can conceive of his taking alcohol into his system it must have been as a luxury, and how inconsistent such a conception is with his whole life of self-denial we need not now stop to consider. If he indulged in it at all, he must have done so without necessity, and at the conscious peril of the perfect delicacy of adjustment and harmony of function in that body, touched

* "The Medical Uses of Alcoholic Liquors," etc., in Report of Proceedings of the Ninth National Temperance Convention, held at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., June 21, 22, 1881, p. 195.

† Judges xiii, 7. ‡ Epictetus, Encheiridion, sec. 35.

§ "National Temperance Advocate," March, 1881. Art. "Athletes, Alcohol, and Tobacco."

‖ Dr. Richardson, "Effects of Alcohol" in "Ten Lectures on Alcohol," pp. 4–6.

¶ A similar line of argument is suggested by the statistics of life insurance companies. Total abstainers have a much greater longevity than moderate drinkers. (Parkes' "Manual of Practical Hygiene," p. 270.)

** "A Calm View," etc., "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 59.

to finer issues than any other mortal frame, whose absolute perfection was essential to the accomplishment of his divine mission. If, therefore, these teachings of experience and of science as to the injurious effects of alcohol, when taken in any form or quantity in health, be accepted—and they are every day receiving completer demonstration—they must settle for us the question whether He "in whom was no sin" ever used alcoholic beverages. Scripture, also, in all its statements must be consistent with this conclusion of science. That it is so it is the purpose of this paper to make plain. Enough, we think, has been said to show that this question is not merely a "prudential," but, in the very largest sense, a moral one.

There is another method, equally fallacious, by which the assertion that Christ used intoxicating wine is met. No denial is attempted or claim made that the act is an indifferent one, but the example of Christ in this particular is set aside on the same ground that the example of Moses with reference to polygamy, divorce, and slavery is ignored, namely, the imperfect moral development of the age, in consequence of which many evils were tolerated at the same time that provision for their eradication was made by the gradual enlightenment of the consciences of men. This is the position, among others, of the New York "Independent," from whose issue of March 11, 1874, Prof. Bumstead quotes * as follows: "But the fact that Christ used liquor and that the Bible allows it is no proof that we should. Things were allowable and right in the days of Moses that were not so in the days of Christ, and there has been some progress since in the application of abstract morals. . . . To appeal to the Bible in defense of alcoholic liquors is like appealing to it in defense of slavery. Christianity has educated the public conscience on these two subjects beyond the explicit teachings of Scripture." In a late issue † this same paper has restated its position, announcing the strange doctrine that "Christ's teaching and ordinary conduct were for his own age, not ours. The principles he taught are permanent, and new light may break out of them on the subjects of slavery and temperance." It is difficult to conceive how any sincere mind could put forth such propositions, or any sane mind take

* "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 111.

† "The Independent," March 24, 1881. Editorial notes.

refuge in them. If Christ's principles and practice conflicted, what claim has he upon our confidence? What severer impeachment of his character can be made than such a charge of inconsistency? What becomes of his omniscience or his sinlessness in the face of such a doctrine? What authority attaches to his teachings if they were purely local in their applications, and not only inadequate to the exigencies, but in conflict with the developed moral sense, of after ages? Surely,

> "Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
> Tempus eget."

We can no more believe than can Chancellor Crosby "that Christ and his apostles, on great moral questions and matters of moral conduct, gave example and precept that would not last."* And as to the attempted comparison between Moses and Christ, and between slavery, etc., and wine-drinking, it is important to observe, as Prof. Bumstead suggests,† that Christ "did not marry many wives; he did not hold slaves; he expressly superseded the Mosaic divorce by a higher and holier regulation." And if he indulged in alcoholic beverages he has given to that act a sanction such as no other practice, which an "educated public conscience" has called in question, ever received from him.

But this argument is put into another shape, and the change in our circumstances from those of ancient times is urged as an excuse for Christ's indulgence, and as a reason for our abstinence. "Had Jesus, living in our time, beheld the wide waste and wretchedness arising from inordinate appetites, can any one doubt on which side he would be found?" asks Mr. Beecher.‡ "If circumstances make wine-drinking wrong now, but made it right then, why should Christ not have gone out of his way to sanction it?" the "Independent" inquires,§ referring to a remark of Chancellor Crosby's in "The Evangelist," that "this was a custom which our Saviour went out of the way to sanction." And Rev. Dr. Plumb, in an essay read before a Ministerial Temperance Convention, held in Tremont Temple, Boston, March 8, 1881,‖ says: "When total abstinence is urged as our duty, because the biblical principle of

* "A Calm View," etc. † "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 111.
‡ "The Life of Jesus the Christ," vol. i, p. 192.
§ March 24, 1881, Editorial Notes. ‖ Boston "Daily Traveller," Mar. 8, 1881.

self-sacrifice for the good of others requires it, it is no escape from the binding force of this paramount obligation to plead that in a far-off age and land, in conditions thoroughly different from ours, there were men who were allowed a sparing use of wine, which, like all wine history knows any thing about, was capable of being used in excess." This argument involves two fallacies, either one of which is fatal. In the first place, there is no such difference as is represented between the evils connected with wine-drinking in ancient and in modern times. Professor Bumstead is correct on this point.* Drunkenness has prevailed in all ages of the world. The first historical reference to the use of wine records a case of intoxication, that of Noah's. (Gen. ix, 20–27.) The monuments of Egypt picture the gross drunkenness of that people, of both sexes, in private life, at public feasts, and on the occasion of great religious festivals.† One inscription speaks of a feast held at Denderah, known as the drinking-feast, and the goddess as the Goddess of Drunkenness.‡ Drunkenness had taken such a hold upon the people of China, more than a thousand years before Christ, as to threaten the ruin of the empire. This is clearly proven by "The Announcement about Drunkenness," an imperial edict believed to have been promulgated about 1116 B. C.§ The Rig-Veda, from beginning to end, shows that the ancient Aryan races of India must have been terrible drunkards, and must have believed their deities to have been the same. In the banqueting scenes of the Assyrians it is drinking and not eating that is represented.‖ Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus while its inhabitants were buried in drunken revels.¶ Among the Persians "drunkenness even came to be sort of an institution. Once a year, at the feast of Mithras, the king of Persia, according to Duris, was bound to be drunk. A general practice arose of deliberating on all important affairs under the influence of wine, so that in every household, when a family crisis impended, intoxication was a duty."** So common was drunkenness among the Greeks

* "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, pp. 100, 109.

† Wilkinson's "Ancient Egypt," vol. i, pp. 52. 53. ‡ Eber's "Egypten," p. 326.

§ "Legge's Chinese Classics," vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 274.

‖ Rawlinson, "Five Great Monarchies," i, 579.

¶ Daniel v, 10; Xenophon, "Cyrop.," vii, 5, 15.

** Rawlinson, "Five Great Monarchies," iii, 236.

in the time of Christ that Corinthians were usually introduced on the stage in a state of intoxication.* Rome, at that age, as her own heathen historians have confessed, was a vortex into which all sin and shame (*cuncta atrocia aut pudenda*) † flowed together, so that every place was filled with vice and crime, (*omnia sceleribus ac vitiis plena sunt.*) ‡ The writings of Juvenal, Persius, Horace, and Petronius, show that the Roman Empire was full of drunkenness and debauchery. The prevalence of intemperance in Palestine is amply attested by the denunciations of wine in the Old Testament, and the fearful woes pronounced upon the drunkard and the drunkard-maker. Significant of the fact is the law of the rabbins, that on the Feast of Purim a man should "drink wine until he be drunk and fall asleep in his drunkenness." § The frequent condemnations of this degrading vice, both by Christ and his apostles, prove its prevalence in their immediate vicinity and age. So far, therefore, as intemperance is concerned there is no essential difference between our circumstances and Christ's. Nor is that difference found in the application of total abstinence as remedy for intemperance. That is by no means a modern discovery. Two thousand years before Christ it was enjoined upon the Egyptian priesthood. ‖ Centuries later, the Institutes of Menu required it of all officiating Brahmins.¶ In the "Pentalogue of Buddha" (B.C. 560) there ran this precept: "Thou shalt not drink any intoxicating liquor." ** The Lacedæmonians were at one period of their history total abstainers.†† In Palestine, before the time of Christ, the Nazarites (Num. vi, 1–4) and the Rechabites (Jer. xxv, 1–19) adopted total abstinence as the cardinal principle of their orders, and while he was upon the earth the Essenes in Judea and the Therapeutæ in Egypt made it the daily practice of their lives. But if the change of circumstances quoted in explanation of the use of wine by Christ, and in condemnation of its use in modern times, does not consist in the prevalence of drunkenness or in the practice of total

* Ælian, "Variæ Historiæ," iii, 15.
† Tacitus, "Ann.," xv, 44.
‡ Seneca, "De Irâ," ii, 8.
§ Hilkoth, "Megillah," ii, 5.
‖ Hieratic Papyri, let. xi.
¶ Jacolliot, "The Bible in India."
** Malcom, "Travels in the Burman Empire."
†† Athenæus, Banquet, Bohn's translation, vol. ii, p. 682.

abstinence, then it does not exist, and the argument which is based upon it is nugatory.

But even if it were proved that such a change had taken place, it would not alter the case or improve the argument, for that involves another and more serious fallacy. It estimates the motives, and measures the conduct, of Christ by the narrow limitations and imperfect moral standards of ordinary men. But he was not environed by any such conditions as theirs. There was nothing local or temporary in his character, his instructions, or his influence. He belonged to no age, since he lived for every age. His mode of governing his life was to furnish principles of conduct to men until the end of time. It was so ordered that all might find in him a safe and helpful example amid every variety of experience or stress of circumstance. Dr. Plumb asks us * to "picture the compassionate Jesus standing amid sixty thousand drunkards who are said to die in this land every year; see him moving among those who are to form that lost and ruined army in future years, who are now questioning whether to begin to drink or to leave all intoxicants forever alone, and then imagine, if you can, that as they are hesitating whether to take the fatal first step which will lead them on to their endless loss, the self-sacrificing Jesus, knowing this, would consent to tempt them to that step, and that he would do it because he was unwilling to give up the personal gratification of drinking wine." And he asks, "Can any thing much more shocking or irreverent, or more utterly opposed to the whole spirit of the suffering Saviour, be imagined than that?" Nothing *any* more shocking, etc., can be imagined, we admit. But to the inference which Dr. Plumb proceeds to draw from these premises we must enter a demurrer. "If the principles which governed the Saviour's life would keep him from doing this were he now here," he concludes "those principles should deter every disciple of Jesus from taking this heartless and self-indulgent course." We will not call this a *non-sequitur*, but it is not the natural and legitimate conclusion from the premises. That conclusion is this: If those principles "would keep him from doing this were he now here," they would equally have deterred him "from taking

* Essay before Ministerial Temperance Convention, Boston "Traveller," March 8, 1881.

this heartless and self-indulgent course" when on earth he was living and acting in omniscient comprehension of every temptation to which each soul of man would be exposed in all coming ages. For it is Dr. Plumb who emphatically asserts, "The Lord Jesus Christ before he came to the earth perfectly knew all coming history; he clearly foresaw every exigency that could ever arise; he planned his own earthly life in every smallest particular and with reference to all the long future." That settles on his own principles whether or not Christ in the first century abstained for the sake of the tempted of this nineteenth century. Christ does not demand of his disciples any stricter self-denial for the sake of others than he himself practiced on their account. For us to claim that he did not set the example, and then ourselves to abstain from any scruples whatever, is to profess to be in advance of Christ; it is for the servant to set himself above the Master; it is to cast reflections on the character and conduct of our blessed Lord. If he drank alcoholic beverages we may do the same. Not that we *must*, but we *may*. There can be no obligation to abstain which he would not have recognized and enforced by his own example. If he indulged, indulgence is innocent. If we must abstain because of our influence, his is infinitely greater. If he has sanctioned the habit of wine-drinking by his practice, that fact must outweigh every other in a controversy upon the subject. If the charge which is brought against him of being a wine-bibber be sustained, then we have no invulnerable argument with which to urge the duty of total abstinence. In answer to the soundest objection which we may bring against the use of intoxicating liquors, it will be sufficient for every man to cite the example of Christ, and to claim its sanction for his indulgence, provided it be kept within the limits of moderation. And intrenched behind such scriptural defenses it will be impossible to dislodge the drinking customs of society. The cause of temperance will receive a blow from which it can never recover. That cause will not prosper unless it is built upon the will and word of God. The doctrine of total abstinence will not command the obedience of men unless it comes to them with a "Thus saith the Lord." Every thing that is vital to this great issue is determined by Christ's position upon the question. With tremulous interest, therefore,

we proceed to inquire, *Was Jesus Christ a wine-bibber?* And let us consider

II. The Charge and its Authors.

1. What does the charge imply? It is all contained in the epithet "wine-bibber," which is so contemptuously applied to Christ. Webster defines the English term, "One who drinks much wine, a great drinker." Worcester defines, "One who drinks wine habitually or to excess, a tippler." The Greek term is *οἰνοπότης*. It is used only in this connection in the New Testament. The LXX used it to render the Hebrew סֹבְאֵי־יָיִן, (*sovai-yayin*,) literally, "soakers of wine." (Prov. xxiii, 20.) It is also found in classic Greek, (Anacreon 72; Luc. Asin. 48; and Polybius xx, 8, 2.) In the version of Wycliffe (1380) it is rendered "drynker of wyne" in Matthew, and in Luke "drynkynge wiyn." Tyndale (1534) renders "drynker of wyne" in both Gospels. Beza translates *vini-potor*, "drinker of wine," in Matthew, and both Beza and the Vulgate *bibens vinum*, "drinking wine," in Luke. In the Greek, as in the other tongues, "drinker" has an intensive force indicating the habitual repetition of the act. It gives emphasis to the habit rather than to the effect of the habit. The use of the connected term *φάγος*, accurately rendered "gluttonous," marks this sense. The charge of being an *οἰνοπότης* did not necessarily imply that Jesus used wine for the purpose of stimulation rather than of nutrition, or that he drank stimulating wines to intoxication, although both may have been intended by the cavil. It does mean, however, that he used wine, whether intoxicating or not, customarily, and perhaps immoderately. And yet how much less such an accusation might imply than our nineteenth century conceptions of intemperance would suggest is indicated by a note of Dr. Gill on Deut. xxi, 20: * "According to the Mishna, a glutton and a drunkard is one that eats half a pound of flesh and drinks half a log of Italian wine—a quarter of a pint—which would be at this day reckoned very little by our grandsons of Bacchus, as Snickard observes, but in an age of severer discipline, in the tender candidates of temperance it was reckoned too much." And then he adds, "The Jews seem to refer to this when they charged Christ with being a glutton

* Quoted in "Temperance Bible Commentary," p. 57.

and a wine-bibber." In substance the epithet was very nearly equivalent to our modern designation of "moderate drinker."

2. Who make anciently this charge? The only clue we have to an answer is given in Christ's own words: "They say, (λέγουσι,) Behold, a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber," etc. "They say" is always untrustworthy authority. Candid men never accept its evidence. It is usually false, and oftentimes foully calumnious. The truth in any given instance is ordinarily to be reached only through an absolute reversal of its testimony. Mr. Patmore, in writing of the gifted William Hazlitt says*: "Precisely *because* he was the most original thinker of his day we heard him held up a mere waiter upon the intellectual wealth of his acquaintances—a mere sucker of the brains of Charles Lamb and Coleridge. Precisely *because* his face was pale and clear like marble, we saw him pointed out as the 'Pimpled Hazlitt.' *Precisely because he never tasted any thing but water, we saw him held up as an habitual gin-drinker and sot.*" Hazlitt himself said: "If I had been a dram-drinker the world would have called me a milksop." It would, undoubtedly, have done the same with Jesus. But, it is said, it is Christ himself who makes us acquainted with this charge. "He tells us that his drinking wine brought on him a railing accusation of the men of his generation," says Dr. Moore.† But this was not a confession of judgment on his part. On the contrary, his language very clearly implied that his drinking, whatever it was—for he did not say "drinking *wine*," as Dr. Moore affirms—furnished no ground for the charge of being a "wine-bibber." It is true he attempted no explicit denial of the allegation; but neither did he deny that John had a devil, (Matt. xi, 18,) or that he was himself also a glutton and a sensualist. For this last accusation was contained in the assertion that he was "a friend of publicans and sinners." But why did he make no denial of these charges? Simply because he knew none was called for. His enemies perfectly well understood that they were false. They knew that he was not a wine-bibber in any such sense as the word was intended to convey. But they were bent on destroying his influence as a moral teacher and religious reformer.

* "My Friends and Acquaintances," London, 1854, vol. ii, p. 348.

† "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 88.

They judged that they could do this most effectively by assailing his private character. So they fabricated and tried to fasten upon him the charge of reckless self-indulgence. But to all their calumnies he deigned only the simple answer, "Wisdom is justified by her children." (Matt. xi, 19.) My life and labors are my sufficient vindication. Those who know me need no denial from my lips; those who hate me would receive none.

The fact that his enemies put gluttony, and sensuality, and wine-bibbing on a par proves the estimation in which the latter habit was held. It was reckoned a disgrace in that day as it is in our own. And yet on the ground of these unscrupulous slanders we are asked to believe that Christ exposed himself to that disgrace. It would be just as reasonable to regard him as a blasphemer, because he was charged with that offense before the high court of Caiaphas. It is not improbable that he who came "to seek and to save that which was lost" sometimes found himself in the company of those who drank immoderately, and possibly to intoxication. But to argue from such a circumstance that he in like manner indulged would compel the further admission that he yielded to gluttony and sensuality. It is claimed,* however, that "his example as a user of wine is expressly contrasted by himself with the example of his forerunner, John the Baptist, who, being a Nazarite, was an abstainer from wine." But this argument proves too much, if it proves any thing. If Jesus must have partaken of all kinds of wine, fermented and unfermented, because John abstained from all kinds, then, by parity of reasoning, he must have indulged in all the viands of Judea, since John ate only "locusts and wild honey." But the contrast in this case is neither universal nor specific, but general. John, as a Nazarite, was vowed to abstinence from all products of the vine, whether solid or liquid, "from the kernels even to the husk." (Num. vi, 1–4.) Jesus was not a Nazarite, and was under no such obligation. He was perfectly free to satisfy his natural wants with any of "the good creatures" which his Father in heaven had provided. And in fact we know that he did partake of "the fruit of the vine." (Matt. xxvi, 29, etc.) But that in any instance this was an intoxicating article is a wholly unwarranted and gratuitous assumption.

* Prof. Bumstead, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 86.

ART. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1881. (Philadelphia.)—1. Freemasonry; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S.J. 2. Some of the Aspects of the Work of English Converts; by Arthur F. Marshall, B.A. 3. The Spirit World; by Rev. J. F. X. Hœffer, S.J. 4. Catholicity in Kentucky—Grace Newton Simpson; by B. J. Webb. 5. The Existence of God Demonstrated, (Third Article:) by Rev. J. Ming, S.J. 6. The Revival of Manufactures in Ireland; by M F. Sullivan. 7. The Lesson of President Garfield's Assassination; by John G. Shea, LL.D. 8. An American Catholic Dramatist; by Eugene L. Didier. 9. The Impossibilities of Unbelief; by A. De G. 10. Right and Wrong: Their Relation to Man's Ultimate End; by James A. Cain. 11. Gladstone's Latest Blunder; by Geo. D. Wolff.

BAPTIST REVIEW, October, November, December, 1881. (Cincinnati.)—1. Is it Always Right to Obey the Dictates of Conscience? by J. M. Pendleton, D.D. 2. A Question of Good Conscience; by Prof. E. Adkins, D.D. 3. The Plymouth Brethren; by Henry M. King, D.D. 4. The Position of Women Among the Ancient Romans; by Jeremiah Chaplin, D.D. 5. Mediæval Latin Poetry; by J. S. Tunison, A.M. 6. An Address Prepared for the Semi-Centennial Celebration of Denison University, June, 1881; by E. Thresher, LL.D.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1881. (Andover.)—1. A Chapter on Proverbs; by Rev. J. I. Mombert, D.D. 2. Is Salvation Possible without a Knowledge of the Gospel? by Lucius E. Smith. 3. Remarks upon the Languages of the Arabs and the Turks; by Prof. H. S. Osborn. 4. The Language of Isaiah xl–lxvi; by Rev. William Henry Cobb. 5. What is Swedenborgianism? by Rev. James Reed. 6. A Sober View of Abstinence from Intoxicating Stimulants; by Rev. Daniel Merriman, D.D. 7. Theological Education.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, July, 1881. (Gettysburg.)—1. By-Ways in the Life of Luther; by John G. Morris, D.D., LL.D. 2. Of Civil Affairs; by Rev. L. E. Albert, D.D. 3. The Survival of the Feelings; by Rev. George F. Magoun, D.D. 4. The Liturgical Question; by Rev. F. W. Conrad, D.D. 5. The Lutheran Church in Dutchess County, N. Y.; by Rev. William Hull. 6. Private Confession and Absolution; by Rev. L. A. Fox, A.M. 7. Human Instrumentality in God's Work; by M. Valentine, D.D.

October.—1. Development and Direction of Lay Work; by Rev. John Leyburn, D.D. 2. Talmudic Notes on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; by Prof. Franz Delitzsch, D.D. 3. The Church, Visible and Invisible; by Rev. H. C. Haitheox, 4. Visits to the Sick-Bed of Martin Luther; by John G. Morris, D.D., LL.D. 5. Jesus and Hillel: A Translation from Dr. Franz Delitzsch; by Rev. P. C. Croll, A.M. 6. Interpretation of Romans vii, 14–25; by Rev. John Tomlinson, A.M. 7. Essentials in the Teacher of Theology; by Rev. C. S. Albert, A.M. 8. Advance in Theology; by Prof. C. A. Stork, D.D.

NEW ENGLANDER, November, 1881. (New Haven.)—1. Personal Reminiscences of the Spanish Revolution; by Prof. W. I. Knapp. 2. The Church Organist; by Waldo S. Pratt. 3. Roswitha, the Nun of Gandersheim; by Miss Alice C. Osborne. 4. The Inductive Method in Theology; by Rev. James G. Roberts, D.D. 5. Democracy; by Henry Carter Adams. 6. Culture as a Substitute for Christianity; by Rev. Pres. William W. Patton, D.D. 7. The Life of Dr. Henry Boynton Smith; by Prof. Timothy Dwight. 8. Piety in the Middle Ages; by Rev. E. Woodward Brown.

January, 1882.—1. Old Times in Connecticut; by Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D. 2. Democritus of Abdera: An Historical Study on the Beginnings of Greek Moral Philosophy; From the German of F. Kern, Gymnasial Director at Stettin; Translated by Rev. J. B. Chase. 3. The Sacrifices Demanded by Unbelief;

by Prof. R. B. Richardson. 4. The Alleged Infallibility of the Scriptures Practically Considered; by Rev. J. M. Whiton. 5. Fit Truths for Fit Times; by W. M. Barbour, D.D. 6. Reconstruction in Theology; by Rev. Professor Lewis F. Stearns. 7. Christian Worship in its Theory and Practice; by Prof. Henry N. Day. 8. Professor Phelps' "Theory of Preaching;" by Geo. B. Stevens.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, October, 1881. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of Ebenezer Alden, M.D.; by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D.D. 2. Letter of Mrs. Alice Daniels; Com. by William B. Trask, Esq. 3. The Family of Dummer; by Col. Joseph L. Chester, LL.D., D.C.L. 4. Early History of Brookfield; by Henry E. Waite, Esq. 5. Three Years on Board the Kearsarge; Com. by A. J. Lathrop, Esq. 6. Roger Garde; by Charles E. Banks, M.D. 7. Was Gov. Leverett a Knight? by Hon. Thomas C. Amory. 8. Longmeadow Families; by Willard S. Allen, A.M. 9. Building up Harvard Hall; by William B. Trask, Esq. 10. Robert Bronsdon and Descendants; by Robert H. Eddy, Esq. 11. Marriages in West Springfield; by Mr. Lyman H. Bagg. 12. The Ossipee Townships; by Charles T. Libby, Esq. 13. Thomas Hale, of Newbury, Mass.; his English Origin and Connections; by the Hon. Robert S. Hale, LL.D. 14. The Coffin Name and Armorial Bearings; by John C. J. Brown, Esq.

North American Review, October, 1881. (New York.)—1. Some Dangerous Questions; by Senator John T. Morgan. 2. The Elements of Puritanism; by Prof. George P. Fisher. 3. The State and the Nation; by Senator George F. Edmunds. 4. The Idea of the University; by President Daniel C. Gilman. 5. Why Cornwallis was at Yorktown; by Sydney Howard Gay. 6. Shall Two States Rule the Union? by Thomas A. Hendricks. 7. The Ruins of Central America. Part IX.; by Désiré Charnay. 8. Washington as a Strategist; by Col. Henry B. Carrington.

November.—1. Presidential Inability; by Lyman Trumbull, Judge Thomas M. Cooley, Benjamin F. Butler, Prof. Theodore W. Dwight. 2. England's Hereditary Republic; by the Marquis of Blandford. 3. The Appointing Power; by Senator G. F. Hoar. 4. The Christian Religion. Part II.; by R. G. Ingersoll.

December.—1. The Monroe Doctrine in 1881; by John A. Kasson. 2. The Death Penalty; by Rev. Dr. George B. Cheever, Samuel Hand, and Wendell Phillips. 3. The Gladstone Government and Ireland; by H. O. Arnold-Forster. 4. The Surgical Treatment of President Garfield; by Dr. William A. Hammond, Dr. John Ashurst, Jun., Dr. J. Marion Sims, and Dr. John T. Hodgen. 5. Reform in Federal Taxation; by David A. Wells.

Presbyterian Review, October, 1881. (New York.)—1. Notes on the Revised New Testament; by Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D.D. 2. The Proof of New Testament Miracle Compared with the Proof of the Miracle of the Roman Calendar; by Rev. Clement R. Vaughan, D.D. 3. Mediæval Jewish Theology; by Prof. Henry P. Smith. 4. The Biblical Blank; by Rev. R. M. Patterson, D.D. 5. Preaching and Modern Skepticism; by Rev. Pres. Henry Darling, D.D., LL.D.

Princeton Review, November, 1881. (New York.)—1. Consciousness and Personality; by Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., LL.D. 2. The Relations of Moral Philosophy to Speculation Concerning the Origin of Man; by Professor Henry Calderwood. 3. Sociology; by William G. Sumner. 4. The Origin and Development of Musical Scales; by Waldo S. Pratt. 5. Some Difficulties of Modern Materialism; by Professor Borden P. Bowne. 6. Illustrations of a Law of Evolution of Thought; by Joseph Le Conte, LL.D. 7. The Kantian Centennial; by President Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D.

Universalist Quarterly, October, 1881. (Boston.)—1. Plato's Argument for Immortality; by Sumner Ellis, D.D. 2. The Nature of Christ; by G. T. Flanders, D.D. 3. Thoughts on the Parables; by Rev. W. S. Perkins. 4. Reminiscences of Early American Universalism—First Paper; by Rev. Anson Titus, Jr. 5. Resurrection—Its Nature and Development; by Rev. R. O. Williams. 6. The Revised Version of the New Testament—A Criticism; by Rev. O. D. Miller. 7. Religion vs. Modern Doubt—The Unknowable; by William Tucker, D.D.

THE CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY QUARTERLY, October, 1881. (New York.)—1. Historical. 2. The Cry of "Conflict;" by Charles F. Deems, D.D., LL.D. 3. What we mean by Christian Philosophy; by Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D. 4. Some Difficulties in Modern Materialism; by Borden P. Bowne. 5. The Religious Aspect of the American Scientific Association; by Prof. H. S. Trowbridge.

This neat new quarterly is the organ of the lately formed "American Institute of Christian Philosophy," a society consisting of a body of leading Christian thinkers, associated for the purpose of furnishing lectures and essays on Christian Philosophy, and sending them forth to the world. The Society admits members upon application, an annual subscription of ten dollars being required to pay expenses. The gentlemen who initiated the project found—

A hearty coadjutor in William O. M'Dowell, Esq., who owned a beautiful property called Warwick Woodlands, situated on the west side of Greenwood Lake, a beautiful body of water lying nearly equally in New Jersey and New York, at the terminus of a railway forty-two miles in length from New York city. This gentleman engaged to build a hall which should be used for the lectures, and by his energy secured an encampment hotel, the rooms of which consisted of tents. He showed the additional munificence of paying the fees and expenses of the lecturers. According to announcement the course was opened on the morning of July 12, with the reading of a portion of the Holy Scriptures and with prayer by Charles F. Deems, D.D., LL.D., who had permitted himself to be announced as Dean of the School, and who presided over all its exercises. Dr. Deems then delivered a lecture on "The Cry of 'Conflict.'" On Wednesday, July 13, the opening worship was conducted by Rev. W. B. Palmore of Mo., and a lecture delivered by President Porter, of Yale College; the subject, "What we mean by Christian Philosophy." On Thursday, July 14, the opening worship was conducted by Rev. George A. Gates, of Montclair, and a lecture delivered by Prof. Borden P. Bowne, of Boston University; the subject, "Some Difficulties of Modern Materialism." On Friday, July 15, the opening worship was led by Rev. Prof. Sawyer. The Rev. Thomas Guard, of Baltimore, had been announced, but the state of the health of that gentleman kept him from the school, and his place was supplied by Prof. Stephen Alexander, of Princeton, whose lecture was on the "Origin and Primitive State of Man." On Saturday, July 16, the public worship was conducted by Rev. Addison K. Strong, D.D., of Hoboken, and the lecture delivered by Prof. C. A. Young, of Princeton, on "Astronomical Facts for Philosophical Thinkers." A number of persons remained in the Encampment Hotel, and many visitors were at the other hotels around the lake, drawn thither by the great beauty of Lake Greenwood and its vicinity. The published syllabus provided a sermon for Sunday, and no discourse

collected a larger congregation than that which attended the sermon, which was delivered by the Rev. Amory H. Bradford, A.M., of Montclair, N. J., who had acted as Secretary of the Summer School from its inception. Mr. Bradford's subject was "Conditions of Spiritual Sight." The text was Matt. v, 8: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Monday, July 18, the public worship was conducted by Rev. W. C. Stiles of Brooklyn, and the lecture delivered by Prof. Alexander Winchell, of the University of Michigan; the subject, "The Philosophical Consequences of Evolution." Tuesday, July 19, the public worship was conducted by Rev. Dr. Taylor, of Newark, N. J., and the lecture delivered by the Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D., of New York city; the subject, "Foundations of Christian Belief." Wednesday, July 20, the public worship was conducted by Rev. Dr. E. O. Flagg, of Newark, N. J., and the lecture delivered by the Rev. J. H. M'Ilvaine, D.D., of Newark, N. J.; the subject, "Science and Revelation." Thursday, July 21, the public worship was conducted by the Rev. Dr. Bacon, of Toledo, O., and the lecture delivered by Prof. B. N. Martin, of the University of New York; the subject, "Recent Physical Theories in their Bearing on Teleology." Friday, July 22, the public worship was conducted by the Rev. Dr. Craven, of Newark, N. J., and the lecture delivered by President John Bascom, of the University of Wisconsin; the subject, "The Gains and Losses of Faith from Science."

From the beginning to the close of the course of lectures there was an increase of attendance and interest.

On the 21st of July, 1881, in the Hall of Philosophy at Warwick Woodlands, Greenwood Lake, N. Y., a meeting was held on call for the purpose of organizing the American Institute of Christian Philosophy. The Rev. J. H. M'Ilvaine, D.D., of Newark, N. J., presided, and Rev. A. H. Bradford, of Montclair, N. J., was elected Secretary.

We may earnestly commend this "Institute" to the attention of the thoughtful men of our Church, both ministers and laymen.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, October, 1881. 1. Organic Union—Disruption and Fraternity; by C. W. Miller, D.D. 2. Biographies of John Wesley; by George John Stevenson, M.A. 3. Irenics. 4. Bishop Doggett as a Preacher. 5. The Canterbury Revision; by Rev. Edward S. Gregory. 6. Modern Sacred Music; by Rev. Leo Rosser. 7. The Assassination. 8. The Bunsens and the Hares; by Mrs. Martin. 9. Listening to the Beat of my Heart; by Rev. A. A. Lipscomb, D.D., LL.D.

The article on "Disruption and Fraternity" is a patient repetition of the illusions and fallacies of the past, without any notice or apparent knowledge that any answers have been made to them. The work of reply would be now superfluous, for the reason that the writer's defensive survey of the past is

good only for its section and for a limited time. Out of the South, and in the South a few years hence, the article has no validity. The whole is a past discussion; we have done full justice to it in the past; and we may well let it go and devote our thoughts to securing a peaceful present and a prosperous future for all Methodism and all our reunited country.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1881. (London.)—1. The Old Testament in the Jewish Church; by Rev. Alfred Cave, B.A. 2. The Probability of a Revealed Religion; by Rev. Walter Morison, D.D. 3. The Archæology of Celtic Christianity; by Rev. C. G. M'Crie. 4. Forgiveness—Human and Divine. 5. Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism; by Rev. J. N. Fradenburgh, Ph.D. 6. Our Earlier Literature; by Professor Theodore W. Hunt, Ph.D. 7. The Jewish Question in Europe; by Professor S. H. Kellogg, D.D. 8. Causation and Development; by President M'Cosh, D.D., LL.D.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1881. (New York.)—1. Dean Stanley's "Christian Institutions." 2. Albania and Scanderbeg. 3. The Koran. 4. Dauphiny. 5. The Pontificate of Leo XIII. 6. Memoir of M. de Circourt. 7. Ballads and other Poems, by Alfred Tennyson. 8. Helmholtz and Carter on Eyesight. 9. Colonel Gordon in Central Africa. 10. The Fallacies of Fair Trade.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1881. (New York.)—1. New Testament Revision: The New Greek Text. 2. The Past and the Future of the Conservative Party. 3. Dean Stanley's "Christian Institutions." 4. The Development of Electric Lighting. 5. The Works of Alexander Pope. 6. Luxury—Ancient and Modern. 7. Jebb's "Attic Orators." 8. Fair Trade and British Labor.

The first article, written by a bold and masterly hand, is a scathing broadside upon the New Revision and an arraignment of the Revisers. Its immediate indictment is, for the present, not so much against the translation, but against *the Text* from which the translation is made. This makes the matter altogether worse, however, for even a good translation of a bad text is bad.

The main ground of the assault is that the Revisers' text was furnished them by scholars who reposed a fatal confidence in some five ancient manuscripts—a confidence falsified by the character of the manuscripts themselves. Those five are the Vatican, marked B; Tischendorf's Sinaitic, ℵ; the Alexandrian, A; the rescript codex preserved at Paris, C; and Codex Bezæ, D. We here quote part of his condemnation of the

MISTAKEN PARTIALITY FOR A FEW MANUSCRIPTS.

Singular to relate, the first, second, fourth, and fifth of these Codices, (B ℵ C D,) but especially B and ℵ, have within the last twenty years established a tyrannical ascendency over the imagination of the critics, which can only be fitly spoken of as a blind

superstition. It matters nothing that all four are discovered on careful scrutiny to differ essentially, not only from ninety-nine out of a hundred of the whole body of extant MSS. besides, but even *from one another.* This last circumstance, obviously fatal to their corporate pretensions, is unaccountably overlooked. And yet it admits of only one satisfactory explanation: namely, that *in different degrees* they all five exhibit a fabricated text. Between the first two (B and ℵ) there subsists an amount of sinister resemblance which proves that they must have been both derived at no very remote period from the same corrupt original. Yet do they stand asunder in every page, as well as differ widely from the commonly received Text, with which they have been carefully collated. In the Gospels alone, B is found to omit at least 2,877 words: to add, 536: to substitute, 935: to transpose, 2,098: to modify, 1,132, (in all 7,578,)—the corresponding figures for ℵ being severally 3,455, 839, 1,114, 2,299, 1,265, (in all 8,972.) And be it remembered that the omissions, additions, substitutions, transpositions, and modifications, *are by no means the same* in both. It is in fact *easier to find two consecutive verses in which these two MSS. differ the one from the other, than two consecutive verses in which they entirely agree.*

But by far the most depraved text is that exhibited by codex D. "No known manuscript contains so many bold and extensive interpolations. Its variations from the sacred Text are beyond all other example." This, however, is not the result of its being the most recent of the five, but (singular to relate) is due to quite an opposite cause. "When we turn to the Acts of the Apostles," (says the learned editor of the codex, Dr. Scrivener,) "we find ourselves confronted with a text, the like to which we have no experience of elsewhere. It is hardly an exaggeration to assert that codex D reproduces the *Textus receptus* much in the same way that one of the best Chaldee Targums does the Hebrew of the Old Testament: so wide are the variations in the diction, so constant and inveterate the practice of expounding the narrative by means of interpolations which seldom recommend themselves as genuine by even a semblance of internal probability." "*Sæpe dubites per ludumne an serio scripta legas,*"—is Tischendorf's blunt estimate of the text of that codex. Though a considerable portion of the Gospels is missing, in what remains we find 3,704 words omitted: no less than 2,213 added, and 2,121 substituted. The words transposed amount to 3,471: and 1,772 have been modified; the deflections from the received text thus amounting in all to 13,281.—Next after D, the most untrustworthy codex is ℵ, which bears on its front a memorable note of the evil repute under which it has always labored: namely, it is found that at least ten revisers between the fourth and the twelfth centuries busied themselves with the task of correcting its many and extraordinary perversions of the truth of Scripture.—Next in impurity comes B:—then the fragmentary codex C: our own A being, beyond all doubt, disfigured by the fewest blemishes of any.

What precedes admits to some extent of further numerical illustration. It is discovered that in the 111 (out of 320) pages of a copy of Lloyd's Greek Testament, in which alone these five manuscripts are collectively available for comparison in the Gospels—the serious deflections of A from the *Textus receptus* amount in all to only 842: whereas in C they amount to 1,798: in B, to 2,370: in ℵ, to 3,392: in D to 4,697. The readings *peculiar to* A within the same limits are 133: those peculiar to C are 170. But those of B amount to 197: while ℵ exhibits 443: and the readings peculiar to D (within the same limits) are no fewer than 1,829. . . . We submit that these facts are not altogether calculated to inspire confidence in codices B ℵ C D.

But let the learned chairman of the New Testament company of Revisionists (Bishop Ellicott) be heard on this subject. He is characterizing these same "old uncials," which it is just now the fashion to hold up as oracular, and to which his lordship is almost as devotedly attached as his neighbors:—

"The *simplicity and dignified conciseness*" (he says) "of the Vatican manuscript (B): the *greater expansiveness* of our own Alexandrian (A): the *partially mixed characteristics* of the Sinaitic (ℵ): the *paraphrastic tone* of the *singular* codex Bezæ, (D,) are now brought home to the student."

Could ingenuity have devised severer satire than such a description of four professing *transcripts* of a book; and *that* book the everlasting Gospel itself?—transcripts, be it observed in passing, on which it is just now the fashion to rely implicitly for the very orthography of proper names—the spelling of common words—the minutiæ of grammar. What (we ask) would be thought of four such "*copies*" of Thucydides or of Shakspeare? Imagine it gravely proposed, by the aid of four such conflicting documents, to re-adjust the text of the funeral oration of Pericles, or to re-edit "Hamlet." *Risum teneatis amici?* Why, some of the poet's most familiar lines would become scarcely recognizable: for example, A,—"*Toby or not Toby; that is the question:*" B,—"*Tob or not, is the question:*" ℵ,—"*To be a tub or not to be a tub; the question is that:*" C,—"*The question is, to beat, or not to beat Toby:*" D,—(the "singular codex,") "*The only question is this—to beat that Toby, or to be a tub.*"—Pp. 164, 165.

We quote the following reply to the argument derived from the

ANTIQUITY OF THESE MANUSCRIPTS.

But surely (rejoins the intelligent reader, coming fresh to these studies) the oldest extant manuscripts (B ℵ A C D) *must* exhibit the purest text! Is it not so? It *ought* to be so, no doubt, (we answer,) but it certainly *need not* be the case.

We know that Origen in Palestine, Lucian at Antioch, Hesychius in Egypt, "revised" the text of the N. T. Unfortunately, they did their work in an age when such fatal

misapprehension prevailed on the subject that each in turn will have inevitably imported a fresh assortment of *monstra* into the sacred writings. Add, the baneful influence of such spirits as Theophilus, (sixth Bishop of Antioch, A. D. 168,) Tatian, Ammonius, etc., of whom there must have been a vast number in the primitive age—some of whose productions, we know for certain, were freely multiplied in every quarter of ancient Christendom:—add, the fabricated gospels which anciently abounded; notably the "Gospel of the Hebrews," about which Jerome is so communicative, and which (he says) he had translated into Greek and Latin:—lastly, freely grant that, here and there, with well-meant assiduity, the orthodox themselves may have sought to prop up truths which the early heretics (Basilides, [134,] Valentinus [140] with his disciple Heracleon, Marcion, [150,] and the rest) most perseveringly assailed;—and we have sufficiently explained how it comes to pass that not a few of the codices of ancient Christendom must have exhibited a text which was even scandalously corrupt. "It is no less true to fact than paradoxical in sound," writes the most learned of the Revisionist body, "that the worst corruptions to which the New Testament has ever been subjected, originated within a hundred years after it was composed; that Irenæus [A. D. 150] and the African Fathers, and the whole Western, with a portion of the Syrian Church, used far inferior manuscripts to those employed by Stunica, or Erasmus, or Stephens thirteen centuries later, when molding the Textus Receptus."

And what else are codices ℵ B C D but *specimens—in vastly different degrees—of the class thus characterized* by Dr. Scrivener? Nay, who will venture to deny that those codices are indebted for their preservation *solely* to the circumstance, that they were long since recognized as the depositories of readings which rendered them utterly untrustworthy?—Pp. 168, 169.

We give the following statement on

WESTCOTT AND HORT'S GREEK TESTAMENT.

The last to enter the field are Drs. Westcott and Hort, whose beautifully printed edition of "the New Testament in the original Greek" was published *on the same day* with the "Revised Authorized Version" itself, a copy of their work having been already confidentially intrusted to every member of the New Testament company of Revisionists to guide them in their labors. The learned Editors candidly avow that they "have deliberately chosen on the whole to rely for documentary evidence on the stores accumulated by their predecessors, and to confine themselves to their proper work of editing the text itself." Nothing therefore has to be inquired after except the critical principles on which they have proceeded. And, after assuring us that "the study of grouping is the foundation of all enduring criticism" they produce their secret: namely, that in "every one of

our witnesses," *except codex* B, the "corruptions are innumerable;" and that, in the Gospels, the one "group of witnesses" of "*incomparable value*," is codex B in "combination with another primary Greek manuscript, as ℵ B, B L, B C, B T, B D, B Ξ, A B, B Z, B 33, and in S. Mark B Δ." This is "Textual Criticism made easy," certainly. Well aware of the preposterous results to which such a major premise must inevitably lead, we are not surprised to find a plea straightway put in for "*instinctive processes of criticism*," of which *the foundation "needs perpetual correction and recorrection.*" But our confidence fairly gives way when, in the same breath, the accomplished Editors proceed as follows:—"But we are obliged to come to *the individual mind* at last; and canons of criticism are useful only as warnings against natural illusions, and aids to circumspect consideration, not as absolute rules to prescribe the final decision. It is true that no individual mind can ever work with perfect uniformity, or free itself completely from its own idiosyncrasies. Yet a clear sense of the danger of unconscious caprice may do much toward excluding it. We trust, also, that the present text has escaped some risks of this kind by being the joint production of two editors of different habits of mind." A somewhat insecure safeguard surely! May we be permitted without offense to point out that the "idiosyncrasies" of an "individual mind" (to which we learn with astonishment "we are obliged to come at last") are probably the very worst foundation possible on which to build the recension of an inspired writing? With regret we record our conviction that these accomplished scholars have succeeded in producing a Text *vastly more remote from the inspired autographs of the Evangelists than any which has appeared since the invention of printing.* When full Prolegomena have been furnished, we shall know more about the matter; but, to judge from the Remarks (pp. 541–562) which the learned Editors (Revisionists themselves) have subjoined to their elegantly printed volume, it is to be feared that the fabric will be found to rest too exclusively on vague assumption and unproved hypothesis. In other words, a painful apprehension is created, that their edition of "the New Testament in the original Greek" will be found to partake inconveniently of the nature of a work of the imagination. As codex ℵ proved fatal to Dr. Tischendorf, so is codex B evidently the rock on which Drs. Westcott and Hort have split.—Pp. 167, 168.

The success of the writer's criticisms would at least have the good result of preserving intact two important passages of the Received Text, his defenses of which we here give:

THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF MARK.

We may now proceed with our examination of their work, beginning—as Dr. Roberts, one of the Revisionists, does, in his work explaining the method and results of their labors—with

what we hold to be the gravest blot of all, namely, the marks of serious suspicion which we find set against the last 12 verses of St. Mark's Gospel. Well may the learned writer anticipate that "The reader will be struck by the appearance which this long paragraph presents in the Revised Version. Although inserted, it is marked off by a considerable space from the rest of the Gospel. A note is also placed in the margin containing a brief explanation of this."

He refers to the words—"The two oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities, omit from verse 9 to the end. Some other authorities have a different ending to the Gospel."

But now,—for the use of *whom* has this piece of information been volunteered! Not for learned readers, certainly, it being familiarly known to all that codices B and ℵ *alone of manuscripts* (to their own effectual condemnation) omit these 12 verses. But then scholars know something more about the matter. They also know that these 12 verses have been made the subject of a separate treatise extending to upward of 300 pages,—which treatise has now been before the world for a full decade of years, and, for the best of reasons, has never yet been answered. Its object, stated on its title-page, was to vindicate against recent critical objectors, and to establish "the last Twelve Verses" of St. Mark's Gospel. Moreover, competent judges at once admitted that the author had succeeded in doing what he undertook to do. *Can* it then be right (we respectfully inquire) still to insinuate into unlearned minds distrust of twelve consecutive verses of the everlasting Gospel, which yet have been demonstrated to be as trustworthy as any other verses which can be named?

The question arises, But how did it come to pass that such evil counsels were allowed to prevail in the Jerusalem Chamber? Light has been let into the subject by two of the New Testament company. And first by Dr. Newth, who has been at the pains to describe the method which was pursued on such occasions. The practice (he informs us) was as follows. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol as chairman, asks—"whether any *textual* changes are proposed? The evidence for and against is briefly stated, and the proposal considered. The duty of stating this evidence is, by tacit consent, devolved (*sic*) upon two members of the company, who from their previous studies are specially entitled to speak with authority upon such questions—Dr. Scrivener and *Dr. Hort*—and who come prepared to enumerate particularly the authorities on either side. Dr. Scrivener opens up the matter by stating the facts of the case, and by giving his judgment on the bearings of the evidence. Dr. Hort follows, and mentions any additional matters that may call for notice, and, if differing from Dr. Scrivener's estimate of the weight of the evidence, gives his reasons and states his own view. After discussion, the vote of the company is taken, and the proposed reading accepted or rejected. *The text being thus settled,* the chairman asks for proposals on the rendering."

And thus the men who were appointed to improve *the English translation*, are exhibited to us remodeling *the original Greek*. At a moment's notice, as if by intuition, these eminent divines undertake to decide which shall be deemed the genuine words of the sacred writers, and which *not*. Each is called upon to give his vote, and he gives it. "*The Text being thus settled*," they proceed to do the only thing they were originally appointed to do; namely, to try their hands at improving our Authorized Version. But we venture respectfully to suggest that by no such "rough-and-ready" process is that most delicate and difficult of all critical problems—the truth of Scripture—to be "settled."

We naturally cast about for some evidence that the members of the New Testament company possess that mastery of the subject which alone could justify one of their number (Dr. Milligan) in asserting roundly that these 12 verses are "*are not from the pen of St. Mark himself;*" and another (Dr. Roberts) in maintaining that "the passage is *not the immediate production of St. Mark*." Dr. Roberts assures us that "Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Victor of Antioch, Severus of Antioch, Jerome, as well as other writers, especially Greeks, testify that these verses were not written by St. Mark, or not found in the best copies."

Will the learned writer permit us to assure him in return that he is entirely mistaken? He is requested to believe that Gregory of Nyssa says nothing of the sort—*says nothing at all* concerning these verses: that Victor of Antioch vouches emphatically for their *genuineness:* that Severus does but copy, while Jerome does but translate, a few random expressions of Eusebius: and that Eusebius himself *nowhere* "testifies that these verses were not written by St. Mark." So far from it, Eusebius actually *quotes the verses*, quotes them as *genuine*. Dr. Roberts is further assured that there are *no* "other writers," whether Greek or Latin, who insinuate doubt concerning these verses. On the contrary, besides *both* the Latin and *all the* Syriac—besides the Gothic and the *two* Egyptian versions—there exist four authorities of the second century; as many of the third; five of the fifth; four of the sixth; as many of the seventh;—together with *at least ten* of the fourth, (*contemporaries, therefore, of codices* B *and* ℵ,) which actually *recognize* the verses in question. Now, when to *every known manuscript but two* of bad character,—besides *every ancient version—some one and thirty Fathers* are added, eighteen of whom must have used copies at least as old as either B or ℵ,—Dr. Roberts is assured that an amount of external authority has been accumulated which is simply impregnable in discussions of this nature. But the significance of a single circumstance, of which up to this point nothing has been said, is alone sufficient to determine the controversy. We refer to the fact that *in every part of eastern Christendom* these same 12 verses—neither more nor less—have been from the earliest recorded period, and

still are, *a proper lesson both for the Easter season and for Ascension Day.*—Pp. 171, 172.

WORDS OF THE ANGELS' SONG, LUKE ii, 14.

A more grievous perversion of the truth of Scripture is scarcely to be found than occurs in the proposed revised exhibition of St. Luke ii, 14, in the Greek and English alike; for indeed not only is the proposed Greek text (*ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας*) impossible, but the English of the Revisionists ("*peace among men in whom he is well pleased*") "can be arrived at" (as one of themselves has justly remarked) "only through some process which would make any phrase bear almost any meaning the translator might like to put upon it." More than that: the harmony of the exquisite three-part hymn, which the Angels sang on the night of the Nativity, becomes hopelessly marred, and its structural symmetry destroyed, by the welding of the second and third members of the sentence into one. Singular to relate, the addition of *a single letter* (ς) has done all this mischief. Quite as singular is it that we should be able at the end of upward of 1700 years to discover what occasioned its calamitous insertion. From the archetypal copy, by the aid of which the old Latin translation was made, (for the Latin copies *all* read "*pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis,*") the preposition *ἐν* was evidently away,—absorbed, apparently, by the *ἀν* which immediately follows. In order, therefore, to make a sentence of some sort out of words which, without *ἐν*, are simply unintelligible, *εὐδοκία* was turned into *εὐδοκίας*. It is, accordingly, a significant circumstance that, whereas there exists *no* Greek copy of the Gospels which *omits* the *ἐν*, there is scarcely a Latin exhibition of the place to be found which contains it. To return, however, to the genuine clause—"Good-will toward men," (*Ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.*)

Absolutely decisive of the reading of the passage—irrespectively of internal considerations—ought to be the consideration that it is vouched for *by every known copy* of the Gospels of whatever sort, excepting only ℵ A B D: the first and third of which, however, were anciently corrected and brought into conformity with the received Text; while the second (A) is observed to be so inconstant in its testimony, that in the primitive "morning-hymn" (given in another page of the same codex, and containing a quotation of Luke ii, 14) the correct reading of the place is found. D's complicity in error is the less important, because of the ascertained sympathy between that codex and the Latin. In the meantime the two Syriac Versions are a sufficient set-off against the Latin copies; while the hostile evidence of the Gothic (which this time sides with the Latin) is fully neutralized by the unexpected desertion of the Coptic version from the opposite camp. It therefore comes to this:—We are invited to make our election between every extant copy of the Gospels—every known lectionary,—and, not least of all, the ascertained ecclesiastical usage of the Eastern Church from the beginning—on

the one hand; and the testimony of four codices without a history or a character, which concur in upholding a patent mistake, on the other. Will any one hesitate as to the side to which he ought to yield allegiance?

Could doubt be supposed to be entertained in any quarter, it must at all events be borne away by the torrent of Patristic authority which is available on the present occasion.

The writer then quotes a body of Patristic authorities, and sums up.

For our present purpose they are *codices* of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. In this way, then, no less than *fifty-six* ancient witnesses in all have come back to testify to the men of this generation that the commonly received reading of St. Luke ii, 14, is *the true reading*, and that the text which the Revisionists are seeking to palm off upon us is *a fabrication and a blunder*. Will any one be found to maintain that the authority of B and ℵ is appreciable, when confronted by the first 15 contemporary ecclesiastical writers above enumerated? or that A can stand against the 7 which follow?

This is not all, however. Survey the preceding enumeration geographically, and note that, besides 1 named from Gaul, at least 2 stand for Constantinople, while 5 are dotted over Asia Minor: 2 at least represent Antioch; and 5, other parts of Syria: 3 stand for Palestine, and 2 for Churches further East: at least 5 are Alexandrian, 2 are men of Cyprus, and 1 is from Crete. If the articulate voices of so many illustrious Bishops, coming to us in this way from every part of ancient Christendom and all delivering the same unfaltering message,—if *this* be not allowed to be decisive on a point of the kind just now before us, then pray let us be told what amount of evidence men *will* accept as final. The plain truth is, that a case has been established against ℵ A B D and the Latin version, which amounts to *proof* that those documents, even when they conspire to yield the self-same evidence, are not trustworthy witnesses to the text of Scripture. The history of the reading advocated by the Revisionists is briefly this:—*It emerges into notice in the second century, and in the fourth disappears from sight entirely.*—Pp. 172–174.

It is plain that this bold arraignment of some of the most eminent biblical scholars of England comes from a high churchly quarter. It indicates that the New Revision will be decisively rejected by the Church of England. And, in that case, we think that, in the interests of Protestant unanimity, the General Conferences of our American Methodism will decline to authorize its adoption and use.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1881. (New York.)—1. The Irish Land Act and the English Land Question. 2. Political Memoirs: The Goderich and Wellington Administrations. 3. The Systematic Philosophy of Aristotle. 4. The Latest Bohemian Literature. 5. The Copyright Question. 6. The International Medical Congress and the Progress of Medicine. 7. Dean Stanley. 8. Women's Rights as Preached by Women.

Dean Stanley has been made the subject of leading articles in three English Quarterlies, the "London," "Edinburgh," and "Westminster.' In the two former he is overlaid with indiscriminate eulogy; in the latter with some keen sarcasm, rendered still keener by a genial flow of eulogy and a terrible amount of truth. The writer seems to be a "Christian theist" of the Theodore Parker and James Martineau school, and the point of his argument is to show, mostly from his Christian Institutions, that Stanley, had he been a sincere man, would have preached, not in Westminster Abbey, but in a Unitarian or theistic chapel. He shows, with no little clearness, that the Dean's belief in miracles was very nebulous; that he held the sacraments, the creeds, and the three orders to be accidents in Christian history very likely to be hereafter discarded; that the Bible is inspired only as every holy man is inspired; and that the Trinity is simply God as seen in creation, in history, and in love of excellence.

We believe that most persons who have read the Dean's fascinating "History of the Jewish Church" have recognized how all miraculous narratives are simply wrapped in gorgeous clouds. Few discriminating readers would doubt that to the Dean the literal miracle was a dubiety. Our reviewer exemplifies this by quoting his fine flurry over the ascension of Elijah as follows: "In this inextricable *interweaving of fact and figure* it is enough to remark how fitly such an act closes such a life. . . . By a sudden stroke of storm and whirlwind, or, as *we almost literally say* of the martyrs of old, by chariots and horses of fire, the servants of God pass away." How his nimble fancy would have figured the ascension of Christ we have no authority at hand for saying.

Hardly pertinent to the matter in hand, yet, as illustrating the present position of the Unitarians, or "Christian theists," at the present time, we give the two following eloquent passages from Martineau, which the "Review" adduces to show how Stanley would have preached had he not been swaddled in his Churchly gown.

"The total disappearance from our branch of the Reformed Churches of all *external authority* in matters of religion. The Catholic prediction, so often made when Luther threw off the restraints of ecclesiastical tradition, has at length come true; and the yoke of the Bible follows the yoke of the Church. The phrases which we have heard repeated with enthusiasm, that 'the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants,' that 'Scripture is the rule of faith and practice,' are indeed full of historical interest, but for minds at once sincere and exact have lost their magic power. . . . Our attitude toward Scripture thus becomes the same as that which has long been familiar to the Society of Friends, simply assuming that the Spirit of God which, in the old time wrought their elements of sanctity into the pages of the Bible, lives and operates forever in the human soul, renewing the light of Divine Truth and kindling eternal aspirations, so that the Day of Pentecost is never past, and there is still a tongue of fire for every evangelist."

Again:

"Another great change, though gradual and timid in its advance has for us reached its completion within our own memory—the disappearance from our faith of the entire *Messianic mythology*. I speak not merely of the lost argument from prophecy, now melted away by better understanding of the Hebrew writings, or of the interior relation, under any aspect, of the Old Testament and the New; but of the total discharge from our religious conceptions of that central Jewish dream which was always asking, *Art thou He that should come, or look we for another?* and of all its stage, its drama, and its scenery. . . . From the person of Jesus every thing *official* attached to him by Evangelists or divines has fallen away: when they put such false robes upon him they were but leading him to death. The pomp of royal lineage and fulfilled prediction, the prerogatives of King, of Priest, of Judge, the Advent, with retinue of angels on the clouds of heaven, are to us mere deforming investitures misplaced, like court dresses on the 'spirits of the just;' and he simply the Divine Flower of Humanity, blossoming after ages of spiritual growth, the realized possibility of life in God."

The fact that a man so pre-eminently sincere, upright, and in all other respects outspoken, so dealt with the Church's formularies and standards of doctrine, and yet retained his place among its ministers, is a damning proof of the evils, not only of requiring subscriptions to articles and formularies from men of immature minds, but of a Church whose theology and whose prayers are founded on and regulated by law, and whose endowments and social prestige and influence tempt men to an evasive conformity.

The Dean's intolerance against the opposers of the Establishment completes the picture:

The only point of difference which ever made him wanting in fairness, liberality, and candor to an opponent, was opposition to the Establishment. Toward the friends and supporters of the Liberation Society he was as unfair, illiberal, and uncandid as would have been any squire or rector of the period which, according to Mr. Froude, was the Golden Age of the Church of England. We never read the Dean's glorifications of the English Church without being reminded how, in this respect, he has very far departed from the teaching of his Master.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1882. First Number. *Essays:* 1. KLEINERT, Practical Theology. 2. RIEHM, Religion and Science. *Thoughts and Remarks.* 1. LEMME, On Titus i, 12. 2. THIELE, A Manuscript of Luther. *Review:* AMEND, The Prophet Ezekiel, reviewed by Camphausen.

Dr. Paul Kleinert, of the University of Berlin, occupies the most of this number with an exhaustive article on Practical Theology, the second of a series, treating of the problems of divine worship. He takes for his text the words of Luther, opening the preface to his Exposition of the Psalms: *Diligens verbi Dei prædicatio est proprius cultus Novi Testamenti*, a work which Luther closes with the remark: "The sum of all of which is, that every effort must be made to give prominence to the *Word*, and to abstain from a mere ranting and howling." With these and similar expressions Luther is not alone, for in them he is but the mouthpiece of the Reformation, whose every effort was to imbue religious life with the essence of the *Word* and the sacraments as a protest against the mere social and ethical side of Church life.

We opine, from the energy with which Kleinert pushes his practical arguments, that he has lived long enough to see the necessity of treating of something more wholesome and needful than the speculative theology of the German theologians. He virtually acknowledges that much which they have given to the world contains more mysticism than solid truth, and more husks than nourishing food. And we judge, also, that the author, who is a popular teacher in the Berlin schools, and is just now expounding to his classes the Book

of Job, and treating of the history of the constitution of the Evangelical Church in contradistinction to that of the formal State Church, is but the earlier exponent of a spirit now growing and gaining strength enough to make itself heard and felt.

The wild vagaries of the *isms* of the day in Germany have well-nigh smothered the *Word* among them, and true believers in the Bible, pure and simple, feel the burden of the duty to press the *Word* in this shape on the attention of the teachers and the taught. There is certainly a gratifying reaction now going on throughout the Fatherland in the religious arena. The speculative and semi-infidel teachers are now talking to empty benches, and their schools are well-nigh deserted; while the truly evangelical movement is growing apace. The cry of despair that we have heard for years, that no young men are entering the orthodox schools, is now ceasing, and we are told that they are now filling up with a class that seem to approach the work with a conviction if not a conversion. And it augurs well for the success of the good cause that reputable and popular teachers are stepping out of their chairs to enter the arena of the theological reviews with the exhortations to preach the *Word* to the people.

And in these same pages Professor Riehm, of Halle, a school of sweet memories left by Tholuck, treats of Religion and Science in an address made on the occasion of his assuming the rectorate of the faculty for the year. This gave him an opportunity to reach his colleagues as well as the youth of the institution, as the address of the new rector is always an interesting event, shadowing the animus of the hour and the prominent line of thought for the year. A few of his introductory sentences will show his style and manner of treating his subject: "The lofty aim of every German university worthy of the name arises before us at the commencement of a new year. We have higher duty, even, than the training of academic youth for the service of the State and the Church. A university can only fulfill its principal duty by combining with other studies that of the progress of science and the safe mode of arriving at scientific truth. This is the only way in which the student can acquire a truly academic culture and preparation for his future calling."

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology. Edited by Hilgenfeld.) Twenty-fifth Volume. First Number. 1. Dr. WILLIBALD GRIMM, The Theological Encyclopedia. 2. SCHWEIZER, Ritschl's Prolegomena to the History of Pietism. 3. HOLTZMANN, The Religious Idea of the School of Herbart. 4. HILGENFELD, Horace, by Theodore Keim. 5. RONSCH, Studies on the Itala. *Notices:* 1. The Biblical Theory of Earthquakes. 2. The Gospel of St. Paul. 3. De Hegesippo. 4. Octavius, Translated by Dombert.

Grimm, in his article on the "Theological Encyclopedia," appeals, in the first place, for a more complete classification of theological sciences. He complains of an absence with the older theologians of any line of division among the special theological sciences, the whole being comprehended in one organic mass. The subdivisions, when made, were confusing, and without principle. Thus, Buddeus treats the matter in the following order: Dogmatics, Symbolics, Patristics, Morals, Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence, Church History, Polemics, Exegesis; whereas his son-in-law, Walch, makes a totally different arrangement of the subjects. Buddeus gives no place to Practical Theology, and Walch none to Exegesis. Pfaff, in his *Introductio in Historiam Theologiæ Literariam*, makes five categories, excluding some of the above, and adding some of his own. Schleiermacher, in his "Scheme of Theological Studies," published in Berlin in 1811, made three principal divisions of his subject: Philosophical Theology, Historical Theology, and Practical Theology; while the last author of note, J. P. Lange, in his "Outlines of a Theological Encyclopedia," published in Heidelberg in 1877, recommends two divisions—Historical Theology, including the Exegetical, and Didactic Theology, divided into Dogmatics, Morals, and Practical Theology. In all these treatises, and others with the same aim not enumerated, the word *theology* is properly used in its broadest sense, that is, as the science of religion. But some would here make the distinction between natural and revealed religion, as Walch and Nössett and others would treat of extra-biblical religions founded on the Christian faith, such as Mohammedanism, and even go so far as to include the Religious Philosophy of Kant. Grimm would make a goodly number of these spurious religions stand aside, and concentrate his work on Christian Theology, which he defines as the Science of Christendom, and divides into Evangelical Theology and Catholic Theology, according as it may be studied in harmony with the principles of Protestantism or those of Catholicism. He, of course, confines

himself to Protestant Theology, and then lays down his scheme, which is far too extensive for us to follow, but which certainly possesses the merit of introducing some order into the chaos that has embarrassed previous workers in this line of theological literature.

The "Biblical Theory of Earthquakes" among the notices, by Rahmer, will, of course, attract passing attention. The title induces us to expect something new, for the average Bible scholar has yet to find any theory in the Bible regarding the origin or effects of earthquakes on the formation of the earth. Every thing that can be supposed to bear on this theory of the Church Fathers of earlier periods has been exhausted by Zöckler in his "History of Theology and the Natural Sciences," given to the world in one volume in 1877. But of all this there is nothing, so that the expression of the title may well be denominated a misnomer. The real intent of the author is to show the influence of the earthquake in Palestine during the rule of Uzziah on the form of prophetic utterances, so that it is in reality an exegetical study rather than the explanation or study of a theory. As such it is not without interest and ingenuity, though many of its positions are fanciful and its conclusions fallacious. It will require quite a stretch of the imagination to make the thirteenth verse of the second chapter of Amos allude to an earthquake. "Behold I am pressed under you as a cart is pressed that is full of sheaves." And it is indeed a very elastic kind of exegesis that will interpret blood and fire and columns of smoke to be an allusion to an earthquake, when they are so clearly the phenomena that attend an invading army. Ingenious combinations of this kind may be very agreeable and entertaining efforts, but to call them exegesis is very certainly to overstep the bounds of anxious inquiry. It is pleasant to see that German scholars are raising their voice against this style of treating Bible passages, which has done not a little toward bringing certain works into disrepute among them, and casting on all exegetical work a spirit of distrust when it wanders off into the region of ingenious speculation.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) August, 1881.—1. MOURON, Education of Women. 2. WENNAGEL, Christ and Nature. 3. STAPFER, A Thesis for the Doctorate. 4. SCHAEFFER, Genoa. German Chronicle, by Lichtenberger, and Monthly Review, by Pressensé.

September.—1. STEINHEIL, Eternal Punishment. 2. MOURON, Education of Women. (second paper.) English Chronicle, by E. W., and Monthly Review.

Decidedly the leading articles in the above numbers are those devoted to the Education of Women. This is rapidly becoming a leading question among all those in France who are partisans of the truest and broadest liberty. The people of intelligence in France begin to perceive that they can never be truly free until the women are wrested from the fetters of ignorance and superstition in which they are so largely held by the priests. The demand is, therefore, becoming general among the Liberals of all shades, whether with or without religious conviction, that there shall be a system of higher education for women, sustained, or at least fostered, by the State. And in this conviction the question is every-where asked, "What shall be the education of women?" And it will be interesting to see the answer by a leader of the French Protestant Church.

"It should be the same as that of man with regard to her ultimate and final destiny, and different from that of man as regards her special calling. Or, in other words, woman must be educated as man in order to become the human being that God wishes; but she must be otherwise educated in that which concerns the being on whom fall the special duties of wife and mother. Or, still otherwise expressed, the education of man and woman are not to be alike; and their instruction must differ still more. Education is addressed in fact to the whole being. The religious and moral duties of man and woman, their manner of existing before God and man, cannot greatly differ; there are not two ways of forming the being which is called man or woman; there are not two kinds of motives or obligations. There is but one kind, because there is but one God who is the Father of us all. In remembering that woman has more heart and less will than man, that she proceeds by intuition rather than reflection, we shall be able to present duty to her rather under the form of education than under that of

imperative obligation; we must take more precautions against the weakness of her will, or remedy this weakness by giving to it more exercise. But these are shades of difference, and matters of tact and proportion that do not constitute two moralities do not create two educations. Instruction does not consist directly in the formation of the soul, its preparation for divine and human life, the communication of interior motives, or of a manner of being spiritual—it consists in the communication of knowledge. Duties all tend to one single object —God; and to a like situation—our situation as creatures. Knowledge is applied to different objects and different situations. Therefore, the situation of woman being in certain regards special, her instruction will take for that reason a special direction." This, it will be seen, lays down the platform of the author, and gives us the key to the line that will be followed by the Reformed Church of France in this new departure in the matter of the education of women.

It is interesting to notice that the "English Chronicle" in the September number is devoted entirely to Dean Stanley, notwithstanding the fact that the "Monthly Review" of the previous number, in the hands of Pressensé, was largely given up to the same study. This goes to show how great was the influence that the Dean exerted on the Protestants of France, and how cosmopolitan was his influence with all Protestantism. The Reformed Church of France found much consolation in the fact that the best representative of the Broad Church of England sympathized with them and understood them, even to their different shadings as to religious truth and doctrines, and was ever ready to uphold and encourage those who showed by their fruits that the tree was good, without regard to persons or shades of belief. Stanley reserved all his fire to combat opinions and prejudices, and not men, and thus, wherever ecclesiastical conflicts were of minor importance, he gained all hearts, and thus captured the Protestants on the other side of the Channel who do not tire of doing him honor even more than many of his own countrymen. This is the justification of the author for devoting an entire "Chronicle" to the much-loved Dean.

Bonnet Maury is among the brightest and most interesting of the members of the new Faculty of Protestant Theology in

Paris, which is virtually the revival of the defunct school of Strasburg that went down with so many other French institutions in Alsace under the bombardment of the Germans. When these gentlemen desire the doctorate they work for it, and the thesis that gained for him the prize was the "Origin of Unitarian Christianity among the English." Rather a strange subject for one of his class to take interest in, and to which to devote, not a thesis in our view of the matter, but a veritable book of some three hundred pages, comprising a series of studies that are little less than a journey throughout Europe, as he says, in search of Unitarian ideas. But his tour is a very interesting one, and we follow him with great pleasure in his rapid sketches of each Unitarian Reformer; and these studies, while being too rapid for the theologian, because of the absence of scientific investigation and rigid criticism, are for that reason the better adapted for popular circulation. They form a people's book that is full of information. He finds the Unitarians most numerous in Transylvania, Great Britain, and the United States. The first adherents of this doctrine were the Reformers of the sixteenth century, who were more radical than Luther and Calvin. And the great name of Servetus, burned by Calvin for not entertaining the same opinion as himself, is the first on his list. These men were persecuted by Catholics as Protestants, and by the latter as Schismatics, and the recital of the story of their sufferings is one that makes the cheeks tingle with shame. He shows that these men, hunted like wild beasts, found a refuge in England, and thus Unitarianism was not born on English soil, but came from France, Italy, and Spain. In these details Bonnet Maury finds it difficult to separate his function as historian from that of critic, and in this capacity he is on ticklish ground in France, where the Unitarian spirit is now so strong in many of the Reformed Churches. He will meet with severe criticism among his own people for sentences like the following, that fail in scientific accuracy, both in expression and thought: "In order that the justness of a religious thought be established, one must prove that it is conformable to human reason and the Holy Scriptures; that is to say, to the highest expression of Divine Reason." His reviewer humbly confesses his inability to comprehend this definition of the Bible. The trouble

most probably is that Maury is trying to offend neither party in France into which the Reformed Church is divided, and thus is sitting on two stools. It were much better that he had treated the subject less objectively, and gone to the bottom of it with a complete criticism and his own view of many of the disputed questions. While the French Protestants in the Established Church have agreed to disagree, and have established independent and unofficial synods, it is a good time to be quite thorough in the ventilation of the vital differences in belief entertained by so many that are ranged under the same Church organization and hold equal relations to the State, though so different in their creeds. Nothing is now to be gained by obscuring the situation with ambiguous expressions. As a literary effort the work is worthy of all praise, and was pronounced good in being rewarded with the doctorate for its author.

ART. X.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE SACRED CITY OF NORTHERN AFRICA.

THE French people are very fond of quoting their favorite proverb, *C'est le premier pas qui coute*—"It is the first step which costs"—but practically they are quite inclined to take this step without counting the cost. This was very emphatically the case when they began the invasion of Tunis under the pretense of punishing a few predatory Kroumirs who annoyed them in their Algerine territory adjoining. In the conflict they have been led on step by step, as under the influence of the siren's song, until they have finally taken the dangerous step of seizing the sacred city of Islam for all Northern Africa, a measure that may stir up against them a bitterness of feeling on the part of the Moslem Arabs that will not be soon or easily allayed.

This fact will make Kairwan the center of observation for a time, and virtually reveal it to the world, which has scarcely been aware of its existence. It was once the seat of a caliphate, and was so sacred that the Moslems called it one of the four gates of Paradise, and consigned to it a very valuable relic in the beard of the Prophet. The city is not large, though it looks so while approaching it. It has a population of about 15,000, but its houses can scarcely be seen because of the multitude of cupolas and the forest of minarets that rise from its sacred edifices. It is the most genuinely Moorish and Oriental city on earth, being not at all disfigured by the modern architecture of the unbelievers. Like all sacred cities of Islam, it is protected from defilement by a law that pre-

vents all infidels from entering it, and therefore but few Europeans have trodden its streets, and these only in the disguise of Mohammedans. To enter its mosques was death to these intruders. Even the Bey of Tunis could not protect the officials of other countries from the violence of the inhabitants. The German African traveler, Maltzan, who visited it some twenty years ago with a government permit, could appear in the streets only in Oriental garb; otherwise the governor of the city was unwilling to guarantee his safety. This authority declares it the cleanest and neatest city of all Islam, being free from the ordinary filth and ruins of most African cities, and containing many large buildings devoted to the purposes of schools and other religious objects. Kairwan is the Rome of Northern Africa as regards the immense number of its sacred edifices, of which the most important is the mosque of Owaib, who was a companion in arms of the Prophet, and who brought his beard from Mecca to Kairwan in a holy war. He fell at this point, and begged that he might be buried near this sacred relic, and thus arose the mosque that contains his bones and the sacred beard.

Kairwan is not only a sacred city, but is also devoted to some prominent industries. In its bazars may be found beautiful specimens of copper utensils, that are exported to great distances, and the finest manufactures in leather. The skillfully embroidered Arabian saddles often command the sum of five hundred dollars. The famous yellow slippers of Africa are manufactured here in the greatest perfection. But all these industries are overshadowed in value by the essence of roses, or, as it is called, the oil of roses of Kairwan. This precious unction may here be obtained pure and comparatively cheap. The history of Kairwan is at the same time the history of all Mohammedan Africa in the period of its brilliancy, for in the Middle Ages this city, that now only lives in its fanaticism and its sacred places, was the mighty capital of a broad realm that was little less than Europe in extent. From here went forth the decrees that ruled all Africa from the Red Sea to the Straits of Gibraltar, and from the Mediterranean to the borders of the Desert, while Sicily, Corsica, and a portion of Southern Italy did obeisance to it. But, after the long struggles of various dynasties, it became finally an unimportant and hidden city, whose existence was scarcely known to the world.

The mighty change that it must now undergo under French rule can scarcely be conceived. As the French forces approached, the inhabitants withdrew, as it seems, without much resistance and with little destruction of the city and its monuments. The French have, therefore, a great treasure, for the meanest stone is a relic to the Moslem, and scarcely a structure is without its story. The most interesting portion of the capture to the Christian world will be the stores of Moslem lore supposed to be gathered in the libraries of its great school, for here is found the most celebrated school of the Koran in all Africa, if not in all the realm of Mohammed. Here the most celebrated scholars of Islam deal in their hair-splitting subtleties; here are found the best copyists of the Koran.

In the eyes of the orthodox Moslems, Kairwan is still what it once was —the school of divine wisdom which the profane may not enter and desecrate with impunity. And they believe that the justice and just vengeance of Allah will punish every infidel who dares to desecrate the sacred city. It will thus be seen that the French have taken upon themselves a burden that will not be easy to carry.

RENAN IN A NEW RÔLE.

It would be a very gratifying thing to hear pleasant words from Renan regarding the Christian religion if one were not forced to look on them as pleasantries in reality rather than as earnest words. The brilliant though subtle author of the "Life of Jesus" seems to be a great admirer of Christian virtue, and therefore hastens to accept the flattering invitation of the French Academy to deliver the eulogy on virtue on the occasion of distributing the annual prizes for virtuous actions to certain candidates for that distinguished and desirable honor.

Let us, therefore, betake ourselves to the famous meeting, which is adorned by the presence of fair ladies and distinguished men, and a large number of strangers from all parts of the world; for there is no more *recherché* attraction to the semi-literary and semi-fashionable world of Paris than this great event. The eminent academician begins by protesting against the silly objection of certain people to these rewards of virtue as likely to spoil virtue in its original source. And to these objectors he says: "In spite of all that you do and may do, the profession of virtue will be the poorest of all vocations. No one will be tempted to embrace it for the profits that are to be found in it. Among all the forty or fifty virtuous lives whose authentic acts have passed before our eyes, there is not one who would not have found a greater worldly gain by following some other direction." He then, with charming grace, bestows the first prize on Madame Gros, whom he describes as an admirable person, who seeks out misfortune in its most repugnant forms, and endeavors to revive the conscience in the poor beings in whom it is almost extinct. He beautifully portrays the miracles of her charity in the slums of Lyons and other cities, and declares that "she is reviving in our age, which has become alienated from the secrets of the soul, those marvels of conversion which seem reserved for that period when living grace walked on the earth with its treasures of indulgence and pardon." After these words, that seem almost unintelligible to us in the mouth of Renan, he proceeds to eulogize a faithful parish priest, who, in one of the saddest suburbs of Paris, has succeeded in creating a veritable Paradise—a well-built and comfortable asylum, cleanly and cheerful, where fifty old people of both sexes are lodged and fed and clothed and warmed by the Christian charity of an obscure servant of the true God.

And thus, with exquisitely chosen words, he passes from one case to the other—each differing in kind but the same in spirit, and each receiving the same veiled laudation as Christian charity—and finally thus

closes: "Let us, then, accept virtue from whatever source it may come and under whatever garb it may present itself. There is, I said to you, much virtue in the world, but there is not so much that one may with impunity pass by it lightly without examining each case and the motives that have induced it. Let us not deprive ourselves of any useful aid in this work, whether it be virtue of the layman or of the priest, philosophical virtue or Christian virtue, virtue of the old *régime* or of the new, civic virtue or clerical virtue; believe me, let us take all. There will be enough, but there will not be too much for the bitter periods through which human conscience may have to pass." And at the close of these seductive words, which held an audience entranced for an hour with the charm of the discourse, the principal gay journals of Paris declared that Renan had surpassed himself, and revealed all his mind and all his soul in words as tender as the breath in which the poet once sang the "Life of Jesus." And just here the curtain fell on what to many seemed a farce—Renan smothering with sweetness all his covert and open attacks on the Christian religion, and appearing before a vain and thoughtless world as an advocate of those virtues which he knew were taught by no other teacher on earth than the Divine one. We can scarcely conceive how even he could thus blow hot and cold with the same breath, and succeed in satisfying and abusing Christians from the same platform. These phrases are so admirable only because they are deceitful; they are the utterances of the magician who would amuse us with tricks of prestidigitation. But this incense is only a subtle poison when its fragrance is cast around the Christian altar; the more it exalts Christianity the more it degrades it, because it forms a flowery path under which is hidden the noisome serpent. It is emphatically stealing the livery of heaven with which to serve the devil. Renan, and some youthful apostles that are gathering around him, seem now inclined to administer sweet and soporific doses that kill the spirit while charming the senses; but the true Christians of France understand him and his school, and have no more respect for his methods than for those who would crush out their faith with open insult or suppressive force. Better the confessed enemy than the covert friend.

Art. XI.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Friedrich Delitzsch, the veteran theological teacher of Leipsic, has been greatly exercised of late about the veritable site of Paradise. He is now certain that he has found it, and his recent study regarding the matter is attracting much attention. He denies that the Garden of Eden is a myth, and fixes its position with geographical certainty, in his own mind, at least. And the point about which his argument centers is the stream that ran through the garden, and at its exit divided into four. After citing the various views of previous investigators in

this line, and showing their fallacy, and proving their unsatisfactory character, he takes up his own with a zeal that goes far toward enlisting us in his favor. The principal difficulty in settling the discussion is to give a locality to these streams. Delitzsch maintains that Gison and Pison were most probably canals, or streams that had been made into canals. The difference between even such streams as the Euphrates and the Tigris, and many Babylonish canals, was sometimes scarcely perceptible. They were broad and navigable like rivers, and were sometimes so old that they had long been forgotten as the work of human hands, and could by tradition be traced back to the time of the first planting of the Garden of Eden. The two canals often named with these rivers were, he shows, located in Babylon, where gold and precious stones were also to be found. The fertile Babylonian plain that lies on the lower Euphrates and Tigris certainly corresponds to a garden that might well be considered that of Eden. It is well watered by streams and canals, rich in nut trees, slender palms, and other trees full of foliage and fruit. Thus, Babylon might well be termed the garden of that ancient world whose wealth in palms and grain exceeded, according to Herodotus, all other lands. Even to-day, when the canals are filled with sand, and after devastations of all kinds that have lasted for thousands of years, and have made of it a comparative desert, the palm groves that follow the lower course of the two rivers yield dates in abundance ; and with their slender trunks and towering branches form the artistic adornment of the otherwise monotonous landscape. This beautiful region is now called, in the arrowhead inscriptions near Babylon, the Garden of God, and from this point branched forth the canals or streams called Gison and Pison, as Delitzsch proves in his book by quite sstisfactory demonstrations. The opinion of the critics seems to be that the geographical site laid down thus by the learned author is the most fitting and the most in accord with the Bible narrative.

...The senior professor of the Theological Faculty of Leipsic, the well-known and highly respected Dr. Kahnis, is endeavoring to popularize the study of the Christian religion by a series of "Life Pictures of the Christian Church." The original intention of these "pictures," in the form of lectures to mixed audiences, is already recognized in their vivid style and manner. The book now published is divided into three sections—ancient, mediæval, and modern. And toward the close of the work there is found a very fine choice of subjects not classified. Among these we find "The Modern Church," "Luther, from his beginning to Worms, and from Worms to Augsburg." Finally we perceive such themes as "Goethe and Christianity," "Schleiermacher," etc. The picture entitled "Christendom" contains an exposition of the relation of Theology to Philosophy. In the preface, Dr. Kahnis lays down the Melanchthonian maxim: As the Roman citizen was obliged to know the history of the Roman state, so should the Christian know the history of the Christian Church. And though these pictures are by no means a complete narrative of the growth of the Church, they contain

much that is beautiful and instructive. The picture of "Church and Church History" closes the first section with an exhaustive view of the relations of the Romans to Christianity, and then passes to the bloody persecutions of the Christians in the Roman realm. The chapters "Christian Doctrine and Heresy," "The Apostolic Fathers," lead us into the active spiritual work of the Church, while a very entertaining picture of heathen polemics appears in the article on "Minucius, Felix, and Tertullian." The "Origin of the Church festivals" is exceedingly instructive, as is the treatise on Basilicas and Catacombs. As the author comes down to our time, he treats of the Church and the German people, where he gives some telling narratives regarding German princes, in which there is a motley distribution of light and shade. These are followed by "life pictures" of Gregory VII. and Henry IV. Then, in what he denominates the plateau of the Middle Ages, he marshals up the forms of Innocent III. and Frederic II., of Abelard and Heloise, and Saint Elizabeth—a masterly group, indeed, to be brought out by such a supposed recluse as Dr. Kahnis. The sinking Middle Ages shows us the "Decay of the Papacy," with the moral corruption of Avignon, the Papal schisms, and the futile reformatory efforts of the Great Councils. After these the article on Scholasticism and Mysticism seems rather tame, though the author recovers himself on "Protestant Tendencies," "Humanitarianism," and "The Waldenses." Wycliffe and Huss form the transition-period over to the modern Church, of which we have spoken above. An attentive and conscientious reader will draw both enjoyment and satisfaction from this valuable book of Dr. Kahnis. It is hoped that it will also prove a timely contribution against the growing indifference of the Protestant Church in Germany, and lead its members to riper judgment of their duties, a better comprehension of what the Church really is, and the necessity of an active participation in its work.

... Professor Harnack, of Giessen, has just published an interesting monogram on "Monasticism, its Ideals and its History." It is one of his lectures, and acceptable even to the scholar for the mastery everywhere shown by the author, who seems completely to command his subject, and who treats it in such a manner as to show the closest relation to the entire history of the Church in all the phases of its development. The classical form and the attractive presentation of the subject must claim the attention of every reader. We may call special attention to the manner in which the author extracts the origin of Monasticism from the central story of the first centuries, and leads it on to the beautiful contrast between Greek and Latin Monasticism, and from this latter, through all its phases, to the twelfth century, through the mendicant orders, and then finally to Jesuitism. Every line of this latter effort is striking and instructive, and the whole is extremely timely.

... The Evangelical Church in Russia is making a bold stand for life and progress under difficulties. It has just published the fourteenth volume of its "*Mittheilungen und Nachrichten*," edited by Helmsing.

The first article in the collection is by Eberhard, and treats of the Doctrine of the Logos, and the firm basis that it finds in the Scriptures. Another communication enlightens us regarding the status of the Evangelical Lutheran Churches in eastern and western Siberia, and the contents are quite a revelation to those who will be surprised to learn that there really are Evangelical Churches in those distant regions. Again, we find a report of the proceedings of the District Synod of Riga; and then we are led to an official report of the Church Council of Odessa. "*The Emerital Kasse in St. Petersburg*" treats of the financial aid received from the capital of Russia, and then we follow the contributors away off into Russian America, where there is a Lutheran parish. There is great hope that this Protestant leaven will succeed in giving life to the inert lump in Russia.

. . . Schmidt Warneck, a pastor of one of the Evangelical Churches in the Baltic Provinces of Russia, published a work on the "Conception of Salvation, and its Significance for a Life of Faith." This was nearly twenty years ago, and he now appears, with his riper thoughts from the study of all these years, in a new work, which he entitles, "The Intellectual Doctrine of Faith in its Contrast to the Material Principle of the Protestant Church." His idea is to stem the tide in the orthodox German Church which he thinks is turning toward Romanism. His earnest intention, and his clear insight into this Protestant tendency to wander off toward strange gods, excite sympathy for his undertaking. All that he says regarding a faith without orthodoxy is excellent and well placed. But his censure of an orthodoxy that would go back to the power crushed by the Reformation is also timely and telling. The High Lutheran Church in Germany is becoming, in some localities, as whimsical and perverted as are the High Churches of England, and is tending toward the material and ceremonial rather than the intellectual and spiritual.

. . . A veritable hymn-book war is now waging in Hanover, which has called forth an interesting and valuable treatise from Professor Wilhelm Bode, entitled "Origin of the Hymns of the Hanoverian Hymn-Book, and their respective Melodies." This agitation is caused by an effort to transform the old standard book and modernize it, a proceeding to which Bode is opposed. Therefore he appears with a learned polemic, in which he traces the history of the old collection, and calls attention to its great value. His story and statistics are quite interesting, and give us an idea of the muscularity and core contained in German hymnology. He gives a history of the origin of the text and the melody of each hymn, and short biographical notices of the authors where he can obtain them. The old Hymnal was introduced in 1640 by Gesenius and Denike after the Nuremberg Hymnal had been in use for some time. The old book has two hundred and twenty-two hymns; but a third edition is enriched by twenty-eight new ones. Until 1660 the same collection appeared in new editions, but in 1698 there appeared a revisal from the

hands of a member of the Consistory. The change was a book almost entirely new, containing over a thousand hymns, arranged by a committee of four members of the Consistory. This, with trifling changes, was used for forty years, and in the main is the same book that has held its place down to our time. From the older Hanoverian Hymnal came forth, also, in 1661, the Luneberg Hymnal, which sometimes is found alone, and sometimes is incorporated with its virtual ancestor. This Luneberg collection commenced with four hundred and forty-nine hymns, and by 1759 it had a large addition. The last change in this occurred in 1767. This controversy will at least bring forth a large amount of interesting information in relation to the genesis of German spiritual songs and melodies; and for the curious in these matters we may say that the best authorities in Germany on this subject are Koch's "History of Sacred Song," and this new work of Bode, which is a valuable addition to the great works of Philip Wackernagel and Hoffman von Fallersleben.

Art. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Thoughts on the Holy Gospels: How They Came to be in Manner and Form as They Are. By Francis W. Upham, LL.D., author of "The Church and Science," "The Wise Men, Who they Were," and "The Star of our Lord." 12mo., pp. 378. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1881.

Dr. Upham exhibits in this volume the same research, independence of thought, suggestiveness, force of style, and sometimes, but less rarely, the same overbold theorizing, as in his "Star" and other productions. His survey of the gospels and their times is taken fresh from life, with the freedom of an original autoptist. The main purpose of the volume is to show that the Gospels, especially Matthew's, were not written so late and so long after the events as even Christian apologists and commentators have timidly conceded to exacting opponents. We believe the grounds he takes to be true and demonstrable. In our edition of Matthew prepared for English republication we modified our original Introduction, and avowed, as the result of further study, the firm belief that his gospel in the Aramaic was written within eight years from the crucifixion. Dr. Upham confirms this conclusion with arguments that cannot be refuted. We do not believe that Paul's Epistles are the earliest Christian documents extant. We do not believe what Dean Stanley, in accordance with the ordinary notion, says: that Paul's narrative of the eucharist is far earlier than that of the Gospel of Matthew and Luke.

We hold that Matthew's Aramaic narrative was furnished before what, in our notes on Acts viii, 4, we have called "the downfall of the Pentecostal Church," during the twelve years when, as there noted, the apostles held their center at Jerusalem with their itinerancies through Judea; and that his Greek rewriting of his work was near the close of that period when need was felt of a Greek edition for the diffusion of the gospel through the Gentile world. The Jerusalem Church was dispersed; the Aramaic Matthew, as no longer of use, was lost; and the Greek edition, as of sole authority, had to be translated back into Syriac for the Peshito.

Solid arguments Dr. Upham furnishes against the tame concession that Judea was a non-writing and non-reading country, and that the apostles had no predilection for writing, and never purposed and never wrote a gospel until long years after the ascension. Besides Moses, read every Sabbath in the synagogue, there was the Septuagint often quoted in the gospels as known to the readers, and there were the scribes, a numerous literary class. And that literature was familiar to the middle class of Jews. During the twelve apostolic years at Jerusalem, the narrative and discourses of Jesus would be repeated much as the rabbis repeated their lessons, and would be catechetically taught to candidates for baptism. But St. Luke's introduction to his gospel is on this point briefly very explicit. He tells us that before his writing "many had taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration [statement] of those things," etc. Now this presupposes, first, that memoranda of facts, anecdotes, reports of discourses, had been jotted down by the admirers of the wonderful Teacher, just as the pupils jotted down the discourses of their rabbis; second, that some had attempted to collect and give a sort of arrangement to these miscellanies; and third, that Luke found them so far incomplete that he undertakes a critical revision, and, like a Macaulay or Bancroft, constructs his best selected material into a regular narrative. All this was done before he wrote his Acts; and the Acts, as the closing verse shows, was written just at the close of Paul's first Roman imprisonment. This crowds the first two gospels into a very early date, and pushes Matthew's Aramaic into the pentecostal period before the Pauline persecution and dispersion.

Another very conclusive proof, both of the early date of the earlier gospels and the genuineness of their chronological order as preserved in our New Testament, is derived by Dr. Upham from the hypothesis of *prudential concealment*. Matthew almost omits

the mention of the blessed mother, because too free a mention would expose her to persecution and danger; and so it is the later Luke, who writes after her departure to Ephesus, that gives her full narrative, perhaps derived personally from herself. But even Luke names not the family of Bethany for a similar reason, and it is John who brings the whole story out, names and all! We recommend the study of this remarkable point to our biblicists, not only in Dr. Upham's pages but in the sacred text itself. If his grounds are tenable, and we hold them to be plausible, some valuable conclusions will follow, that ought to take place in our evidential argument, in our biblical introductions, and in our commentary. Our author's hypothesis of prudential concealment should be well tested, both as to fact and applications.

Now, this fact of concealment for safety, if we properly isolate it, appears unequivocally a widespread fact. We trace it even more widely than Dr. Upham suggests. Why did the family of David lurk in wild and den-like Nazareth during the Herodian reign? Why was their royal pedigree so unmentioned that Nazareth only knew Jesus as the carpenter's son? Why did it take Augustus' enrollment to bring out the fact that Mary was Davidic, and must go to David-town to be registered? And why was this journey so quietly done that Herod took his panic, not from their pedigree, but from the visit of the magi and the report of his lawyers that Bethlehem was the prophetic place of Messianic birth. All this looks like prudential concealment. And this concealment is intensified into a flight to Egypt and a return, not to Judea, but to Nazareth. Once in his boyhood he must visit Jerusalem to claim his "father's house," but how quick his return. His main early ministry is in Galilee, beyond Samaria; even here he sometimes forbids his miracles to be reported; and in Samaria it is that he makes, perhaps, his only early express and public avowal that he is the "Messias" predicted. What wonder, then, that the same prudence is required in the earlier gospels in bringing out the leading personages of the gospel history? And the application of this fact, both to the explanation of certain phenomena in the gospels and to their dates and chronological order, is a topic well worth attention.

A Key to the Apocalypse; or, Revelation of Jesus Christ to St. John in the Isle of Patmos. By Alfred Bronson, A.M., D.D. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Philips & Hunt. 1881. Price $1.00.

The venerated author of this little volume has nearly finished his nine decades of life. As we have furnished our own commen-

tary on the Apocalypse, it need not be said to those who read us both that we differ widely; but criticism is disarmed in presence of so venerable an age. But in this we agree happily with most modern explorers of this sacred book: that *the Apocalypse is the book of ultimate holy triumph.* Righteousness will win the final victory in the earth. Pessimism is excluded by the final disclosure; and cheerfulness and hope and joy in the far future beam brightly before the Christian's gaze. Hence, we confess that the Apocalypse, in spite of varied interpretations in the details, is, with its sublimities, its poetries, its mystic numbers, its deep sacrificial atonement, and its promise and potency of glorious things on the earth, and still more glorious things beyond this earth, to us a favorite book. The Bible begins with paradise lost, and ends, as most assuredly it does, with a better, even a celestial, eternal paradise, restored.

Dr. Bronson adopts Newton's views, stretching a few verses of chapter sixth over several centuries so as to make the ninth predict Mohammed. In so doing he disregards the symbolism of numbers which plainly dominates the book, and which modern explorers are more and more compelled to recognize. He makes chapter twenty describe the final judgment, and so excludes the pre-millennial advent. The last two chapters he makes describe, not the eternal celestial state, but the terrene millennium. This last view degrades the glorious *finale*, and we trust will attain no currency in the Church. The Bible opens with Paradise Lost and closes with Paradise Regained. Our venerated author has a severer feud with modern scientists than we can indorse. His closing paragraph confirms his views with a quotation from our ever-beloved and now translated friend, Gilbert Haven, whose intensities often led him to similar overstatements. "Some younglings in theology, not always younglings in years, fancy they can answer them [the scientists] from their own stand-point; that they can take evolution and make it serve Christ the Lord," etc. The meaning of which is, that we may not avail ourselves of the conclusions of science to attain new and truer interpretations of Scripture. The logical result of this would be that we must still maintain the geocentric astronomy, the non-existence of antipodes, the creation of the material globe in six solar days, and the arrest of the solar system at the command of Joshua! On all these and other points the Church has been enabled to adopt new and better interpretations from new science, rejecting old interpretations which she, in fact, obtained and inherited from old science. Our courts of law often interpret documents by the

light of external circumstances. The words of a will, for instance, are, if the surrounding facts are *thus*, made to mean *thus;* if *otherwise*, then *otherwise*. This is a principle of universal common sense and practice. We often interpret our neighbor's uttered words by the state of the facts. And we may specially note that Bishop Haven's words are pre-eminently out of place at the close of the Apocalypse, a book which is entirely interpreted, even by our author, in accordance with the state of the external historical facts. If history says *this*, the apocalyptic passage means *this;* if history says the reverse the interpretation is reversed. The various opposing interpretations are based upon the opposing views of outside facts. Now, if the closing Apocalypse of John, picturing the final things, is clothed in so easy a garb of exegesis, why should the opening Apocalypse of Moses, shadowing the first things, be bound in a strait-jacket? For our own part, we say, let the honest explorer of the depths of our earth report what he sees and what appears to him, irrespective of any other concern. We want that exploration to be simple-hearted and without bias. He need not ask what are the bearings of his "finds," either on existing science, or theology, or exegesis. If he starts with a purpose of making his facts square with pre-suppositions, the independent value of his conclusions is lost. And then, if the findings of Paleontology should, as now seems to be the case, stand in contradiction with the results of Physical Astronomy, the contradiction is to be reconciled by after research. Both sciences must revise and see how the results may square by new but true interpretations. For our own part, we have no quarrel with the scientific explorer who honestly aims to report what he finds irrespective of the bearings. Our feud is only with the prurient efforts of some leading men who aim at setting science at war with theology, and take opportunity from science to ventilate their hostility to religion. It will not harm us to look to the friendly aid of science in the study of exegesis. Our new interpretation may on long trial become better than the old. Few would be willing to return to the six-solar-day view of creation from nothing. What immensity of meaning has Astronomy read into the ancient views of God's omnipresence! We know how allegorical John's Apocalypse is; do we know how apocalyptic Moses' Genesis may be? And be it remembered that there may be many a revolution in exegesis without disturbing the foundations of our evangelical theology. It is rather from obsolete exegesis that danger to that theology may come.

A System of Christian Doctrine. By Dr. J. A Dorner. Vols. I., II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. Imported by Scribner & Welford. $3 per volume.

Dr. Dorner's work is not for beginners. It is not an abstract presentation of Christian doctrine, but is written from a historical standpoint, and presupposes a considerable acquaintance with the history of theology, philosophy, and of biblical criticism. Thus the opening section on the doctrine of faith, or the problem of pisteology, demands for its understanding an acquaintance with the doctrine of the Christian consciousness as the source of religious certainty which, since the time of Schleiermacher, has been so prominent in German theological speculation. And throughout the work forms of argument constantly occur which are to be traced to some of the great German speculators, especially Kant and Hegel. This feature makes the work especially valuable for the practiced reader, but a little confusing for the beginner. The theologian, also, who is entirely unacquainted with the course of German thought within the present century, will often find himself at a loss to understand the drift and force of much that is said. Another result of the historico-critical character of the work is that argument and criticism are often so mingled that the dogmatic aim is obscured. Had the dogmatic and the critical matter been kept separate, the work would have been easier reading, at least for the uninitiated. An additional difficulty is found in the fact that Dr. Dorner has a somewhat obscure style of thinking and a still obscurer style of expression. The translators have sought to help the matter by breaking up his cumbrous and involved German into shorter sentences, with the result, now and then, of both missing and reversing the meaning.

Since the time of Schleiermacher, the Christian consciousness has generally been regarded as a source of religious knowledge. Some have sought to make it the only source. Others have denied it any authority. The result of the former view was to make Christian doctrine an esoteric something which can be understood and accepted only by Christians, and which must remain a stumbling-block, if not downright foolishness, to all beside. As an opponent of the rationalists, who preached salvation by thought and formulas of the understanding, Schleiermacher had a great influence; but when his view is pushed to the extreme mentioned, it breaks down of itself. The rational continuity of the mental life is broken, and Christian doctrine becomes merely an introspective analysis of emotional states with which reason cannot interfere. The view, on the other hand, which denies

any authority to the religious consciousness, is equally obnoxious, and tends always to reduce religion to a function of the understanding to the exclusion of heart and life. Each of these views needs the other as its supplement; and Dr. Dorner attempts their reconciliation in an elaborate section, embracing 184 pages, on pisteology. Here the position and function of the religious consciousness in a religious system are expounded; and the claim is made that this consciousness must fall into contradiction with itself unless we posit objective realities and historic truths corresponding to the contents of Christian teaching. This section we regard as the best continuation and rectification of Schleiermacher's views in existence. It is a profound analysis of religious psychology and the grounds of religious knowing.

Passing to theology proper, Dr. Dorner passes to the doctrine concerning God. This he divides into (1) the doctrine of the Godhead, or of the divine being, essence, and attributes generally, (2) the doctrine of God as the essentially triune, or the doctrine of the internal self-revelation of God, and (3) the doctrine of God as the revealer of himself in a world, or the doctrine of the economic Trinity. Here Dr. Dorner rightly criticises the looseness with which the customary arguments for intelligence in the cosmos are supposed to prove the existence of God as conceived by Christianity; and he sets to work to show that thought itself when fully self-conscious cannot rest except in the affirmation of such a God as the Christian faith demands. In particular, the doctrine of the Trinity, instead of being treated as a load which faith is compelled to carry against the unceasing protest of reason, is shown to be a demand of reason itself in order to maintain the ethical absoluteness of God. Of course no one can hope to construe the mode of the divine existence as triune, but the speculative need of affirming personal community in the divine unity can be clearly shown. The Unitarian view can only lead to some form of pantheism or to a degradation of the ethical element in God to a secondary and non-essential position. This division closes with the doctrine of the relation of God to the world, and includes the topics of creation, conservation, co-operation, and providence.

The second main division of Part I. gives very briefly the doctrine of the creature touching chiefly upon man as a natural being, as a spirit and as made in the divine image. The third main division of Part I. treats of the unity of God and man under three heads: the doctrine of religion, the doctrine of revelation, and the doctrine of the God-manhood. Here we have, first,

a psychological study of religion; second, an exposition of the nature and necessity of revelation, and third, a showing that both religion and revelation find their consummation in the incarnation. The remainder of this division is essentially a contribution to the study of comparative religion. The ethnic religions are expounded and their inadequacy pointed out; and finally, Christianity is held up as the absolute religion, because it combines all that is good in the ethnic religions, and satisfies all the demands of our entire nature. This attempt to judge a religion by its central idea and aim makes almost palpable the folly of estimating a religious system by scattered and detached ethical precepts.

The work done thus far is offered by Dr. Dorner as his Christian apologetics. The result, stated in his own words, is that the idea of revelation and of humanity culminates in the idea of the absolute God-man. This and nothing else is the goal of pre-Christian religious history, both heathen and Jewish; and Jesus of Nazareth is seen and proved to be the Son of God and Son of man in whom the longing of the nations finds its fulfillment, and divine revelation and humanity find their consummation. Further, this perfect religion possesses the power and means to perpetuate itself, a result materially served by its being fixed in sacred writings which form the original record of the founding of Christianity. This result brings us to Part II., which treats of specific Christian doctrine, or the doctrine of sin and salvation. But as this discussion is little more than begun in the second volume we leave it until the appearance of the next volume. Our general estimate of the two volumes here noticed is that they are labored, obscure, and valuable. They contain a great deal of precious metal, but most of it is in somewhat intractable ore. Still, the lead is well worth working.

Commentary on the Old Testament. Vol. VI. Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song. Book of Job, by J. K. Burr, D.D.; Book of Proverbs, by W. Hunter, D.D.; Book of Ecclesiastes and of Solomon's Song, by A. B. Hyde, D.D., D. D. Whedon, LL.D., editor. 8vo, pp. 557. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1881.

Our Book Room Commentary progresses slowly, but, we trust, surely, to its completion. The New Testament is done and but four volumes remain of the Old. These are in the hands of competent scholars, and will emerge into existence as rapidly as our press admits, closing, we hope, with the present quadrennium.

A splendid piece of work, we trust the readers will say, is Dr.

Burr's commentary on Job. It is one of the richest books of the Bible for Bible work, and Dr. Burr has poured the affluence of his scholarship and critical genius upon it. It is greatly to be regretted that his feeble health has prevented his noble powers from being called into ampler work for the Church.

Happily Dr. Hunter lived to complete his work on Proverbs, a work which will be a lasting memento to his name. A brief tribute is paid to his memory in the volume. His notes will, we trust, be found to be just what the consulting reader wants.

Of Dr. Hyde's Oriental scholarship, keen insight into the sacred text, and graphic and pointed style, we need not speak. We venture to differ from his rejection of the Solomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes, but he has fairly stated the argument for both sides, and the lessons of the book are little affected by the question.

The Humiliation of Christ in its Physical, Ethical, and Official Aspects. The Sixth Series of the Cunningham Lecture. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. By ALEX. B. BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Free Church College, Glasgow. 8vo, pp. 455. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1881.

This is a new edition of a work not long since noticed in our Quarterly, and commended as able, learned, and eloquent in style. The history and criticism of the doctrine of the Kenosis here given is the best we know in the English language. After reading, as we have with no ordinary satisfaction, this volume, it was with some painful surprise that we note the style of his language in the "Independent" in regard to those who reject the neologism of Professor Robertson Smith. To require our adoption of that gentleman's productions, under pain of being held opponents of biblical research, is a very despotic piece of illiberalism. We have no objections to offer to any eulogies, money endowments, or exalted positions offered to the learned and able professor by his friends. They may build a little Vatican over his head, seat him in a mimic papal chair, and bow in osculatory homage to his toe, and all that is their own affair. But when they proceed further, and denounce as bigots and fogies all who decline to share their genuflexions, the mimicry of popery on a small model is very exquisite.

The Candle of the Lord, and Other Sermons. By Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

Mr. Brooks deals especially with the subjective aspect of religion. For him religion is less a doing than a life and an experience.

He also especially emphasizes the necessity of religion to the completeness of life. The present volume is very rich in both of these respects, and shows a marked advance in spirituality upon the previous publications of the author. All those who believe that Christian living is the highest kind of living, and who are not content to resolve religion into a series of ethical maxims, will find the volume instructive and inspiring.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Man's Origin and Destiny Sketched from the Platform of the Physical Sciences. By J. P. Leslie, Professor in Geological University of Pennsylvania. Second edition, enlarged. Duodecimo, pp. 442. Boston: George Ellis, 141 Franklin-street. 1881.

The noble purpose of Professor Leslie's book appears to be the reconciliation of science and religion as they stand in his own mind. The volume is thus analogous to Prof. Winchell's work on the pre-Adamite man; but with the difference that, while the latter intends, apparently, to hold to the faith as it has been held by the Evangelical Church of all ages, the former chords with the broadest of the Broad Church of our day. This work will, doubtless, possess its value for its own class of thinkers, rescuing some, perhaps, from a total wreck of faith, and checking that godlessness of soul that spreads its pessimisms over the public heart.

Though an evolutionist of the Hæckel type, Professor Leslie eloquently rejects the atheism and materialism into which scientists are prone to run. He will not "believe in a beginning without God any more than an end without Christ." Jesus he holds to be "the flower of humanity," "the type man," and clothes him with many other semi-poetic predicates difficult to think into unity and reality. He believes that man emerged from the lines of animal generation so diverging over the earth that he appears springing into humanity at various points of time in genetic history. So that the human race is no more truly one than are the various resembling animal races. Yet as Jesus is their supreme type, he looks for a gradual progress of the whole into a great unity and glorious earthly future. The old Hebrew traditions of man he rejects severely. The Egyptians are far earlier than the Jews, as their history and antiquity alone are attested by early contemporaneous monuments. Re-

ligion, however, as a universal instinct, has a valid reality. "While we learn that no ancient Scripture is to be believed, we learn also that all ancient Scripture is to be believed." In all the excavations of the old caves he believes as revealing the existence of man back to the pliocene, and for the zoic periods of geology he demands a length of time that physical philosophy denies.

In dealing with our eloquent professor we submit that, with his easy modes of assumption and flexible style of logic, he might effect his reconciliation with less carelessness of facts and less bitterness of issue. Thus, he tells us, with a sneer, that "the books which periodically appear in the shops upon the harmony of science with religion, or upon the relations of genesis to geology, are written by clergymen; and all of them in the service of the Jewish theology." Then the elder Silliman, Hugh Miller, Professor Dana, Tayler Lewis, Dr. Mivart, Counselor M'Causland, James C. Southall, and Professor Winchell, are all "clergymen!" And if the very "flower of humanity" was a Jew, why should it be a stigma upon a writer that he sought to harmonize "the Jewish theology" with science? May it not have been a noble genetic stem and and a divine theology that produced that surpassing "flower?" And if humanity emerged at points all along the lines of animal generation through various lands and ages, why may not the Mosaic Adam have been one of those emerging humanities from which should flow the Messianic race destined to culminate in that divine "flower?" Should not that "flower" germinate from a special root and noble stock, and be prophetically heralded by type and prophecy? Is there not something divinely sublime in the lofty figure of Moses recording that a great prophet should arise, able, like himself, to stand before the face of God? Is there not something startling in that long line of sacrifices, culminating in the great Victim, the final "flower?" And as to the comparative contemporaneousness of Egyptian and Hebrew records, does not the professor deceive himself? Is a stone figure any more veracious than a great book? Is an Egyptian obelisk more stable than Herodotus' history? Has not the professor read of the tall metropolitan pillar that "lifts its head and lies?" Is not the decalogue a contemporaneous document? Has not modern travelers' research verified the Mosaic sojourn in Egypt and the desert? If the professor negatives these positions of ours we have it to reply that he affirms with most enthusiastic dogmatism any number of

statements sustained by far feebler evidence. We should then charge that he affirms and denies without consistency and with reckless caprice.

Dr. Mivart takes the ground, verified by the opinions of some of the greatest thinkers of the ancient Church, that man is completed by the superimposition of a rational spirit upon an animal soul, yet so superimposed as to become blended and unified with it. That is a noble view, well worthy the high-minded professor's credence. By that process of superimposition he teaches that the animal line mounts, at the proper point, into humanity.

If, as Mr. Leslie teaches, man is immortal, he must, in the transition from brute to man, be changed from mortality to immortality. From the image of the *Simia* he must be changed to the image of Christ. When did that change take place? Sir Charles Lyell, in his "Antiquity of Man," slenderly solves this problem by supposing that immortality was attained by individualities first rising to heights above the brute level, as Homers, Miltons, and Newtons rise above the ordinary level of humanity. We discern, however, no natural process by which, by mere growth, a being can pass a change (which must, from its very nature, be instantaneous) from a temporal to an eternal nature. Dr. Mivart will solve it by the answer, The change was made by the breath of the Almighty at the inauguration of Adam. Of such a change, surely, there would be a divine record, and science, when it takes up the question of immortality, should demand that record. Nor does the lateness of the change, six to eight thousand years ago, affect the probability of such a recorded transition. It is not a visible change of the animal structure, but of the invisible immaterial nature. The living skeleton frame may have been for ages complete; its animal soul may have grown to a degree of skill and vigor in unspiritual matters before the transcendental conception of the infinite, the eternal, the holy, the immortal, the divine, was a psychological possibility.

In Mr. Leslie's chapter on "The Dignity of Man," the human and the brutal are both physiologically and psychologically identified; yet the brutality of humanity is at the close somehow soothed by the ideal presentation of the typical highest man, the Christ. Cheerfully admitting that Professor Leslie is not to be identified with the materialistic school of Hæckel, we profoundly deplore his writing so brutalistic a paragraph as the following,

every sentence of which, we think, is a disaster. He is abolishing the criterions that would differentiate man from brute:

> Language is no criterion, for every animal has a language of its own. The sense of the ridiculous is possessed by brutes, who laugh with their eyes or tail, if not with their whole face as man does. The faculty of worship *in itself* is no distinction; for the devotion of a dog to his master, of a lover to his mistress, of a Christian to his Saviour, of an angel to his God, has the same essential root, so far as we can see. Susceptibility to improvement is not peculiar to man; nor the natural law by which there occurs an hereditary accumulation of acquired powers. This also, and all the before-mentioned criteria, are only available for a difference in *degree*, but not for a difference in kind, distinguishing man above the rest of the creation.

To the first of the above sentences we reply that not only has every animal its own "language," but every inanimate object has a "language," as clear and as significant as the animal. The roar of the cataract is at least as loud and as full of meaning as the roar of a lion. Cataract thereby announces his own nature, and threatens what he will do with you if you get in his way. The howl of a tempest, more significant than the howl of the wolf, tells that a whole ship-load of humanity is going to the depths of death. The whistling wind threatens more ferociously than the hiss of a snake. God has given to all natural things around us voices and utterances to warn and instruct us, so that it is a sociable world we are in. And if our respected author replies that such noises are not "language," since they are not the expressions of the thought or feeling of the sounding thing, we answer, No more are the noises of animal language, for *they do not express the conceptions of a rational spirit.* There is no wider chasm between the vocal cataract and the vocal lion than between the vocal lion and the linguistic human spirit. Language is not a mere mechanically shaped portion of sound propelled forth from an inanimate structure by physical force or from an animal frame by animal impulse. It is a sound volitionally selected from other equally eligible sound, and articulately shaped to represent a given shape of thought. The voluntary adaptation of the given sound, selected from an immense variety of adaptable sound, is the characteristic of "language," separating it by a broad chasm from the automatic noises produced by inanimate or animate beings.

If the professor now avers that, nevertheless, human language may come by EVOLUTION from brute utterance, we promptly answer, No sir. Evolution implies that the product is *rolled out* from an antecedent *in which* it is contained; and human language is not contained in brute vocality, and so cannot be evolved from

it. You may in thought, *by subtraction and addition*, exchange brute vocality *for* human language. Take away all that is brute and *superadd* all that is human, and you get human language instead of brute vocality. By subtraction and addition you can make any thing out of any thing and into any thing. You can, in that way, replace a cataract with a lion. Mr. Huxley taught us, in his American lectures, that birds come by evolution from snakes. But is the song of the nightingale contained *in* the hiss of the serpent? No. You must first eliminate the hiss from the hiss, and put the song in its place. But that is a process, not of evolution, but of subtraction and superaddition. There may be a nucleus of identity remaining; but all that is specially snake must be destroyed and all that is specially bird must be added by that process so frightful to all so-called evolutionists, "special creation." Man is, therefore, as truly differentiated from brute by language as a lion from a Niagara.

Next, as to "the sense of the ridiculous,"—that is, that nice perception of incongruity between ideas which produces human laughter. No brute ever possessed it. The brute's sparkle of the eye and wag of the tail indicate no such perception, but are simply the automatic expression of being pleased.

There is nothing analogous to *divine* worship possible to animal mind. Such a mental act presupposes the conception of the INFINITE, which surely the professor will not concede to any animal. Nor can any animal think it, or acquire it, but by the creation and superimposition upon him of a rational soul with brain to correspond.

As to the "susceptibility to improvement," the difference of degree here indicates a difference in kind. The difference in the degree of flexibility between a whalebone rod and a cold bar of iron indicates a difference of nature. The difference in degree between the educable flexibility of the brain and mind of the gorilla and that of an Australian girl (the lowest humanity) is as great as that between the aforesaid rod and bar. In three years the Australian girl learned to operate the telegraph; in three generations of culture the Australian might equal the Caucasian. But not ten generations of schooling would teach the gorilla the first letter of the alphabet. You have got to superadd to him, create upon him, something that he has not, something that he is not, and something that he cannot, without such creation, acquire, possess, or receive. We submit, therefore, that the professor's identification of humanity with brutality is a

most ignominious failure. By the criterion of language, laughter, worship, and educability we demonstrate a chasm between the highest brute and the lowest man that can be crossed only by superaddition through "special creation."

The Bible and Science. By T. Lauder Brunton, M.D., F.R.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, etc. With Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 415. London: Macmillan & Co., 1881. Price, $2 50.

In striking contrast with the intensity and dogmatism of Professor Lesley are the calmness and modesty, speaking from a higher scientific position, of Dr. Brunton. The latter, being a firm believer in both Mosaicism and Evolution, essays to show, in simple and lucid style, the consistency of his beliefs. Where Hebrew history lies in the uniform level of human events he accepts it as true history, and takes pleasure in tracing its accordance with geographic and parallel historical facts; where it rises into the miraculous he is predisposed to accept naturalistic explanations; where it is transcendental, as in the Creation and the Fall, he recognizes a true outline of history draped in costume. So that even here the Pentateuch contains the essential truth *implicitly*, which it is the mission of human investigation, resulting in science, to unfold in detail *explicitly*. After some tracing of Pentateuchal history, he passes, as by a leap, into the domain of science, finishing with a lecture showing that, on his laws of interpretation, Moses and Darwin are easily at one. And in this scientific part the same gentle clearness of style, aided by beautiful type on clear white paper and graphic cuts, inspires the reader with much of the author's interest in the subject. We are here shown how the recognized ascending stages of creation, the analyses of physiology, and the striking revelations of embryology, chord with the doctrine that all living nature is born from the simplest primordials. His exhibit, however, is nothing more than the old presentation of the case, with nothing new. The marvelous fullness of the argument in some points, with its disastrous shortcomings on others, still remains. For instance, if all living nature is born from a few simple primordials, whence came the primordials? If he reply, with Darwin, from primordial creative power, then why are not the ascending stages, so many gushes forth of the same primordial power, under a universal scheme of divine systematic law? Says Gaudry, quoted by Dawson, "We have questioned these strange and gigantic sovereigns of the Tertiary oceans as to their progenitors—they

leave us without reply." And when we are shown the evolutionary stages of the embryo passing from lower to higher forms of life, we ask, without getting answer, how that pictures the Darwinian evolution by birth any more than it does the Mosaic evolution by fiats? And here we even further present and press the question: How came it that the author of the first chapter of Genesis should give us in his creational stages *so perfect a picture of the embryological stages of ascending transformations?* We press this point. There is nothing like this chapter in all ancient literature. There are crude cosmogonies enough in ancient record. But in all antiquity there is nothing like this passage, which pictures what modern scientism declares to be the real stages both of ascending life in the world around and in the embryological world within. How came Moses by this marvelous picture?

When we come to Dr. Brunton's mode of filling in the links between man and monkey, we are much humiliated and chop-fallen. We ask for the missing link in the development of man, and he in due form presents us—a horse's foot! Now we are told by good physiologists that a horse's foot is perfectly beautiful from its wondrous value in adapting the horse for the use of man. But, verily, a horse's foot is not a man. It does appear very much as if the horse's foot was genetically and very peculiarly and artistically adapted by degrees through geologic ages to the uses of the coming man. And here we find a striking contradiction to "Natural Selection." It is just as clear that there is here a designed, and not a fortuitous, development, as it is that there is any development at all. The foot assumed its present form, not because it was necessary to the continued existence of the species, but because it was suited to the part which the species was divinely designed to play in human history. The horse, like the Sabbath, "was made for man." And to show how little the genetic descent of the horse indicates the genetic descent of man, we place by its side a *lingula* which Dr. Brunson assures us has survived from nearly the earliest Zoic age until the present hour without a change. Through all the ages, then, some species, as lingula, run unchanged; some, as equus, run through changes; some ramify countlessly; and some spring at a creative era, (like Darwin's primordials,) from the fount of life.

In filling in the link, or rather chain of links, between brute and man, let not our physiological brethren fancy that they will be allowed to dodge the *psychological* distance between the two. And such burlesque attempts as Dr. Brunton makes at finding

the mental distinction of man from brute in "the power of cooking and the power of drawing," are an insult to human nature. Man's true distinction from brute is in his power to think the INFINITE. Infinity he knows in all its dimensions as boundless space, and so conceives immensity; he knows it as blended with time, and so conceives immortality; he knows it as impersonated in being, and so conceives God. Thence arise the conceptions of religion; the perfect, the holy. Thence prayer, communion with God, holiness, and heaven. And this shows the chasm between brute and man to be truly infinite, defying all thoughts of evolutionary transition.

We cordially commend Dr. Brunton's book to both the inquirer after conciliations and to the reader desiring a clear exhibit of the progress of life.

Aryo-Semitic Speech: A Study in Linguistic Archæology. By JAMES FREDERICK M'CURDY. 8vo, pp. 176. Andover: Warren F. Draper.

It would be hard to find a title better adapted to prejudice the scholarly public against an author than the one just quoted. So much valuable time has already been wasted in the effort to establish the primitive identity of Indo-European and Semitic speech, that some grow impatient over a fresh attempt. Mr. M'Curdy, apparently in anticipation of pre-judgment, says by way of apology: "The investigation whose results are here presented has been carried on under the conviction that the field should not be abandoned until inquiry should be proved to be a search for the undiscoverable, or, in other words, until true scientific methods should be proved to be unavailing." This would lead one to infer that the general sense of doubting philologists is that the field should be abandoned at once. Yet the author must be aware that the common judgment is, not that there cannot be and is not to be a final settlement of the question by established methods of linguistic science, but simply that it is impossible to arrive, even approximately, at the truth until the materials for a searching and complete comparison are ready. With twice as many laborers as are at present engaged in the work of investigation, this could hardly be looked for in a generation.

We wish we could say that the work is better than the promise of its title, but if it is, in some respects, an advance upon other attempts of its kind, it abounds in hardly less compromising faults. The author gives evidences of familiarity with the great authorities, and, in many places, of philological ability of no mean promise. But when he, in all seriousness, sets about con-

structing the Proto-Semitic alphabet, we give him up in despair. He talks, also, of Proto-Semitic roots! It is bad enough to speak of Proto-Aryan roots on the authority of Fick, whom Professor M'Curdy does not hesitate to follow; but who pretends to know any thing of "Proto"-Semitic radicals? We shall have better warrant to use that term when we know a little more about Hystato-Semitic. Professor M'Curdy is, doubtless, aware that there is a whole mine of early Semitic inscriptions, of untold philologic value, as yet unexplored. No one can say what these will reveal, but it is manifestly unscientific to proceed without their testimony to the last conclusions. Of the fifty pairs of roots which are put forth as genuine correspondences little need be said. If the two families are ever proved to be akin some of them may be found to be related, as Dr. M'Curdy tries to show, but as testimony toward establishing the kinship in question they are of most uncertain value. This, in fine, we may say of the whole volume: there is hardly a position taken in it that is not likely, sooner or later, to be overthrown. S.

A Grammar of the Old Friesic Language. By ADLEY H. CUMMINS, A.M. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, $1 25.

Perhaps there is nowhere afforded so good an example of the innate inflexibility and conservatism of the Teutonic race and character as in the language and people which bear the name of Friesic. For not less than twenty centuries the Frisians have clung to the lands north and east of the Zuyder Zee which their fathers appropriated, and have there kept themselves pure from all intermixture of foreign blood and speech. From their neighborhood on the north the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons went forth to possess Britain; from the south the Franks to conquer Gaul; but this people remained to hold the ancestral soil against the invader and against change. They do not appear to have been so warlike as their neighbors. Though often defeated in battle, by a submission like that which their Anglo-Saxon kindred rendered to William I., they have never failed to subdue in peace the successive generations of warriors who have cared to seek out their retreat. Vanquished by Drusus, Pepin, and Charles Martel, and fairly subjugated by Charlemagne and by the Normans, they have, nevertheless, preserved their identity, shielded by their vast bays against the later tides of war and change. The language of the modern Frisians is broken up into many dialects, often quite discordant. The usual changes by develop-

ment in the original, or Old Friesic idiom, were but slight, at least down to the period when the Teutonic languages assumed their latest forms—a fact which makes Friesic most valuable to the scholar for comparison. It is, of course, a low Germanic language, and very closely resembles the Anglo-Saxon; so closely, indeed, that it is said the Anglo-Saxon missionaries who went over to labor among the Frisians were at once understood by the natives. Of old literature there is little except several codes of law, some dating as far back as the twelfth century. The work before us is scholarly and valuable. There is not that fullness of knowledge which one finds in its German rivals, but perhaps greater conciseness and practicality. The author errs in copying so closely the theories of Schleicher, which are ingenious but, as yet, unproved. He would have done better, also, if he had made a less abstract exhibition of Sanscrit correspondences, following the model of Heyne rather than that of Prof. March. S.

The Preparatory History and Final Destiny of Nations of Men. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Imported by Scribner & Welford.

The aim of the author is to reveal the supernatural relations of national history, or to give a philosophy of history from a supernatural standpoint. We give a specimen from the Introduction: "The historical evidence supplied by 'the times or the seasons' of past human experience evolved continuously in the intelligent form of 'wheels and rings,' or cycles and parallels, points unerringly and overwhelmingly to the startling but unspeakably blessed conclusion—(1) That 'the time of the end' has actually been evolved between the years 1848 and 1881; (2) That 'a time of great trouble such as never was' has been the prominent characteristic of 'the time of the end' between the years 1848 and 1849 and 1870 and 1871; (3) That 'the last end of the indignation' has been its prominent characteristic between the years 1870 and 1871 and 1880 and 1881." In the farrago which follows we have failed to detect the faintest spark of sense. The counsels of the Trinity are mixed up with horns and wheels and "witnesses;" and the significance of national history is unfolded at length. Sodom, "natural and spiritual," Turks and Saracens, the English constitution and the Turco-Russian war, the French revolutions and Victor Emmanuel, the South African Boers and the Afghanistan expedition, are all figured out of and into prophecy. It would be hard to find any ghastlier nonsense in the whole range of madhouse literature.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Paul the Missionary. By Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., Minister of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

THIS is the sixth volume in the series of Biblical Biographies recently given to the public by the successful pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle. The five preceding this have graphically presented the history of Daniel, David, Peter, Elijah, and Moses—great characters all, but none greater than Paul. In addition to the grandeur of his subject, the author has had for the preparation of this work very abundant resources. From these he has drawn very freely, especially from the standard works of Conybeare and Howson and Lewin. Originally delivered as twenty-nine evening lectures to his own congregation, with apparently but little change from the original form, they are now, with the addition of thirteen illustrative maps and pictures, and an excellent reference index, gathered into this volume of nearly six hundred pages.

We are impressed that the author would have put himself more completely *en rapport* with his readers had he, before issuing his work, exscinded all such references to the original occasion of their utterance as are given in the phrases "to-*night*," "this *evening*," "Is there *here*," and the like. Compare pages 99, 105, 107, 124, 145, *et al.* Dr. Taylor writes in plain English, with but little elaboration. In a rapid reading of these twenty-nine lectures we have noticed but few blemishes in style. On page 32, referring to Gamaliel, he calls him "rabbi," although on page 29 he had told us that Gamaliel was one of the seven teachers who received the title "Rabban." On page 38 he tells us, "Paul saw Jesus *is* alive," and again, "Saw that he who had died *is* the Lord," etc. Here the sequence of tenses is better Greek than English. On page 104 and elsewhere he differs from the classical authorities at hand in spelling the name of the river on which Perga was situated "Cæstus" instead of Cæstrus. On this same page he gives what seems a very weak reason for Paul's not preaching at Perga on his first visit to the place. Mark had here refused to follow Paul further; and our author thinks that it "was more probably owing to the great disappointment occasioned by this "defection" that "the missionaries made no evangelistic efforts here." Although Paul was "exceedingly sensitive," we can hardly believe him so easily disconcerted in his great work. We prefer to

ascribe other reasons. If Paul left Antioch when the sea was first "open" in the spring, it is quite likely he would reach Perga in May or early June. We may believe it to have been the custom of the people of that region then, as it is now, with the beginning of the hot season to move with their flocks and herds to the cooler uplands. So the missionaries would both find it inopportune to stay at Perga, and would have more companionship in their rough and dangerous journey inland. On page 110 he speaks of the "Episcopal" Church, where we presume he means, more accurately speaking, the "Protestant Episcopal." There are several "Episcopal" Churches in this country, of which the Methodist Episcopal is perhaps the largest among Protestant bodies; while the Reformed Episcopal is not to be forgotten. On page 144 we are told that the mob at Lystra "took him [Paul] and *dragged him out* of the city and *stoned him*," etc. In this narrative we are given to understand that they first dragged him out of the city and then stoned him; yet the account in Acts xiv, 19 reads, "and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city." Lewin (vol. i, 151) follows this latter order. On page 277 he has adopted an explanation of the name Morea now generally rejected by the best philologists.

These are blemishes such as we might expect in a work prepared as this has been, and are very trivial compared with its real value. The biographies of the good and great can hardly be over-estimated. The four life histories left us of the Sinless One are the grandest inheritance of the present from the past. Like that of Elijah, so also the history of Paul is full of the heroic. Of the world's nine great epics none have such a hero. It is full of inspiration to the devout student.

The author has most admirably presented these lessons at the close of each lecture. Thus, for example, as a fourth suggestion from the martyrdom of Stephen, he writes (page 24): "We may learn that words which seem to have been in vain are not always fruitless. Stephen's defense was unsuccessful, so far at least as securing the preservation of his own life. But his argument was not lost. Augustine has said that if Stephen had not prayed Saul would not have been converted. And we may, perhaps, conclude that if the protomartyr had not taken the peculiar line of defense which he did, Saul might not have become the apostle *of the Gentiles.* This speech of Stephen before the Council seems to have been at least one of the means which God employed for leading him to the broad spiritual view of the Gospel which he

adopted. The words which he had heard were the seeds out of which his whole doctrine grew; and even till his latest days there are indications in his letters that many of the expressions which Stephen had used were indelibly engraven on Paul's heart. Stephen's quotation of Isaiah's words, 'The Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands,' was evidently fresh in Paul's mind when he spoke to the men of Athens from Mars' Hill. The phrase, 'uncircumcised in heart,' reappears in the letter to the Romans; and the final petition of the martyr for his murderers is almost the last recorded ejaculation of Paul: 'I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge.' . . . Thus seeds which appear to fall by the wayside are not always devoured by the fowls of the air. The persecutors could kill Stephen, but they could not recall or arrest the progress of the words which he had spoken. A word is always a seed, and that which we have spoken in the ear may by and by be proclaimed by some one mightier than we from the house-top."

Commenting on the fact that the disciples were first called "Christians" at Antioch, Dr. T. suggests: "How much better has it fared with this name than with that of Jesuit, by which others have called themselves from the word Jesus. If you wish to stigmatize a man as cunning and deceitful you call him Jesuitical. Why? Because the members of the Society of Jesus, since almost the very time of its origin, have had this reputation. Worming themselves into the secrets of families and the councils [?] of cabinets—wearing the mask of servants while doing the work of spies—feigning the meekest humility while they were pushing on the proudest and most pernicious schemes. . . . The designation by which they chose to call themselves, meaning it to be a symbol of the highest honor, has come to be hated and abhorred, while that by which the early disciples" were stigmatized "has come to be regarded the worthiest a man can bear." Referring to Paul's miraculous infliction of blindness on the magian Barjesus at the court of Sergius Paulus, Dr. T. takes occasion to remind us that "the wonderful works of the Lord Jesus were almost all beneficent. Only on two occasions did his supernal power go forth in judgment, and in both the bodies of men were spared, for the one was the drowning of the herd of swine and the other the blasting of the fig-tree."

In the midst of these narrations and comments, moreover, the author introduces not a little *doctrinal* instruction. Reciting their early missionary work among the Churches, he reaches the

record that "they *confirmed* the souls of the disciples," and at once the doctrine of ecclesiastical "confirmation" is considered. "When they had ordained them *elders* in every church," gives occasion for a brief summary of all that the New Testament contains in regard to the position and duties of elders. Coming to the record of the first Church council, and the first serious controversy in the Christian Church, namely, whether circumcision of Gentile converts was essential to their salvation, he discusses briefly the constitution and functions of Church councils. Alluding to the doctrinal portion of Paul's first recorded sermon, namely, that in the synagogue of Antioch of Pisidia, he selects the words, "in him all that believe are justified from all things," and grouping this with other utterances in the epistles, he sums up the Pauline doctrine of *justification* in the following six propositions: "1. That God was willing to deal with Christ in the room of sinners. 2. The Lord Jesus was equally willing to be reckoned with for sinners. 3. That, in so reckoning with the Lord Jesus, God laid upon him the iniquities of us all, and treated him as if he had been, what he really was not, a sinner. 4. That this reckoning so honored law that God can consistently treat sinners as if they were, what they really are not, righteous. 5. That in order to a sinner's being so treated he must be 'in Christ' a consenting party as a believer. 6. Such justification of the believer in Christ is complete."

From the Nile to Norway and Homeward. By THEODORE L. CUYLER, Pastor of Lafayette Avenue Church, Brooklyn. Small 12mo, pp. 357. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1882.

Dr. Cuyler gives a very fresh and vigorous report of his African, Asiatic, and European tour taken in 1881. Along his whole course his eyes were wide open; he saw things in the light of multiplied old historic memories; he enjoyed with rich life the living present, and visions of the future rise like prophecies before his view. He clothes his narrations and descriptions in graphic and pure English—pure even though he does give Mussul*men* as the plural of Mussul*man*.

He started from Marseilles, the city of beauty, in April, crossed the sunny Mediterranean for Egypt, found Cairo, with Jerusalem and Venice, one of the three most interesting cities of the world. His night-stroll in Cairo is worthy notice for our drunken America: "After nightfall I set out on a stroll through Cairo and was struck with the quietness and good order of every

part of the city which I traversed. It is said that a stranger can go anywhere at night without any danger of molestation; if he loses his way he has but to call one of the ubiquitous donkey-boys, who will soon trot him back to his hotel. I saw no dram-shops filled with carousers, and encountered no abandoned characters making night hideous with their harlotries. If Cairo is infected with the 'social vice,' it hides the leprosy from public view. Mohammedanism degrades woman in many ways, but it does not put her to the open shame which so shocks us in the thoroughfares of London or Liverpool or of too many towns in America." He glanced at the pyramids, crossed by steam to Jaffa, and thence by team to Jerusalem. He found the Holy Land clothed in her spring dress, and was surprised at her surpassing beauty. "The first half-mile led through orange groves laden with ripe fruit. Then we came out on the broad, superb plain of Sharon, which at this season of the year is in all its glory. Behind the cactus hedges were olive orchards and gardens of figs; far away spread luxuriant crops of barley soon to be ready for the harvest. Scarlet poppies flamed over every field. . . At Ramleh we halted to ascend the lofty Saracenic tower, and to enjoy the wide view which extends for sixty miles over a stretch of luxuriant verdure, almost equal to that of England. Palm-trees waved their fronds; olive-groves in pale green mingled with the deep hue of the figs and the barley, and the orange orchards were illuminated with their bright fruit 'like lamps in a deep green night.' To the north-east arose Mount Ebal. To the south we caught a dim view of Gath and Azotus. Truly it was a land flowing with milk and honey; it was ancient Canaan once more as it kindled the eyes of Caleb and Joshua." Even at Jerusalem he is delighted to behold the holy city blooming in her April array. "In one respect Jerusalem has suffered great injustice. Most tourists describe it as surrounded by wild, bleak desolation. I expected to see only mountains of glaring white limestone. But these travelers came at the wrong season of the year. April is the summer of Palestine, although the air yesterday was delightfully cool. As I stood on Mount Zion, the hill of Evil Counsel and the mountains toward Bethlehem were clothed with verdure. The gardens under Moriah were bright with flowers. Olivet was green, except for the white Jewish tombs on its southern end. Scarlet poppies flamed among the stones of the ancient walls. When we went out of the Damascus gate, and stood on the low hill which many

regard as the true site of Calvary, the whole country toward Samaria was luxuriant with waving barley and with olive orchards. So must it have looked when the blessed Master led his disciples among those very fields, and went toward Galilee. So must the land have smiled when over all its terraced hills and among its rich valleys it supported a population as teeming as the population of Egypt to-day. I thank God that I have seen his goodly land of Canaan—not dreary and desolate as I feared, but arrayed in the bright robes of summer, and with these everlasting hills wearing a verdant crown of beauty."

In Jerusalem he found one phenomenon which will specially charm our Universalist brethren as type and omen of "the restoration"—Gehenna transfigured to Paradise! "Last Monday I walked up the valley of Hinnom, the ancient 'Gehenna' of the days of Moloch. I expected to find a horrible desolation; but, instead of that, I found a valley full of olive orchards, and on its slopes toward the hill of Evil Counsel I saw new buildings, and among them were several built by the legacy of Judah Touro, the American Jew. However dismal Gehenna may once have been, *it is now a far better type of Paradise than of Purgatory.*"

Beyrout, a city of most renowned antiquity, is also for Syria the city of a most propitious future. Here is the American college, founded by William A. Booth, William E. Dodge, S. B. Chittenden, and Dr. Post. A body of one hundred and twenty students, though brown of face and capped with fez, reminded him of old Princeton. Then there are Miss Jackson's female seminary, scarce less a bright omen, the Orphan Home of the "German Deaconesses," and the Church of "the prince of American missionaries," where "last Sunday he administered the sacrament to two hundred communicants," and with a Sunday-school in which three hundred and sixty voices sang Christ's praises in Arabic. *Robert College*, too, at Constantinople, is "a bright particular star," shedding a hopeful light upon the paling Crescent—the college of Dr. Hamlin and Dr. Long. "Ten nationalities were represented there—Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Russian, Syrian, Slave, and Bulgarian. They reminded me of a crowd of Yale or Princetonians, especially when they began to 'demonstrate.' I wish I dared to describe the enthusiasm with which these young men received every allusion I made to the 'new ideas' which that American college is giving to them, and which they are to scatter through the Orient. I do not wonder that when the Russian army went home three years ago

through the Bosphorus the Imperial Guards came out on the decks and gave three rousing cheers for Robert College!"

Taking a leap next into Germany, we may note, at Wittenberg, the following reminder of the evil of *war:* "As there are infantry-barracks in the town, I saw rather more than the average number of soldiers in the streets, but they are quite too abundant every-where in Kaiser William's dominions. This swarm of locusts, in martial toggery, is devouring the substance of the empire. We in America have our full share of dram shops and demagogues, but let us thank God that we have not the additional curse of a vast standing army." How little is the conscience of Christendom alive to the evils of war! Will the year two thousand from the advent of the Prince of Peace bring us to the advent of perpetual peace itself?

Dr. Cuyler has a full and valuable chapter on what he calls the "Drink Question." We give the following on *The Paschal Feast:*

In Palestine and Syria the people (who are not Mohammedans) almost universally use the native wines, which are abundant, cheap, and contain but a small percentage of alcohol. Some of the poorer Jews in Jerusalem, who are unable to purchase wine for the Passover, are in the habit of boiling raisins and extracting a simple unfermented drink which they use at the Paschal feast. They always ask a blessing on it as "*the fruit of the vine.*" The mild drink thus made will not keep long, and it is not much used as a beverage. Several syrups are made from the grape, which are brought on the table as maple-syrup is in Vermont or molasses on the breakfast-tables of boarding-schools. There is very little drunkenness in Palestine. Bishop Barclay told me that the only time at which the Jews in Jerusalem get exhilarated is at the Feast of Purim. Then it is regarded as a meritorious act to get so "fuddled" that a man does not know the difference between "Blessed be Haman!" and "Cursed be Mordecai!"

We may compare with Du Chaillu's account the following statement touching *Swedish drunkenness and reform:*

As I went northward I found the popular beverages becoming more strongly alcoholic. Until about twenty-five years ago Sweden was cursed by a frightful amount of drunkenness, especially among the lower classes. The most common Swedish liquor is called "Bran-vin," and is a powerful intoxicant distilled from potatoes. The first step toward reform was the passage of a "Licensing Act" in 1855; this act abolished domestic distillation, imposed heavy license-fees, and allowed the parochial authorities or the town councils to fix the number of liquor-shops. It even allowed them to prohibit tippling-houses entirely. The result of the passage of this law was to reduce the annual product of bran-vin from 26,000,000 gallons to 6,900,000! Under the act, the traffic in ardent spirits was much restricted in many parishes, and was not licensed at all in several localities. Its chief results were seen in the rural districts. While this law has vastly curtailed the sale and use of intoxicants, yet in the city of Gothenburg—the chief seaport—the drink-traffic went forward with scarcely any perceptible hinderance. The City Council accordingly decided that drinking-houses should no longer be managed by private individuals for the sake of personal profit, but by a company, (or "Bolag,") and that all the net profits of the sale of spirits should be paid over to the city treasury. A "Bolag" was organized in 1865, and a charter was granted them by the government.

This "Gothenburg system" of license is now in full force in several of the large towns of Sweden. Under this system the whole sale of liquor in a city is committed to a joint-stock company, who decide on the number of drinking-houses and pay the salaries of the venders. After a small dividend has been declared to the share-holders, all the remainder of the profits from the sales are paid into the city treasury. The number of dram-shops under this method is greatly reduced; in Upsala, with a population of eighteen thousand, there are only seventeen. An effort is now being made by the friends of temperance to have the dram-shops closed on Saturday evenings, on holidays, and on the whole of the Sabbath. They are only open now on Sunday for two or three hours. The most intelligent persons with whom I conversed generally state that the "Gothenburg system" works many good results. It limits the number of drinking-houses; it allows no inducement to the liquor-seller to sell for personal profit; it forbids the sale of intoxicants to an intoxicated person, and forbids also any one to get drunk "on the premises." If there is to be any license at all, this is probably the best license system ever invented. Its cardinal defect is that it legalizes the dram-shop, and opens a doorway of deadly temptation. The best people in Sweden, therefore, are now enlisted in moral efforts to persuade their countrymen to abstain from strong drink entirely.

The following illustrates *climate and race intoxicants:*

Two very palpable principles seem to prevail in regard to the use of alcoholic stimulants. The one is that the character of the popular beverages varies according to the *climate.* In warm countries, such as Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Southern Italy, those beverages are of a milder character. As I went northward I found the potations of the people growing more intensely alcoholic. The thirst for intoxicants seems to go up as the thermometer goes down. Had I pursued my journeyings as far as Siberia I should have discovered that the native tribes are addicted to eating a peculiar fungus plant, called "muk-a-moor," which is a violent narcotic and which completely shatters the nervous system.

If the use of alcoholic drinks varies according to climate, it also varies according to *race.* The Semitic and the Latin races are content with milder potations. The Saxons, the Scandinavians, and the Celts have appetites for "bottled lightning." It is not a pleasant thing to say, but the most hideous drunkenness that I have yet encountered is to be found in Britain and in Ireland. London alone must contain more habitual drunkards than does all the native population of the Levant.

Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers: Containing Practical Information regarding Climate, Soil, and Productions; Cities, Towns, and People; The Culture of the Orange and other Tropical Fruits; Farming and Gardening; Scenery and Resorts; Sports, Routes of Travel, etc. By GEORGE M. BARBOUR. With Map and Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 310. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1882.

"Florida on the brain" has proved to be not a violent but a growing and permanent contagion. Like other contagions it finds its predisposed subjects, and these, though a minority, may yet become among our increasing millions a minority large enough to fill two or three Floridas, though there is truly but one in our country. There are many who go to Florida and return never desiring to repeat the visit. There are others who repeat the visit with an ever-increasing interest. There are others to whom it is a sanitary relief and necessity. To others still it is a luxury, and to them, if possessed of wealth, a winter home in Florida will become their "castle in Spain." Not along

the St. John's or Ocklawaha alone, but beside the sweet, sparkling lakes and lakelets sprinkled so liberally through all Florida, the cottages and chateaus will rise, and the whole will in future centuries form one of the pets of our Cismississippian States. The tropical and oriental character of the peninsula and its products give it a fascination and a fancy, and you feel a romance in dwelling in an airy home around which are growing the fig, the mulberry, the pomegranate, the lemon, and the rose that blossoms through all the months of the year.

Of all the works on Florida Mr. Barbour's is far the best. And this not only because it is latest, furnishing the last of the changing and advancing phases of Florida, and the results of the latest experiences, but from the personal qualifications and large opportunities of survey possessed by the writer. Though, we believe, a born Southerner, he first saw Florida in 1880, when, as correspondent of the "Chicago Times," he attended the tour of General Grant through the State, and concluded, after having seen nearly every State of the Union, to make Florida his home. The positions he has there filled have called him to a wide and thorough research through the State, and his practical character of mind and abilities as a writer eminently fit him for telling the inquirer what he wants to know. He has lately become editor of a new daily paper in Jacksonville, independent in politics. His volume is heartily indorsed by Gov. Bloxam and ex-Gov. Drew, and is done up by the Appletons in their tasteful style, adorned with numerous engravings, which are true to the unique life which they represent.

"The truth is," says Mr. Barbour, "there are three Floridas: the northern or temperate, the semi-tropical, and the tropical;" and though these three are one, yet some things are true of one which are very untrue of the others. *Northern* Florida, extending, we would say, about to the latitude of St. Augustine, is the land of more northerly productions, but unsafe for the orange and other semi-tropical fruit. And this though there are old and valuable groves near Jacksonville, especially those situated on the east side of the river and thereby protected from the sweep of the northwesters. Last year the papers told us that the Florida orange crop was destroyed, which was true of this northern Florida, but not true one hundred miles south of Jacksonville. When, in the last spring, we came from southern Florida to St. Augustine, the germination of the tender new leaves on the orange trees told what havoc the norther had made of fruit and

foliage. In 1835 a direful freeze of several days' continuance killed the trees of St. Augustine down to the roots; but tradition says that a new growth soon springs from the roots, and the grove is again in bearing in a marvelously brief period. *Semi-tropical* Florida, including, we may loosely say, the belt from St. Augustine to the thirtieth degree of latitude, is the native home of the orange, and the culture is as safe as any ordinary human business." *South or tropical* Florida, lying south of the twenty-eighth degree, "is really and truly the Italy, the Spain, the Egypt, of the United States." All the productions of truly tropical climes are native to this region. The Everglades is a vast shallow lake, sixty by sixty miles in area, interspersed with innumerable islands, whose bottom, being above the level of the sea, renders possible its drainage; and this when done would furnish a soil of unsurpassable richness for sugar and cotton. Tropical Florida is as yet unconquered by the march of civilization. It is a land not yet possessed. But as our western population is rolling westward, so our southern is rolling southward. The level of Florida invites the rail-track, her rivers and lakes invoke the steamer, and both are hearing the call, and every year is making further aggressions and opening up new regions.

"Florida is rapidly becoming a northern colony;" so says Mr. Barbour, and the fact is welcomed by the native population. The great number of newspapers scattered through the State is an indication of a reading and thinking people; and uniformly the editorial columns wisely unfold to the public the importance of immigration and the need of increased population for the future of the State. Every new purchase made by an incomer is chronicled as a gain and a triumph. A Northerner, whether Yankee, Yorker, or Buckeye, showing himself worthy of respect will be treated with quite as much respect as in the North. Indeed, it is right to attribute to these people the same qualities as we usually accord to our Southern brethren, as naturally disposed to be frank, generous, and honorable. But, welcome or not, the flood-tide of Northern enterprise and civilization is resistless. It asks no gracious permission to assume its American rights. For the present it is pouring in increasing volume into semi-tropical Florida. Give but a century of peace, and beautiful Florida will stand in a unique pre-eminence among her sisters of the Union.

For the tourist, the noble St. John's River it is which has opened Florida to his visitations. But one third the way on its course the

weird Ocklawaha forks off westwardly from the St. John's, and both are traceable up into the far south to sources wide apart but in about the same latitude. Ere long a steam route will be cut from the head of one river to that of the other, thereby forming for the tourist a round-trip up the St. John's and down the Ocklawaha. This cross route will lead from Orange County, the most cultured of semi-tropical Florida, to the beautiful lakes of Sumter, what Mr. Barbour styles "the famous Lake Eustiss and Lake Dora region, the equal—even the superior—of any region in Florida for superb scenery, excellent soil, rapid growth, and healthy enterprise;" the region described by Mr. Richmond, as noticed on a further page.

Three classes of persons there are in Florida whom we wish that our author had sketched with a kindlier pencil. They are "the crackers," the emigrants from "Alabawma," and the negroes. The first he describes as "the clay-eating, gaunt, pale, tallowy, leather-skinned sort; stupid, stolid, staring eyes, dead and lusterless; unkempt hair, generally tow-colored; and such a shiftless, slouching manner! simply white savages—or living white mummies would, perhaps, better indicate their dead-alive looks and actions. Who or what these 'crackers' are, from whom descended, of what nationality, or what becomes of them, is one among the many unsolved mysteries in this State. Stupid and shiftless, yet shy and vindictive, they are a block in the pathway of civilization, settlement, and enterprise wherever they exist." Now we suppose there is no doubt of the origin and race of these folks. They are simply true American people, victimized, outlawed, and decivilized by the crushing cruelty of the vanished slave-power, They are the "mean whites" of Florida who were too poor to own slaves, and so driven from social life into the outskirts by that despotism. When the war came they were marched up by their oppressors to shed their blood in behalf of the oligarchy that crushed them. They are separated from the rest of the community, not by lines but by shadings, and are of as generous blood and nature as ourselves. The new reign of freedom and march of progress will abolish the class by restoring its rights and elevating its character. Similar are the immigrants from "Alabawma." They, too, are the victims of a vanished system. They are truly compared by him to the lower foreign immigration into our North. But our North accepts its foreign immigrants in all their degradation and numbers, endures and educates them, and transforms them, at least in their poster-

ity, into true American citizens. And why should our author present, as specimens of Florida negroes, a gang imported from Georgia to work a rail-track; and portray, in colors undoubtedly too true, their grotesque worthlessness? Who and what are responsible for even their semi-barbarism? If Mr. Barbour would only step a few doors from his office into the Cookman Institute for colored youths, in Jacksonville, under the care of Rev. S. B. Darnell, he might give us a reverse picture, more hopeful for the negro and more worthy his graphic pen. His proposal to substitute Chinese labor for negro would quadruple the difficulty by doubling the heterogeneity.

The Land of the Midnight Sun. Summer and Winter Journeys through Sweden, Norway, Lapland, and Northern Finland. By PAUL B. DU CHAILLU, Author of "Explorations in Equatorial Africa," "A Journey to Ashango Land;" "Stories of the Gorilla Country," etc. With Maps and Two Hundred and Thirty-five Illustrations. In two volumes. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 441; Vol. II, pp. 474. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Paul du Chaillu, having done the land of the gorilla, is here to be found among the reindeers, Lapps, and Finns. In ranging with him over the arctic circle and its neighboring regions, we find him a most genial, jovial, heroic, instructive, and entertaining fellow-traveler. He describes with a most graphic pen, and his pen-pictures are completed by aid of authentic photographs, giving accurate delineations with an optic reality that pen cannot reach. Meanwhile the Harpers have done him up in blue and gold, stamping "the midnight sun" upon the cover of his two magnificent octavos.

Do you dread this long journey through the chilly north to the arctic sea? He assures us at start that it is "a glorious country." Do you not know that the realm of the ice-king is a domain of beauty and sublimity? What more beautiful than "beautiful snow," or more crystalline than crystallized water? Take away the chill that belongs to our sensations, and give us spirit wings to soar over the mountains and solitudes, the icebergs and glaciers, all clothed in the ever-varying picturesque of the ever-varying light of the midday and midnight sun, and you have the chosen land of beauty and wonder in which, of all our globe, the spirit would most delight." "Scandinavia," says Paul, "often have I wandered over thy snow-clad mountains, hills, and valleys, over thy frozen lakes and rivers, seeming to hear, as the reindeer, swift carriers of the North, flew onward, a voice whispering to me, 'Thou hast been in many countries where there is

no winter, and where flowers bloom all the year; but hast thou ever seen such glorious nights as these?' And I silently answered, 'Never! never!'"

By different visits through five successive years, beginning in 1871, did Paul survey every part this land of ice and glory. From Stockholm his objective point was the North Cape, the bold promontory from which, as its northernmost point, Europe looks forth into the cold, impenetrable mystery of the Arctic Sea, and, with the eye of scientific faith, to the ever-unseen north pole. By the beautiful map in the pocket of one of his octavos we are enabled to travel with him on his northward course. Taking ship from Stockholm we skirt the western coast of the cold, deep Bothnia; after touching at various points we land at Haparanda, the northernmost port of the Bothnia, within a few miles of the Arctic Circle. Thence we steam and stream up the Tornea River, (near "Tornea's frosty brow,") which, in due time, becomes the Muonio, at whose source we shall be within five hundred miles of the Cape. We are now deep in the land of the Lapps, and the broad lands of the Finns stretch far out on our right. Descending the river Alten, which flows into the Northern Sea, we pass Bosekop and Hammerfest, and are soon upon the isle whose northern point is the memorable North Cape.

Remember, this is in July and August, when a brief torrid summer, brought by a ceaseless sun, ripens a rapid harvest, and renders life possible, and even delightful. At length he gained the promontory of his wishes. He stood upon the North Cape. "Before me," he says, "as far as the eye could reach, was the deep blue Arctic Sea disappearing in the northern horizon. Far beyond was that unknown region, guarded by a wall of ice, which bars all approach, and has baffled the efforts of all who have tried to unravel its mysteries, and to reach the north pole. Behind me were Europe with its sunny climes, and Africa with its burning deserts and malarial swamps; on my right was Asia, on my left America, misnamed the New World. Wherever I gazed I beheld nature, bleak, dreary, and desolate; grand, indeed, but sad." "A feeling of oppression seized" him, and throughout his narrative of travel, while he enjoyed the vastness of even desolations, and felt the grandeur of solitudes, there came sadness and oppression over his feelings. Goethe tells us, that ever in the stillness of night the earth seemed to him consciously sad, as if truly sorrowing and pleading for relief. So St. Paul describes our whole creation as "groaning and travailing in pain;" but

this, the apostle's pessimism, is sublimely reversed by his anticipation of "the redemption."

Du Chaillu astonished the people by his abstinence from smoking, but not by his teetotalism, being obedient when required to empty his bumper to the bottom. He found an abundant overflow of conviviality, surprising even to him; and when he alluded to its copiousness received reply "that the Swedes and Norwegians have the longest lives of any people." But Sweden, according to Dr. Cuyler, quoted on another page, has awakened to the danger of this crazy drunkenness. Paul's pictures of the healthful, homely, hardy, rural life of these Northmen, their freedom from the struggle of wealth and show, and their consequent high standard of honesty, are very pleasing. We have a liking for his Lapps. Here, too, he often found the perfection of pearly, rosy, female beauty united with an enchanting simplicity of character and manner. We finish with his account of a Lapland method of cleaning spoons.

"The shape of the spoon was very graceful. This also was a family relic, and a great deal older than the cup; it was not clean, reindeer milk having dried upon it, and I was much amused at the way the girl washed it. As there was no water at hand, she passed her little red tongue over it several times, until it was quite clean and smooth; and then, as if it had been a matter of course, filled it with milk from a bowl, stirred up the coffee, and handed me the cup. I did not altogether admire this way of cleaning spoons. Happily, her teeth were exceedingly white, and her lips as red as a cherry; and although I have seen many Laplanders since, I think she was the prettiest one I ever met."

Memoirs of Prince Metternich, 1815–1829. Edited by Prince RICHARD METTERNICH. The papers classified and arranged by M. A. DE KLINKOWSTRÖM. Translated by Mrs. ALEXANDER NAPIER. 2 vols., 12mo; pp. 728, 942. New York: Harper & Brothers.

No man who believes with Daniel Webster in "the people's government made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people," will be drawn to the Memoirs of Prince Metternich by any cord of admiration for his diplomacy or statesmanship. The former is notorious for its duplicity; the latter is famous for its ultra conservatism, its hostility to progress, its advocacy of the principles of legitimacy, and its success, through the thirty years succeeding the overthrow of the Napoleonic Empire, in repressing every attempt at revolution,

not only in Austria but also throughout continental Europe. The cardinal doctrine which inspired Metternich's policy was, as he states it, that "the transition from an old state of things to a new is as dangerous as that from a new state to one which no longer exists." Guided by this doctrine, and possessed of the uncontrolled direction of the helm of the Austrian government, he held the subjects of that empire firmly in the grip of a despotism which muzzled the press, stifled the expression of free thought, subjected almost every household to a system of police espionage, prohibited the circulation of the Scriptures, and sought to make the people little else than slaves of the imperial throne. And so astute was his diplomacy that he made himself the recognized leader of the politics of continental Europe from 1813 to 1848. During this long period he succeeded, by means of frequent international congresses and of the "Holy Alliance," in his efforts to extend his repressive system to all the states included in the Alliance, and consequently in keeping an iron hand on the throat of almost every liberal movement in Europe. But popular opinion slowly increased in strength in spite of censorship and espionage, until, in 1848, it was sufficiently powerful to dethrone Louis Philippe in Paris and compel the flight of Metternich from Vienna. Then this high-priest of imperialism was glad to find refuge in London among a people who, but for their devotion to the principles he hated, would have had neither the will nor the power to protect him from the popular rage which had forced him into well-deserved exile.

But although Metternich's political principles and conduct were so utterly opposed to American ideas, his memoirs will no doubt find many readers in this country, particularly among students of European modern political history. Metternich was, as he justly claims, "a maker of history," and these volumes, with unaffected simplicity and apparent honesty, tell us how he made it. In their autobiographical portions they give us an account of his early days, his fine educational advantages, his introduction to a diplomatic career, which, strangely enough, was at first very repugnant to his tastes and hostile to his own chosen plan of life. Once in that career, however, he determined to win success. Unfortunately, both for himself and for the nation whose destinies he ruled during a generation, his first impressions of popular government were derived from what he learned from the lips of the French aristocrats who had fled from the terrors of the French Revolution

into Germany. Perhaps these impressions developed the principles he must have been taught by the priests, who were the tutors of his early boyhood. Be this as it may, the excesses of the French Revolution made him the sworn enemy of popular freedom, and gave the keynote to his public career.

His autobiography also introduces us to the most distinguished personages of his eventful times. His conversations with them; his opinions of them; the part he bore in their discussions, and the influence he put forth in shaping public events, are frankly stated. All this is extremely interesting, as are also the extracts from his diplomatic, ministerial, and private correspondence which make up the greater part of these volumes. While nothing in their pages tends to convince a believer in popular liberty of either the truth or wisdom of Metternich's principles and policy, yet one can scarcely resist the conviction that he believed in the truth of the one and the rightness of the other. It also appears, from his private correspondence, that he was a man of large, deep, and tender affections. The despotic ruler of the people was not visible in the husband and father. He was all intellect; cold as his principles when in the cabinet; but, mild, gentle, and affectionate when in the social circle and at the fireside. In a sentence of a letter to his son Victor he confesses this, saying: "You know that the double natures which in me move side by side—the public man and the private individual—never interfere with each other." Had he permitted a little of the warmth and kindness of his heart to flow into his statesmanship the record of his public life might have been more creditable than it now is to his reputation.

These two volumes bring his history down to 1829. One more volume will make it complete. When finished these memoirs will constitute a very valuable addition to the history of modern Europe.

The Early History of Charles James Fox. By GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, M.P., Author of "The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay." 8vo, pp. 470. New York: Harper & Bros.

Mr. Trevelyan won his spurs as a biographer by his admirably-written "Life of Lord Macaulay." He has not only done himself no discredit by this portraiture of the early life of the distinguished Charles J. Fox, but has added to his reputation as a skillful and eloquent writer of biography. This work is more than a biography, inasmuch as, in treating of the remarkable

career of its illustrious subject, he was under the necessity of giving a political history of the very eventful epoch to the outcome of which Fox so largely contributed. In doing this Mr. Trevelyan displays the qualities of a brilliant historian, and when his task is completed it will probably be as able a political history of the times of Fox, viewed from a Whig or Liberal point of view, as has hitherto been written. In saying this, we do not mean to affirm that he has written in the spirit of a mere partisan, lacking fairness and candor, but only that he exhibits the events and contemporaries of the times of Fox as they appear in the light of those liberal and progressive principles for the maintenance of which the Whigs of the latter half of the eighteenth century so bravely contended. There is, indeed, an evident purpose to deal impartially with both the Whig and Tory leaders of that day. Nor does he hesitate to paint his hero as he really was. Fox was neither a saint nor a descendant from saints. And Mr. Trevelyan honestly tells the story of the adventurer, Stephen Fox, grandfather of the great orator and founder of the family; also of the "universally detested" Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland and the father of Charles. Neither does he conceal the sad story of dissipation into which Charles was initiated by the unpardonable folly of his unprincipled father, but which stands an ineffaceable blot on the record of the great orator's youth and early manhood. The eloquence of Fox, as testified by both friends and foes, was marvelous. Grattan, who had listened to Burke, Pitt, and Sheridan, said, "Fox in his best days" was the best speaker he ever heard. Horace Walpole, who detested Fox's father and all that belonged to him, confessed that "Fox was born a debater, as Bonaparte was born a general." And Burke, who was himself a prince among parliamentary orators, in writing of him, said, "I knew him when he was nineteen, since which time he has risen by slow degrees to be the most brilliant and accomplished debater the world ever saw."

But if his eloquence was marvelous, his parliamentary career was still more so. When only nineteen, and when, though well educated, he was as yet without any fixed political principles, Fox entered the House of Commons. As the son of a notoriously unprincipled placeman his first associations were naturally with men who, being without real patriotism or political virtue, were avowedly governed by the motto "Every man for himself and the exchequer for us all." This really great man, after acting

for several years with this party, which supported the prerogatives of the crown against the just claims of the nation, voluntarily threw up all his prospects of preferment, and, until the day of his death, devoted his wondrous abilities to the support of those principles to the success of which our British cousins owe the various modern measures of reform which have placed the government of their country in their House of Commons. Well, therefore, does Mr. Trevelyan say of Fox, that he was the "only English statesman who has left a reputation of the first order, acquired, not in power, but while self-condemned to an almost life-long opposition; who manfully and cheerfully surrendered all that he had been taught to value for the sake of principles at which he had been diligently trained to sneer. So that, to one who began his course weighted and hampered by the worst traditions of the past, we owe much of what is highest and purest in our recent political history; and the son and pupil of Henry Fox became in turn the teacher of Romilly and Mackintosh, of Earl Grey, Lord Althorp, and Earl Russell."

In this volume the story of Mr. Fox is brought down to 1774, when he was only twenty-five years of age, and when he was just entering upon the noblest part of his career.

Harpers' Popular Cyclopedia of United States History, from the Aboriginal Period to 1876. Containing Brief Sketches of Important Events and Conspicuous Actors. By BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D. Illustrated by over one thousand engravings. In two volumes, 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 794; vol. II, pp. 1,605.

American history in a new, and, for many purposes, very convenient form. Persons, places, and events, skillfully arranged in order, may be made to turn up at a moment's call, at their place in the alphabet. The research exhibited in the work is very thorough, and the information is conveyed with a remarkable kind of fullness and conciseness. The engravings are numerous and illustrative, as might be expected from Mr. Lossing's remarkable talent in this department. Whether as a work of reference, or for reading straight through, it will be found valuable and attractive.

Miscellaneous.

Sumter County, Florida: Situation, Climate, Soil, Productions, etc. By Rev. JOHN F. RICHMOND, of the New York Conference, author of "Bright Side of New York," "Diamonds," etc. 8vo, pp. 56. Philadelphia: M'Calla & Stavely.

Mr. Richmond has been a welcome contributor to our Quarterly and to the volumes of our denominational literature. Induced by hygienic reasons, he has sought a home in the depths of Florida. He ascended the winding Oklawaha, and found at its high source, in southern Florida, a land of sunny skies, of silver lakes and orange groves. Making all allowance for his enthusiasm for his new home, and for his touching but gently the drawbacks, we may admit that he justly finds many very attractive points in the region he so eloquently describes. From our own survey of his beautiful Lake Harris, (to which its euphonious Indian name of Astatula, "Lake of sunbeams," will, we hope, be soon restored,) we believe that a time not distant will see its sloping shores studded with elegant mansions. Sumter has sprung into active existence since 1870, and her rapid growth in population, enterprise, and wealth is a marvel. Her people are law-abiding, ambitious, and hospitable to the immigrant and the visitor.

Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der Heiligen Schrift. Eine kurzgesaszte Beschreibung und Erklärung der in der Bibel genannten Städte, Länder, Völker, Personen, Namen, Lehren, Symbole, etc. Nebst einem Verzeichniss bedeutender Männer der christlichen Kirche vom ersten Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart. Von Franz L. Nagler. (Zweite revidirte Auflage.) 8vo, pp. 504. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.

Mr. Nagler's General Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures has proved its suitableness as the supply of a want for German Methodism. It may be well commended to popular use.

Charakter-Bilder aus der Geschichte des Methodismus. Vierzehn Vorlesungen über ausserordentliche Persönlichkeiten und Hauptbewegungen des Methodismus in Amerika und Deutschland, gehalten von verschiedenen deutschen Predigern vor den Studenten des deutsch-englischen Collegiums zu Galena, Ill., im Frühjahr 1881. 8vo, pp. 325. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.

Fourteen Lectures delivered by Prof. Kopp to the students of the German-English College at Galena, Ill., giving Personal Portraitures from the History of Methodism "in their own beautiful mother-speech." Attractive to their German predilections especially will be the sketch of the "Pennsylvania Dutch Jacob Gruber," "Ludwig Jacobi," and "Methodism in Germany." The volume commences with the ancient story of Asbury, Barbara Heck, Embury, etc. It then divides off into specialties, as Jesse

Lee, Benjamin Abbot, Willbur Fisk, Durbin, and Gilbert Haven. It is illustrated with twenty engravings, and furnishes a very pleasing hand-book for our German brethren.

The Mosaic Era. A Series of Lectures on Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. By JOHN MONRO GIBSON, M.A., D.D., author of "The Age Before Moses." 12mo, pp. 359. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

Dr. Gibson has here unfolded the four later books of the Pentateuch with great lucidness and beauty. He unfolds them in their threefold aspects, *historical*, *evangelical*, and *personal*; *historical*, as wonderfully tallying with the latest developments of Egyptian archæology; *evangelical*, as representing with supernatural power the divine foreshadowings of the sacrificial gospel of the New Testament in the Old; and *personal*, as having a most solemn impressiveness on the conscience of every reader. Like Fairbairn's work on "Typology," and Atwater on the "Tabernacle," this volume possesses great evidential force in favor of the true Mosaic authorship and divine canonicity of the Pentateuch. Dr. Gibson writes in a style of great freshness and force. Ideas of striking value are clothed in words of eloquence and life. For ministers and laymen this volume affords a view of the old law with a clearness and attractiveness hardly any where equaled in so brief a space.

The New Testament in the Original Greek. The Text revised by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., Canon of Peterborough and Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge and Fenton, JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. American edition. With an Introduction by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, President of the American Bible Revision Committee. 12mo, pp. 580. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated out of the Greek. Being the version set forth A. D. 1611. Compared with the most ancient authorities, and revised A. D. 1881. 8vo, pp. 652. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated out of the Greek. Being the version set forth A. D. 1611. Compared with the most ancient authorities, and revised A. D. 1881. 12mo, pp. 442. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

The first of the above volumes declares to its readers in good modern Latin, "You have here, of all the editions, the most ancient and purest text." It presents in its small compass the clean result of textual criticism since the first questioning of the Received Text. A good, cheap, manual edition of the Greek Testament has for some time been needed, and certainly nothing could be well imagined, so far as text is concerned, better than one sustaining such a claim as this. The Introduction, by Dr. Schaff, contains a brief but very fresh and clear survey of the

history of the text. It is a very complete edition for the student's use. Yet, after all, as noted in our Synopsis of Quarterlies, the Greek text, relying so largely as it does upon the Sinaitic Codex, is subjected by high authority to grave question.

The second is a large and handsome print of the Revised Edition, suited for aged eyes and for family use.

The third is a neat manual of the Revision.

The Theory of Preaching. Lectures on Homiletics. By AUSTIN PHELPS, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Prof. Phelps' work is a series of most excellent talks on preaching rather than a set text-book on sermon making. On this account it is likely to be decried as empirical and unscientific; but, in fact, this feature makes it all the more valuable. The work abounds in good advice and suggestion from which no young preacher could fail to derive great advantage; and it is, withal, free from that dull rigidity which marks so many of the "scientific" preachers on the subject, and which so surely leads to a corresponding frigidity in the preaching which is ruled thereby. We know of no other work on homiletics which is as likely to be useful without cramping the student.

"*He Giveth His Beloved Sleep.*" By ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING. With Designs by Miss L. B. HUMPHREY, Engraved by ANDREW. 12mo. Boston: Lee & Shepard; New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1882.

A beautiful reprint, with rich adornments, of one of Mrs. Browning's poetic gems.

The Works of Oliver Goldsmith. Edited by PETER CUNNINGHAM, F.S.A. In four volumes, 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 487. Vol. II, pp. 521. Vol. III, pp. 502. Vol. IV, pp. 531.

Goldsmith is here finely and liberally printed for a library edition, neatly boxed, and, as it were, embalmed for immortality. One of the purest of English classics he is, whose place is fixed beyond appeal or criticism.

Harpers' Young People, 1881. Large 8vo, pp. 832. New York: Harper & Brotherg.

Like every body else, the "young people" must have their periodical—their "organ." This is the booked-up organ for the whole year, and is very plain and solid outside, but full of fun and wisdom inside.

We have received, year in and year out, "Harpers' Weekly Journal" and "Weekly Bazaar." The former is edited by Mr. Curtis, who possesses the inflexible firmness for "the right" in politics exhibited by Horace Greeley in his golden prime, with an invariable courtesy which Horace never attained.

John Wesley. By Rev. R. GREEN. Pp. 192. London, Paris, and New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.

A very admirable, popular biography of the great reformer of England.

Lectures in Defense of the Christian Faith. By Prof. F. GODET, Author of Commentaries on Saint Luke and Saint John and Romans, etc. Translated by W. H. LITTLETON, M.A., Rector of Hagley and Canon of Gloucester. 8vo, pp. 320. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

Randolph & Company have done a good work in republishing in America these brilliant lectures at a price cheaper for the popular circulation they deserve than the British edition.

Hosannahs of the Children, and other Short Sermons for Young Worshipers; or, A Chime of Bells from the Little Sanctuary. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. 12mo, pp. 354. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1882.

Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century, as Contrasted with its Earlier and Later History. Being the Cunningham Lectures for 1880. BY JOHN CAIRNS, D.D., Principal and Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics in the United Presbyterian College. Pp. 216. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

De Quincey. By DAVID MASSON. 12mo, pp. 198. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Manual of Object Teaching. With Illustrative Lessons in Methods and Science of Education. By N. A. CALKINS, Author of "Primary Object-Lessons," "Phonic Charts," and "School and Family Charts." 8vo, pp. 469. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

German Principia. Part I. A First German Course, containing Grammar, Delectus, and Exercise-Book, with Vocabularies, and Materials for German Conversation. On the Plan of Dr. William Smith's "Principia Latina." Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged, with the Exercises Printed in both German and English Characters. Pp. 237. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Nez Perce Joseph. An Account of his Ancestors, his Lands, his Confederates, his Enemies, his Murders, his War, his Pursuit and Capture. By O. O. HOWARD, Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. Pp. 274. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1881.

Report of the Commissioner of Education, for the Year 1879. 8vo, pp. 757. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1881.

Stories about Jesus and His Times. For the Little People. Pp. 47. *Stories about Moses and His Times.* For the Little People. Pp. 47. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1881.

The Lesson Commentary on the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1882. By Rev. JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., and Rev. J. L. HURLBUT, M.A. 8vo, pp. 295. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.

The Berean Question-Book (Berean Series, No. 2) *on the International Lessons for* 1882. Pp. 184. *The Berean Beginner's Book* (Berean Series, No. 3) *on the International Lessons for* 1882. Pp. 208. *The Senior Lesson Book* (Berean Series, No. 1) *on the International Lessons for* 1882. Pp. 179. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.

Appendix to Initia Græca. Part I: Additional Exercises, with Examination Papers on Initia Græca. Part 1, with an Introduction to Initia Græca. Part 2, containing Easy Reading Lessons, with an Analysis of the Sentences. For the Use of the Lower Forms in Public and Private Schools. By WILLIAM SMITH, D.C.L., LL.D., Editor of the Classical and Latin Dictionaries. Pp. 106. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

Garfield's Words. Suggestive Passages from the Public and Private Writings of James Abram Garfield. Compiled by WILLIAM RALSTON BALCH. Pp. 184. Cambridge: The Riverside Press. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. 1881.

The Boy Travelers in the Far East. Part III. Adventures of Two Youths in a Journey to Ceylon and India. With Descriptions of Borneo and the Phillippine Islands and Burmah. By THOMAS W. KNOX, Author of the "Young Nimrods." Illustrated. Large 8vo, pp. 483. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

A marvelously sumptuous book, in matter, style, and outward finish. It is plain that holidays are at hand.

REV. WILLBUR FISK, D.D.

DR. WILLBUR FISK, whose likeness and sign-manual form the frontispiéce of the present number of our QUARTERLY, was born at Brattleboro, Vermont, August 31, 1792. His parents were of the fine old Puritan stock, but had become Methodist in sentiment. Under the parental roof his character was marked for rectitude, manliness, and piety. He entered Burlington College in 1812, but that institution being suspended during the war, he went to Brown University, where he was graduated in 1815, under President Messer. In his college course he was eminent for ability, especially in extemporaneous oratory. But his spirit became secularized, and his ambition turned toward law and statesmanship. He studied for a brief period, but his health failed and pulmonary symptoms appeared. Under a revival at Lyndon, Vermont, he received a religious renewal, and entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He soon became distinguished, not only for piety and zeal, but for his rare ability as a pulpit orator. He was chaplain to the legislature, preacher of the annual Election Sermon, and his pulpit productions frequently became widely diffused through the press. In conjunction with a number of his ministerial brethren he founded a religious weekly paper, which is now "Zion's Herald," which was the first religious weekly in Methodism, "if not," says his biographer, "in the world." Under similar auspices the first Methodist literary Institution in New England was established at Wilbraham, Mass., of which he became the first Principal. Soon after the Methodist college was established at Middletown, Conn., and he became "First President of the Wesleyan University." While at Wilbraham he was elected Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, and while at Middletown he was elected Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, but he declined both positions in behalf of his mission as an educator. But eminent and varied as were the qualifications of Dr. Fisk, it was as a theologian that we most honor his memory. It was the great question of theodicy, the divine sovereignty

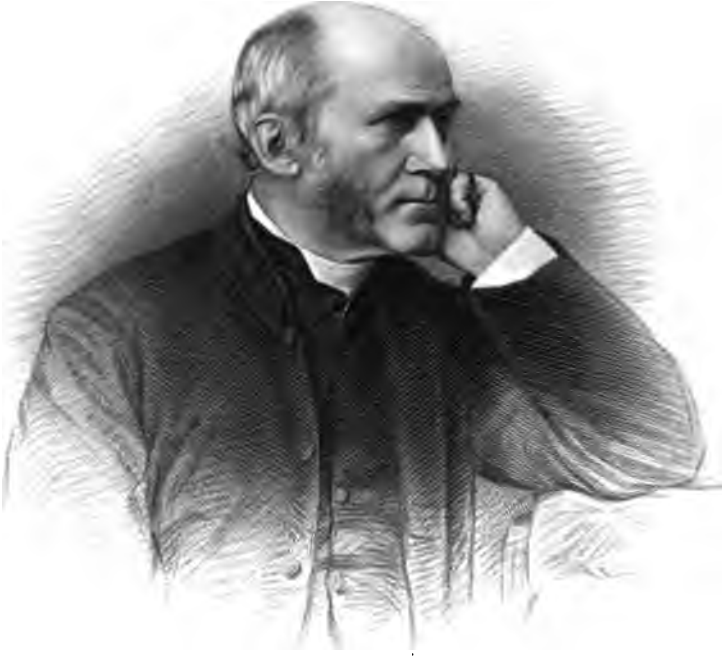
and human responsibility, which, misstated by the predestinarian theology in New England, especially called forth his powers. His sermons and publications brought out the ablest championship on the other side, and beyond all question he was master of the field. Nowhere in England or America has the true Wesleyan-Arminian theology—that evangelical theology which has been, and still is, marching to a sure triumph in the general Protestant Church—been more clearly and conclusively stated than in his brief volume entitled "Calvinistic Controversy."

In the great slavery controversy Dr. Fisk was an intrepid leader for years on the conservative side. He foresaw with accurate prescience that war was the sure result. He foretold the bloody contest. He therefore stood with the great body of the wise and good for tolerance of a great evil in hopes of an ultimate providential deliverance. Thereby happily he retarded the day of bloodshed until the North was powerful enough to win the battle for freedom. In this great discussion all the executive and oratorical ability of Dr. Fisk were exerted. His friends have compared him for his gentle piety to Fénelon; but it is certain that when aroused he could assume something of the imperious type of Bossuet.

Too brief for the fullness of his usefulness and fame were the years of his life. The pulmonary tendencies of his early days never left him; and he long worked as a resolute and heroic semi-invalid. His career closed with a death-bed of holy triumph, Dec. 22, 1838. His Life, written by his chosen biographer, Rev. Dr. Holdich, is a deeply interesting portraiture. Our engraving is from a portrait painted in England during his visit thither, now in possession of Mrs. Fisk, who is still living in her residence on the University grounds at Middletown.

Plan of Episcopal Visitation for Spring Conferences of 1882.

Conference.	*Place.*	*Time.*	*Bishop.*
Florida	Gainesville	Jan. 5	Foster.
North India	Moradabad	Jan. 11	
South Carolina	Spartansburgh	Jan. 12	Foster.
Mississippi	Aberdeen	Jan. 18	Peck.
Blue Ridge	North Carolina	Jan. 19	Foster.
Louisiana	Franklin	Jan. 25	Peck.
Liberia	Monrovia	Jan. 26	Harris.
North Carolina	Laurinburgh	Jan. 26	Foster.
Little Rock	Little Rock	Feb. 9	Peck.
Arkansas	Waldron	Feb. 16	Peck.
South Kansas	Burlington	March 1	Warren.
Baltimore	Baltimore	March 8	Wiley.
New Jersey	Millville	March 8	Andrews.
Wilmington	Middletown	March 8	Hurst.
Virginia	Manassas	March 9	Simpson.
Kansas	Abilene	March 9	Warren.
Philadelphia	Frankford	March 15	Bowman.
Cent'l Pennsyl'a.	Lockhaven	March 15	Hurst.
Washington	Baltimore	March 22	Wiley.
Missouri	Chillicothe	March 22	Warren.
Lexington	Bowling Green	March 29	Bowman.
Saint Louis	Saint Louis	March 29	Warren.
Newark	Newark	March 29	Hurst.
Italy	Turin	March 29	Harris.
East German	Newark	March 30	Wiley.
New York East	Waterbury	April 5	Simpson.
North Indiana	Muncie	April 5	Bowman.
Wyoming	Carbondale, Pa.	April 5	Wiley.
New Eng. South'n.		April 5	Merrill.
New York	Sing Sing	April 5	Foss.
New England		April 12	Merrill.
North. New York	Malone	April 12	Andrews.
Troy	Troy	April 19	Simpson.
New Hampshire	Lawrence, Mass.	April 19	Foss.
Vermont	Ludlow	April 26	Merrill.
Maine	Augusta	April 26	Foss.
East Maine	Waldoborough	May 3	Foss.
MISSIONS.			
Central America			Harris.
Mexico	City of Mexico	February 2	Andrews.
N. E. South Amer.			Harris.
S. E. South Amer.	Buenos Ayres		Harris.
W. South Amer.	Santiago, Chili		Harris.



REV.ᵈ WILLIAM B. POPE, D.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE 1877

Engraved by J. C. ADLARD

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1882.

ART. I. [illegible] NEW PROBLEM

Missions [illegible] D. W. W. Gibson

The [illegible] Dr. Mrs. A. C. Parsons

The [illegible] ale Lecture, Ray, Augustus

THE [illegible] ordinary [illegible] not [illegible] accompl[illegible] [illegible] by politic[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

METHODIST
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1882.

ART. I.—UTAH AND THE MORMON PROBLEM.

Mormonism Unveiled; or, The Life and Confessions of John D. Lee. By W. W. BISHOP. Saint Louis, Mo.: Bryan, Brand & Co. 1877.

The Fate of Madame La Tour: A Story of Great Salt Lake. By Mrs. A. G. PADDOCK. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1881.

The Utah Review. Rev. THEOPHILUS B. HILTON, A.M., Editor. Salt Lake City, August, 1881.

THE Territory of Utah seems likely to attract a more than ordinary amount of attention in the near future. And this not on account of intrinsic importance alone, but because the body politic, like other bodies, is sensitive to the existence of a sore spot; and, whether anxious or not to take pride in the exhibition of a diseased member, still feels keen interest in a subject that cannot be touched without pain nor let alone without danger. Hesitation and delay may long continue, but reluctance at last yields to necessity, and canker and gangrene finally gain the sufferer's attention. Then follows the earnest search for efficient remedies and speedy relief.

As the scene of fierce conflict between a transplanted Oriental barbarism and Christian civilization, and the ground on which is to be wrought out one of our most difficult and troublesome problems, this region of mountain and desert becomes the center of an absorbing interest to our whole country.

THE TERRITORY AND ITS RESOURCES.

Utah owes its name to one of the native Indian tribes, the *Yutahs*, ("dwellers in the mountains,") who, with kindred

families, the Utes, Pi-utes, and others, from time immemorial held possession of its plains and rocky fastnesses until the advent of the white man less than half a century ago. Originally the Territory embraced a much larger region than now: it extended east and west from the Rockies to the Sierras, and north and south almost indefinitely, until, in process of time and through the rapid development of mineral resources, the "Silver State" was carved out bodily from the western half. Colorado took something from the eastern border, Wyoming absorbed a square corner in the north-east, while, on the north and south, Idaho and Arizona assisted in circumscribing the Territory to very reasonable limits. It now occupies five degrees each of north latitude and west longitude, lying between parallels 37 and 42, and meridians 109 and 114, west of the Missouri River 1,000 miles, east of the Pacific Ocean 800. Its general length from north to south is 350 miles, its breadth east and west 260 miles. With an area of 84,476 square miles, it compares, as to size, very favorably with adjacent States and Territories. Lying in the very midst of our great western domain, and surrounded by regions of untold mineral and other wealth, Utah promises to become more and more a center of the greatest business activity.

Extending north and south through almost the entire length of the Territory, like a huge spine, is the Wahsatch range of mountains, some of whose summits rise 13,000 feet above the sea-level, and are clad with perpetual snows. The precipitous sides of these bold heights are here and there furrowed and broken by deep cañons and rugged passes, down which rush impetuous torrents pouring their ever-cold waters on the plains below. Eastward and westward of this central chain extend rugged spurs, among which are found level basins and narrow valleys of great natural fertility, whose meadows furnish abundance of succulent food for domestic animals, or under ordinary tillage can be made to yield man a comfortable subsistence.

This range of mountains also divides the Territory into two distinct sections, whose waters, though springing from the same heights, find destinations extremely different. On the east the Green and Grand Rivers, with their numerous tributaries, combine in the Colorado, which, after a tortuous course of 500 miles down a narrow cañon, whose vertical and almost

unbroken walls are 1,200 feet or more in depth, and through shifting sands for many miles in its lower extent, at last finds outlet in the Gulf of California. In the extreme south-west of the Territory the Wahsatch Mountains sweep around in an immense semicircle toward the Sierra Nevadas, forming the great interior basin of America, in elevation from 4,000 to 6,000 feet above the sea-level, and in its vast area including nearly all of Nevada and the western half of Utah. Within this basin, and in the north-western corner of the Territory, is Great Salt Lake, 75 miles in length, 30 in width, and 4,200 feet above the sea. Its waters sink; or, rather, replenished perpetually by the Bear and Jordan Rivers and other streams, they are ever evaporating and leaving behind their heavy deposits of salt. In those transparent waters, so buoyant that the human body will not sink in them, there exists in solution 22 per cent. of this valuable mineral, withal making enough brine to preserve the pork of the nation. Neither fish nor vegetable can live in those saline depths, though both abound in the tributary mountain streams. Into this lake are for the most part finally gathered the streams of the western section of Utah, almost the only exception being the Sevier River far toward the south, and the waters of this sluggish stream finally sink in a lake of the same name.

To the southward of this American Dead Sea, some 35 miles, lies the beautiful Utah Lake, a body of fresh water 35 miles in length, finding outlet into Great Salt Lake through the Jordan River. Skirting the eastern border of the last-named lake, at the base of the Wahsatch range, and extending southward considerably beyond Utah Lake, is the most beautiful section of the whole Territory. It varies in width from one mile to thirty or more along the lakes, appearing as a broad expanse of meadows and green fields, with here and there orchards and thriving villages, but in places beside the Jordan narrowing down to a fruitful vale between overshadowing hills. These lands are exceedingly productive; all the ordinary grains, fruits, and vegetables are grown in abundance, albeit irrigation is in places required to perfect these harvests.

Along the Rio Virgin, in the extreme south, there is also a belt of fertile soil, where, in addition to the products named above, considerable quantities of cotton and sugar cane are

produced. Thus it appears that in this so-called "desert" about 150,000 acres of land have been already brought under successful cultivation.

But aside from the fertile sections named the greater part of the land would seem to be too barren for agricultural purposes. Sand, alkali, sage-brush, and cactus, amid burned and barren rocks, abound in the west and south, and, by the absence of any available means of irrigation, forbid all hope of future productiveness. On the mountains and rugged slopes, however, may be found a scanty growth of "bunch grass" and other herbage, contributing somewhat to the sustenance of mountain sheep and deer, or the ordinary live-stock turned loose to graze.

Timber for building purposes is not very abundant, nor yet very accessible. Along the lower streams grow the willow, cotton-wood, and alder in limited quantities, with here and there groves of ash and aspen. On the uplands and mountain sides some stunted cedars struggle for existence, while higher up, in gulches and cañons, are to be found considerable numbers of spruce and other coniferous trees. Some of this timber can be converted into lumber of average quality, but the greater part serves as material for log houses, fencing, and fuel. But stone fit for building purposes is abundant and within easy reach. Fine granite is quarried in Cottonwood Cañon, a score or so of miles south-east of Salt Lake City; beds of excellent marble, of limestone, also, and of clay suitable for brick-making, have been laid open in several places. *Adobes* (large sun-dried bricks) are much used in common buildings, and serve the purpose quite well. Coal deposits were discovered as early as 1863 by General Connor, and have since been found to exist in many parts of the Territory. These supply an abundance of excellent fuel at comparatively small cost.

Thus it will appear that, with a favorable climate, fruitful soil in large sections, and no great dearth of the other ordinary resources of civilized life, Utah is capable of giving comfortable support to quite a large population. But, while agricultural and other resources seem ample for this purpose, the great wealth of the Territory lies in its vast mineral deposits. In this regard the rank of Utah should not be placed lower

than third among all the States and Territories. The variety of these deposits is great, and the quantity of each almost inexhaustible. Reference has already been made to the abundance of salt and coal. Lead and copper ores in large bodies are found in the west; iron exists in immense quantities in the south-west, and cheaper transportation only is needed to render these mines very valuable; sulphur is plentiful; bismuth and cinnabar are found in places; alum, borax, and gypsum exist in considerable quantities in various sections of the Territory, while in the southern districts there are said to be immense beds of paraffine. But especially valuable are the mines of gold and silver. The existence of these precious metals was known in an early day, and the discovery and location of certain mines was made in 1862–63 by General E. B. Connor, then in command at Fort Douglass, near Salt Lake City. The real development of these resources, however, did not begin till 1870. Since then it has steadily advanced, until now there are to be found all over the Territory mines that yield good returns in bullion, both of gold and silver. These mines are about 1,000 in number, and more than 50 mining districts have already been organized. Up to 1875 they had yielded, of gold $1,547,292, and of silver $15,925,485. Since then the annual product of these metals has ranged from six to ten millions of dollars, and year by year shows a marked increase. Discoveries of new and valuable mines are being constantly made, and in the development of these resources Utah has promise of untold future wealth.

Population and History.

In the census returns of 1880 the population of Utah is put down at 143,906, showing an increase of 57,120 in ten years. Since the last census was taken there has been a further increase of 6,000 or more, making the present population about 150,000. Of this number there are some 1,200 Indians, 500 Chinese, and 150 colored people. Divided on a religious basis, about 135,000 of these people are Mormons, and the balance are indiscriminately known as "Gentiles." Neighboring States and Territories have also a Mormon population of some 70,000, enough to hold the "balance of power" in any close election, and this fact must be taken into account, as of

course it will be by the politicians, as an important element in the problem under discussion.

But before proceeding to examine in detail the history of the Utah "saints," and the grave questions whose rise they have occasioned, attention must be called to the several volumes designated at the beginning of this article.

First among these stands the "Life and Confessions of John D. Lee," an ordinary 8vo volume of 390 pages, published by Bryan, Brand & Co., Saint Louis, Mo., in 1877. A considerable part of the book is an autobiography written by Lee while in prison, awaiting execution for participation in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. As such, it gives an inside view of Mormon history and institutions from 1838, the date of his conversion to that peculiar faith, down to within a short period of his death, March, 1877. Lee appears to have been a sincere, misguided fanatic, for thirty years and more a warm devotee of the Mormon Church, whose eyes were only too late opened to perceive some of its enormities. Doubtless he gives a tolerably correct history of the rise and progress of the Mormon faith, and unveils some of its mysteries. The remainder of the volume consists of Lee's written confession of his participation in the Mountain Meadows massacre, September 16, 1857, in which, with fifty-seven companions of like faith and fanaticism, he aided in the cold-blooded slaughter of one hundred and twenty defenseless emigrants, Captain Fancher's train, who had surrendered themselves to the promised protection of these miscreants! Following that is an account of the arrest, trial, conviction, and execution of John D. Lee, furnished by W. W. Bishop, Esq., of Pioche, Nevada, who served as Lee's confidential attorney, and unto whom were committed the "Life and Confessions" for publication. Mr. Bishop has done his work well; he has made a valuable contribution to the literature of this Mormon problem; his book is possessed of more than passing interest, and deserves careful reading by every intelligent man in America. Quotations relating to vital points will be made therefrom in the further progress of this article.

"The Fate of Madame La Tour: A Story of Great Salt Lake," by Mrs. A. G. Paddock, is a handsome 16mo volume of 352 pages, published by Fords, Howard & Hulbert, New York, 1881. It is a fresh, stirring book, in which facts are skillfully woven

together in a story "stranger than fiction," to the truth of which there are many living witnesses, both in Utah and out. In this thrilling tale of family history one gets something like a clear conception of the dreadful system of tyranny, avarice, lust, and revenge, carried on by Brigham Young and the Mormon priesthood, from that day in the early spring of 1847, when, at the head of a band of outlaws and fanatics, the "prophet" stood on the western shores of the Missouri River, and breathed curses and vengeance upon the people of the States left behind, down to that other day, in August, 1877, when, unwhipped of justice, "he died in his bed," and was buried with highest funeral honors by his deluded followers. Polygamy, with its combination of woes and broken hearts; "blood atonement" and its hapless victims; ostracism and violence for outsiders, with treason toward the Government of the United States—these are things portrayed with a master hand in this little volume. Mrs. Paddock has herself lived for years in Salt Lake City, and filled a prominent place among those "elect ladies" who have so often raised their protest against the crimes of that religious system by which they are surrounded. Not the least valuable part of her book is the "Appendix," giving an account of the mining and educational interests of the Territory, besides a multitude of other matters that ought to be generally known. To this the writer hereof is greatly indebted for some of the foregoing facts and figures.

Along with a former volume by the same author, "In the Toils," with "Tell it All," by Mrs. Stenhouse, and with Stenhouse's "Rocky Mountain Saints," "The Fate of Madame La Tour" must take its place as one of those providential books, which, like "Uncle Tom's Cabin," read by the multitude, help a nation in the solution of a great question.

Third in our list stands "The Utah Review," a 64-page, 8vo monthly, edited by Rev. Theophilus B. Hilton, A.M., President of our incipient Utah University, and published by H. P. Palmerston & Co., Salt Lake City. Though the issue for August, 1881, is but the second number of Vol. I., the magazine gives early evidence of both skillful editorial management and permanent literary value. With its excellent list of able writers as contributors, and its impartial and fearless presentation of truth and bold exposure of Mormon practices, it cannot

fail to shed invaluable light on dark places both in Utah and elsewhere. Like all reformatory agencies now at work for the redemption of that unfortunate Territory from the curse of ignorance and superstition, it deserves the hearty encouragement and support of the outside "Gentile" world. As bearing especially on the question under consideration, particular attention must be called to Articles IV and V of the number, named, "The Mysteries of the Endowment House," and "Resolutions on Mormonism." Both are deserving of careful study, the former as an unvarnished account of the revolting rites and dreadful oaths by which the "Saints" are introduced to Mormon mysteries, and the latter as a bold expression of opinion on the part of the Methodist ministry of Utah regarding the system whose fruits they constantly behold.

Something of Mormon history, derived from these several volumes and from other sources, may, perhaps, here be introduced with profit. It should first be premised that herein there is not the most perfect agreement among historians; but this detracts little from the interest of the matter itself. According to one account, Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon faith, was a prophet first called of God at Manchester, Ontario County, N. Y., in 1820, unto whom various revelations were made by means of angels at sundry times thereafter, setting forth that all the religious sects and denominations were utterly at fault, that a new dispensation was to be inaugurated by him, and that he was commissioned to make a translation of certain sacred records—the Book of Mormon—from a bundle of golden plates, written over with ancient hieroglyphics and hidden in a stone chest on a hill-side in his neighborhood. This translation he is said to have made, and the resultant volume was published in 1830. It is also claimed that the curious golden plates were seen by some eleven witnesses, who gave certificates to that effect, and that their genuineness having been thus established, the plates were returned to the care of an angel, who doubtless still has them in possession, as no one has since beheld them. Then followed the organization of the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints" in Seneca County, N. Y., April 6, 1830, the forming of settlements in Ohio and in Jackson County, Mo., in 1831, the building and dedication of a temple at Kirtland, O., in

1836, the persecution and driving out of the "saints" by cruel mobs both from Ohio and Missouri in the years 1838–39, the founding of Nauvoo in Illinois, the building of another temple, the renewed persecution, the slaughter of Joseph Smith in Carthage jail, and the final dispersion of the "saints" in 1846 from the city they had built—these are items of early history as given by Mormon writers. (See Mormon "Catechism for Children," pp. 73–79.) John D. Lee, to the day of his death an ardent admirer of Smith and his doctrines, had firm faith in the correctness of this account, and takes particular pains to proclaim the moral integrity and lofty character of the founder of Mormonism, though heartily repudiating the deeds of Brigham Young, his unworthy successor. ("Life of John D. Lee," pp. 75 and 162.)

But take another account. It is an extract from a speech by Judge Cradlebaugh before the U. S. Congress in 1863, and furnished by Mr. Bishop in his "Introduction to the Life of Lee." Judge C. says:

Mormonism is in part a conglomeration of illy cemented creeds from other religions, and in part founded upon the eccentric production of one Spaulding, who, having failed as a preacher and shopkeeper, undertook to write a historic novel. He had a smattering of biblical knowledge, and chose for his subject the "history of the lost tribes of Israel." The whole was supposed to be communicated by the Indians, and the last of the series was named Mormon, representing that he had buried the book. It was a dull, tedious interminable volume, marked by ignorance and folly. The book was so flat, stupid, and insipid, that no publisher could be induced to bring it before the world. Poor Spaulding at length went to his grave, and the manuscript remained a neglected roll in the possession of his widow.

Then arose Joe Smith, more ready to live by his wits than by the labor of his hands. Smith had, early in life, manifested a turn for pious frauds. He had figured in several wrestling matches with the devil, and had been conspicuous in giving in eventful experiences in religion at certain revivals. He announced that he had dug up the Book of Mormon, which taught the true religion; this was none other than poor Spaulding's manuscript which he had purloined from the widow. In his hands the manuscript became the basis of Mormonism. Smith became a prophet; the founder of a religious sect; the president of a swindling bank; the builder of the city of Nauvoo and mayor of the city; general of the "armies of Israel;" candidate for President of the United States, and finally a martyr, as the "saints" chose to call him. But the truth is that his villainies,

together with the villainies of his followers, brought down upon him the just vengeance of the people of Illinois and Missouri, and his career was brought to an end by his being shot while confined in jail at Carthage. It was unfortunate that such was his end, for his followers raised the old cry of martyrdom and persecution, and, as always, "the blood of the martyr was the seed of the Church."

As to the disparity of these perhaps *ex parte* accounts of the rise of Mormonism little need here be said; but, judged by its fruits in the light of its own history, and from the testimony of some of its devotees—judged also by its literature and pretended revelations—there can remain no doubt that it has been left for the nineteenth century and the most Christian of nations to develop one of the most monstrous systems of imposture ever born of Satanic cunning, or accepted by credulous man. Take, for instance, the statements of Lee himself, as he gives some account of matters in Missouri and at Nauvoo prior to and after the death of Smith. Robbery, murder and more venial offenses committed by the "saints" were things confessedly common. Says Lee, on page 72:

> The Mormons made an attack on Gallatin one night, and carried off much plunder. I was not there with them, but I talked often with those that were, and learned all the facts about it. The town was burned down, and everything of value, including the goods in two stores, was carried off by the Mormons. I often escaped being present with the troops on their thieving expeditions by loaning my horses and arms to others who liked that kind of work better than I did. . . Men stole simply for the love of stealing. Such inexcusable acts of lawlessness had the effect to arouse every Gentile in the three counties of Caldwell, Carroll, and Daviess, as well as to bring swarms of armed Gentiles from other localities.

On pages 90–91 Lee also bewails the dishonesty of the people among whom his lot had fallen, and again, on page 168, takes occasion to denounce the "cattle-stealing" practiced by the "saints." He moreover furnishes a detailed account of several murders committed in and about Nauvoo by sanction of the Church authorities and through their agents, (pp. 157–160,) from which it clearly appears that this was a common method of disposing of persons obnoxious to the "saints," or whose property was a *desideratum* for sacred (?) uses, and could not otherwise be obtained. True, Lee does not lay the respon-

sibility for these crimes upon Joseph Smith, or the doctrines of his Church; he endeavors to exculpate both; but at the same time makes it manifest, in the simplicity of his narrative, that these things were done under full cognizance of the Church authorities, by subordinates organized under Church direction, receiving the full sanction of Brigham Young, Smith's successor, and used for the benefit of the "Kingdom" by those who assumed its leadership. Allowing, as we must, that there were then, as ever since, many honest and sincere, but misguided, people drawn into this gigantic delusion, who were indeed disposed to a religious life, and would not soil their hands with theft or murder; still, no other safe conclusion can be reached than that which places them in a hopeless minority, and brands the system into whose mazes they had been drawn as one of monstrous infamy and ill-concealed crime.

Moreover, the questionable practices in which Smith and his early coadjutors, together with Lee himself, confessedly indulged, the profanity, petty deceits, trickery, and escapades in their attempts to practice "celestial marriage," seem utterly discreditable to any set of religious teachers, especially those who lay claim to such superior sanctity and direct communion with God. The perusal of chapter xiv of John D. Lee's life, and chapter v of Mrs. Paddock's book, will serve to convince any impartial reader as to the validity of this position. If reliable history is to be at all credited, and if the statements of living witnesses of known integrity are of any value, it cannot seem at all strange that "persecution" should have risen against the Nauvoo "saints," and that their unfortunate neighbors should have aided their exit from the commonwealth of Illinois. Some further reference to history will scarcely serve to dissipate this conclusion.

Every great movement has its literature, and this in most cases furnishes a basis for a correct judgment of its intrinsic character. The literature of Mormonism, taken as an entirety, from the Book of Mormon down to the latest issue of the "Deseret News," may be candidly pronounced almost beneath criticism, either on account of intrinsic weakness or a manifest perversion of truth. In the whole range of English literature there can scarce be found a more dreary, insipid, and tiresome

volume than the book which Mormonism puts on a par with the sacred Scriptures. Its bald plagiarism and persistent nonsense consign it to a place far beneath the most absurd of the ancient Apocryphal books. Take the catalogue of other Mormon publications; examine "Doctrines and Covenants," by Joseph Smith; "The Voice of Warning," by Parley P. Pratt; "Catechism for Children," by John Jaques; "The Women of the Bible," "The Pearl of Great Price," and others in the same line, and the conclusion is irresistible that there must be a fearful dearth of literary provender to occasion any feeding on such unpalatable material. It is inconceivable that any but the most ignorant could relish such mental aliment; and, indeed, it is matter of observation that the masses of the Mormon people, confined as they are to such literature, read almost nothing at all, nor do they generally have any other than an indistinct and greatly distorted conception of the real progress of events in the outside world. Their books are for the most part filled with perversions of history and Scripture, and their newspapers with scurrilous misrepresentations of all Christendom, and loud denunciation of those who do not favor their peculiar system. In saying this the writer speaks advisedly, having made a somewhat extended examination of these matters.

Moreover. the prophecies and revelations of Joseph Smith, pretentious as they are, when compared with those lofty flights of prophetic vision recorded in the recognized Word of God, bespeak an origin in the diseased fancies of an arrant impostor, and at once proclaim themselves, not only unworthy of the Deity, but beneath the lowest grades of human genius.

And here it may be asked: How is it possible that such a movement should have gained such success unless, indeed, it were inspired of God? The answer is ready: Mere success does not itself prove a divine origin. Some of the most shameless systems of sin and corruption have had marvelous success. Both in creed and progress Mormonism finds a strong parallel in the religion of Mohammed. Human ignorance and folly are its foundations and prolific soil; promises of an earthly inheritance, ease and riches, and the gratification of a sensuous nature, are its alluring hopes; and from the unenlightened and disaffected of Christian denominations, and the lawless and fanatical in general, it draws its recruits. It is

noticeable that Mormonism has never made any marked effort for the conversion of the heathen nations; it has been content to take all the refuse of the so-called "Christian sects," and, like all such movements, has fed largely on distractions caused among the weak-minded of other faiths. Were it not for ignorance, lust, and deceit, the whole system would fall in a day.

But leaving for the present this phase of the question, let us a little further pursue the thread of history. Dispersed from Nauvoo and scattered along the streams of Iowa in the winter of 1846, the "saints" next sought a refuge far beyond the confines of modern civilization. Brigham Young and a vanguard of adventurers set out for the Far West in the spring of 1847, and on the 24th day of July reached the beautiful valley lying at the western base of the Wahsatch Mountains in Utah, and at once laid the foundations of Great Salt Lake City—the future Zion of the "saints." Accordingly, all that vast territory lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean was claimed as the Mormon "inheritance from the Lord," and "by the right of discovery," although thousands of emigrants had passed through it on their way to Oregon as early as 1841–42, and the region had been explored by Colonel Fremont in 1843. In 1848 began to roll in the tide of Mormon immigration which has continued with little interruption for more than thirty years. March 18, 1849, the "saints" assembled in convention and solemnly organized "The Free and Independent State of Deseret," whose boundaries embraced California, Nevada, and several contiguous Territories, which "State" they have ever since been anxious to have admitted into the Union. Congress, however, in 1850, organized the "Territory of Utah," reserving to itself the right to diminish its dimensions, which has since been several times done, but so far regarded the claims of "President" Young as to appoint him governor. This office he held in name till 1858, but in fact till the day of his death, as far as governing the Territory was concerned. Meantime immigration kept pouring in. Mormon elders and agents were sent in great numbers to the several States and to Canada, and as well to European nations. Their converts were summoned to gather to "Zion," the land of rest, safety, prosperity, and peace; the highest blessings were promised those who would go; the deepest curses and

blackest woes denounced on the nations left behind. So multitudes of sincere but misguided people, the dupes of a cunning priesthood, left their homes and endured incredible hardships to reach Utah, only to discover too late that they had been led by vain hopes.

So numerous did this population become in ten years that when, in 1857, the United States Government proposed to extend its judicial power over the Territory, the federal judge was resisted and driven out with violence; other officers were also expelled, and insurrection was raised in Utah. Young was superseded as governor by Alfred Cumming, and an army was sent to quell the rebellion. In September of that year occurred the Mountain Meadows Massacre, undoubtedly instigated by the Mormon leaders. The army was checked in its advance, its supply-trains were cut off, nor was peace restored till late in 1858, when a sort of compromise was effected; the United States troops were *permitted* to enter Salt Lake City, Fort Douglass was established on the heights above it, and representatives of the government were accorded a show of respect. Yet the Federal judges found themselves powerless to bring any Mormon offender to justice; as, from the beginning, persons obnoxious to the Church were dealt with by "the Danites" and their property confiscated; polygamy was enjoined upon all, and forced upon the unwilling by threats of excommunication; scores of victims fell by the hands of Young's "Destroying Angels," while their murderers were shielded and honored by the Church. Governor J. W. Dawson, appointed in 1860, was insulted, beaten, and abused, and driven from the Territory by order of Brigham Young; in 1866, Dr. J. K. Robinson, a Christian gentleman, was by night decoyed from his home and brutally murdered within a few yards of his own door by agents of the Church; meantime minor outrages were being all the while visited upon obnoxious "Gentiles" and "apostates" who could not escape from the Territory; and, indeed, till 1870 neither of these classes was at all safe in Utah. There can be given no better portraiture of the state of affairs during those long years of crime and tyranny than that found in a petition to the United States Congress in 1872, presented by some of the noble ladies of Utah, at a time when it seemed likely that Brigham Young

would at last prevail in his long-cherished plan of securing the admission of the "State of Deseret" into the American Union. The petitioners say:

> For more than twenty years, Utah, though a Territory of the United States, and, as such, nominally under the jurisdiction of Congress, has been in reality governed altogether by the Mormon priesthood. Let history tell the nature of their rule!
>
> No more bloody despotism has disgraced the earth in modern times. Brigham Young, in the self-appointed character of God's vicegerent, has held the lives, liberty, and property of the people in his hands. Disobedience to him has been accounted a crime not to be atoned for except by blood. Nothing that the people possessed could be called their own except by his will. Not only were they required to pay into the Church treasury one tenth of all their property, but they were liable at any time to be ordered to give up their homes to the Prophet, and this order none dared disobey. Many of your petitioners have been robbed in this way in years past. . . . But these robberies are a little thing compared with other enormities perpetrated by the despotic rulers of this people in the name of religion. During all the years that their will has been law in Utah, no man's life, no woman's honor, has been safe, if either stood in their way. Never in this world will the history of their dark and bloody deeds be fully written; for the victims and witnesses of many a tragedy are hidden together in the grave.*

But within ten years past there has been some change for the better. In 1870 the great transcontinental railway entered the dominions of the "prophet;" the mines were opened, and a tide of "Gentile" population began to pour in; religious and educational enterprises were inaugurated by Christian denominations, and the Mormon leaders were compelled to give up some of their favorite methods of government. The Poland Bill was passed by Congress in 1874, making it possible to sustain the Federal courts, and to some extent secure the ends of justice. There have been a few convictions for notorious crimes such as that of John D. Lee, already mentioned, and of Reynolds and Miles for polygamy in 1877–79, and some fear has been inspired thereby in other criminals. The lives and property of "Gentiles" and "Apostates" are comparatively safe throughout the territory.

But, after all, there has simply been an enforced change of methods, and none at all of principles in the Mormon system.

* "Madame La Tour," pp. 337–38.

Its devotees are as completely as ever subservient to the priesthood; elections are a farce; female suffrage has been in vogue since 1870, and hundreds of unnaturalized foreigners regularly vote as the Church directs; term after term Geo. Q. Cannon, himself a known polygamist, and not an American citizen, is re-elected Delegate to Congress. The Legislature consists of thirty-nine Mormon high-priests, thirty-six of whom are in polygamy, and whose tenure of office seems life-long; aside from the Governor, Secretary, and three judges appointed by the President of the United States, all the territorial officers are Mormons, and these, with the Legislature, do all in their power to extend the Mormon system and discourage all others. Juries are uniformly "packed," and it is next to impossible to convict any Mormon of crime, no matter how clear may be the evidence of guilt. Of these things there is not wanting abundance of documentary proof, and herewith is submitted (in part) the testimony of the Methodist Episcopal Mission Conference of Utah, held at Ogden, July 9, 1881. It is worthy of most careful consideration as a clear and truthful statement of the present *status* and aims of Mormonism. Many pages to the same effect could be furnished from other reliable sources:

The rapid growth of Mormonism in Utah is alarming. It is steadily increasing, mainly through immigration. A large number of missionaries have been sent this year to different parts of the world to preach the doctrine of Mormonism. The Book of Mormon is not only printed in English, but in Welsh, Polynesian, Italian, Danish, French, and German. Neither the death of Brigham Young, the building of railways, the increase of Gentile population, nor the Supreme Court, has effected the destruction or checked polygamy and kindred crimes under Mormon control. Mormonism absolutely controls Utah. Nearly all territorial offices are held by polygamists. Mormonism holds the balance of power in Idaho and Arizona, and menaces Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Montana. . . . The leaders of Mormonism, the great apostles of lust, are preaching the doctrine of polygamy throughout the Territory with renewed vigor. Mormonism is hostile to our institutions and disloyal to our government, declaring, by its former President, Brigham Young, that the politico-ecclesiastical government of the Mormon Church "circumscribes the governments of this world;" and again declaring, by the chief of its twelve apostles, "that all other governments are unauthorized and illegal, while any people attempting to govern themselves by laws of their own making, and officers of their own appointing, are in direct rebellion against the

kingdom of God." Mormonism nullifies the laws of the land, controls elections, and protects its followers in the commission of the most heinous crimes. Mormonism creates saints and prophets out of thieves and murderers; and clothes with a halo of sanctity perjury and deeds of villainy.*

There might also be given many pages of authentic history and incidents in support of these damaging statements; but the reader is referred to the several volumes named in this article, and to others within easy reach, for full proof of the assertion. Meantime some attention must be given to another phase of the subject, and to certain possible remedies for the evils complained of.

Creeds and Institutions.

Mormonism has its creeds, written and unwritten, and these demand some, though brief, consideration. That there may be no just charge of an *ex parte* statement, the "Articles of Faith," as drawn up by "Joseph the Seer," are herewith given:

We believe in God the Eternal Father, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression. We believe that, through the atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel. We believe that these ordinances are: First, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, Repentance; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost. We believe that a man must be called of God by prophecy, and by laying on of hands by those who are in authority, to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof. We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive Church, viz.: Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, Teachers, Evangelists, etc. We believe in the gifts of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc. We believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God. We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe that he will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaic glory. We claim the privilege

* "Utah Review," page 58.

of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul, We believe all things, we hope all things, we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things. JOSEPH SMITH.*

These go for what they are worth; but they manifestly omit several of the cardinal principles of Mormonism—foundation-stones, deprived of which the system must soon cease to be what it is. Gathered from sermons, teachings, and practices, they seem to be these:

1. *Obedience to the Priesthood.*—This is an absolute requirement, and extends to all interests, temporal as well as spiritual. Religious and political freedom is a thing unknown in the Mormon Church; its 200,000 adherents are under oath not only to *vote*, but to commit any *crime* under direction of the holy (?) priesthood. So extensive are the ramifications of this order, so complete is its espionage, and so absolute its sway, that its dupes dare not disobey, or do so only in fear of the deepest damnation. (See the "Endowment Oaths," "Utah Rev.," p. 55, and "Madame La Tour," p. 335.

2. *Treason to the Government.*—From the first, Mormon children and converts have been taught to despise and reject the authority of the United States Government. It has ever been the purpose of the Mormon leaders to set up an "earthly kingdom," and establish within our territories an independent sovereignty. Thus far it has been through lack of power, and not of will, that the purpose has not been accomplished. One needs not to be long in any Mormon community, listen to their sermons and conversation, or examine their history, to become convinced of this. (See "John D. Lee," pp. 160, 161.)

3. "*Blood Atonement.*"—In other words, the deliberate murder of all obnoxious persons under pretense of saving their souls! This doctrine was for years taught by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Geo. Q. Cannon, and others, and practiced

* "Times and Seasons," vol. iii, p. 709.

for nearly twenty years. Were it possible, the Mormon leaders would rid Utah of every "Gentile" and "apostate" within a month by this or other similar means. For the theory and practice of this doctrine reference is made to John D. Lee, pp. 16–18, and 278–287; and "Madame La Tour," p. 305.

4. *Polygamy, or "Celestial Marriage."*—Carried on secretly at Nauvoo, but publicly proclaimed in 1852, and steadily practiced ever since. It is admitted to be an *essential* of the Mormon creed, and is persistently taught and practiced in open defiance of United States law. Though it is claimed that only a small per centage of the people are actually in "plurality," yet the number is greatly increasing each year, and the entire body of good (?) Mormons uphold the practice. ("Madame La Tour," p. 324.)

Remedies.

If these things be true—and any amount of reliable testimony can be had on that point—there arises the momentous question: "*What is to be done about it?*"

No doubt many well-meaning people would recommend "letting alone" as the readiest solution of the difficulty; doubtless that would be eminently satisfactory to the Mormon leaders; but unfortunately for the nation it is one of those chronic and troublesome cases which stubbornly refuse to be "let alone." It must be met sooner or later, and perhaps the sooner the better. True, the difficulty and delicacy of the case are greatly increased by the fact that in some sense it is a religious question, and as such impinges closely on the matter of religious liberty and rights of conscience, always, and under few limitations, guaranteed by the Constitution. But the essential doctrines—the *unwritten* creed of Mormonism—are so repulsive to well-ordered human society, and so inimical to the very existence of national life, as to lie far beyond the bounds of religious toleration, and by revolting practice to place themselves within the category of monstrous crimes against the state, only to be dealt with by condign punishment. With no disposition to persecute any form of religious belief as such, still the decency of the nation demands that the vile practices of this abnormal system should cease, and its crimes be punished. But the curative process may be very slow; however, some possible remedies are suggested for consideration.

1. *The Enlightenment of Public Sentiment.*—Why is it that the "Mormon Question" has thus far received so little serious attention, or been almost ignored? Simply because the American people have not been brought face to face with the facts, and have considered the matter as too remote for anxious attention. That great agency in forming popular sentiment, the secular press, has, for the most part, been either indifferent, contemptuous, or apologetic, and thus served to minify the importance of a subject which it has little understood. So for years our country has been disgraced by a rapidly growing polygamous sect in one of its fairest Territories, by a polygamous delegate in Congress, and by a polygamous power able by some means to largely prevent repressive legislation.

By pulpit and press, and every other legitimate means, public sentiment needs to be enlightened, quickened, and aroused on this grave subject; then Congress will feel the pressure, and Presidents and statesmen, loyal citizens and suffering women, will no longer plead in vain for vigorous measures of relief. As tending to the attainment of this object must be hailed with satisfaction the gathering protests of various religious bodies, and the appointment of able commissions to promote this desirable end. The recent action of the New York East Conference, in this line, is a notable instance of the inauguration of this movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Others are also moving, and this is a hopeful indication of public awakening.

2. *Congressional Action.*—Doubtless, our eminent jurists could suggest many ways in which this would be of advantage to Utah; but chief of all must be named *disfranchisement of all polygamists.* "Heroic treatment," undoubtedly, but apparently the only remedy for a most aggravated case. It is one of those suggested by President Hayes in his final message to Congress. Said he: "If deemed best to continue the existing form of local government, I recommend that the right to *vote* and *sit on juries* in the Territory of Utah be confined to those who neither *practice* nor *uphold polygamy.*" Said the lamented President Garfield in his inaugural: "In my judgment it is the duty of Congress, while respecting to the utmost the conscientious convictions and religious scruples of every citizen, to prohibit within its jurisdiction all criminal

practices, especially of that class which destroy the family relation and endanger social order; nor can any ecclesiastical organization be safely permitted to usurp in the smallest degree the functions and powers of the National Government." Disfranchisement, though severe, seems the only means by which a treasonable priesthood can be prevented from using all the political machinery of the Territory to pervert the ends of good government, and exclusion from the jury-box the only method of securing the ends of justice. Membership in the Mormon Church should be considered *prima facie* evidence of disqualification to vote or serve as jurors.

With this accomplished there would be some opportunity for the "Gentile" population to secure the benefits of a representative form of government, and frame and execute a system of laws in harmony with the United States Constitution and Statutes. But efficient and immediate as this remedy might be, there is perhaps but the least ground to hope for its application, unless forced upon the country by the Mormon power itself in its overweening arrogance. The United States Government is proverbially slow in the use of severity, and probably will wait until compelled to act in self-defense. Doubtless, advancing civilization will do much to hasten the crisis; Mormonism cannot long endure the light of an enlightened Christian age, and the time must come when the people of the republic will no longer allow their government to be trifled with, and its laws defiantly trampled under foot.

3. *Education.*—And this in all its departments, secular and religious, and most of all in the preaching of a holy law and a pure Gospel. Ignorance is the prolific soil into which Mormonism and kindred systems of darkness strike deep their roots, and thence draw life and power. There can be little question that the masses of the Mormon people are disposed to lead honest, peaceable lives as loyal citizens of a free country. Once emancipated from dense ignorance and from slavish subserviency to a cunning priesthood, and they would be no longer a disgrace to themselves or the country whose benefits they enjoy. Give them and their children the advantages of a decent education; teach them the full import of American citizenship, liberty of conscience, and amenability to civil law, and their emancipation must follow. Nowhere in the nation is there

greater need of governmental aid and supervision of the school system. To accomplish any thing in this line, public education must be taken from the control of the priesthood and placed in charge of loyal teachers under supervision of honest and judicious superintendents, and attendance at the public schools be made compulsory. Awaiting congressional action in this direction, the Christian denominations can do no better thing than to thoroughly re-enforce and liberally sustain their educational and missionary enterprises already inaugurated in the Territory. Contending with a system more intolerant of true Christianity than any system of pagan lands, that heroic band of missionaries and teachers are deserving of the deepest sympathy and heartiest support. Their work has already been greatly owned of God, and now gives promise of even grander success. The younger generation of Mormons seem to be rapidly breaking away from the grotesque superstitions and repulsive doctrines of the system; for them Christian education must prove invaluable, and through them a noble and honorable future be assured to Utah. Along these lines of treatment, it would seem, we must look for a final, though perhaps tardy, solution of the problem; and so, under the hand of eternal Beneficence, shall at length be secured in this Territory of mighty resources both liberty of conscience and obedience to law.

Art. II.—OUR METHODIST LOCAL PREACHERS.

It is not necessary to remind any reader of the Quarterly that local preachers have done a great work in the founding and upbuilding of Methodism. There is no disposition to stint the honors that are paid to the devoted and heroic men who carried American Methodism through the Revolution and founded more than half of our earlier classes and societies both East and West. And yet there is probably more dissatisfaction with this than with any other feature of the present Methodism; and the dissatisfaction is felt as impressively by the local preachers as by the rest of us. The object of this paper is to review the facts and provoke study of the situation. The time has gone by when this part of our history needed vindication;

but historical honors help us very little in dealing with a piece of Church machinery. We are left, after all laudation or apotheosis, with the practical problem of our day unsolved or unsatisfactorily solved. There are, in all Methodism, more than 89,000 local preachers, while the aggregate number of itinerant ministers is only about 42,500; that is to say, more than half of the Methodists authorized to preach the Gospel are local preachers. There is apparently, also, a presumption to be recognized that we have inadequate room for both arms of the ministry. Of the 42,500 itinerant ministers, a large number are without appointments, and at least two thirds of such ministers are physically able to preach. The annual sessions of Conferences show us each year that, both at home and abroad, we have "more pegs than holes," more qualified itinerants than places for itinerants. If we turn to the local preachers, we have to become familiar with the complaint that these preachers have no work, or insufficient work. Respecting the itinerant ministry, we may, perhaps, more or less confidently believe that the overcrowding of Conferences is only a temporary and self-correcting evil, or no evil at all. The power to select the best ten out of a hundred would always be regarded by a good organizer as an excellent thing; and if such selection obtains in the admission of young men to Conferences the work may gain by the necessary rejection of candidates. But as to the local preachers we have no similar consolations. It cannot be altogether wholesome to have a large body of merely honorary preachers. If half of the 89,000 men in the ranks of the local preachers are without work suited to their calling, they must be more or less a burdensome camp-following rather than a fighting force. If we have twice too many local preachers, the fact ought to be made so conspicuous as to check the licensing of new men by the quarterly or district conferences. No doubt, too, if the overplus were made clear, a large part of those who are now local preachers would cheerfully retire. To the practical mind it seems desirable that we should have either more work for local preachers or fewer local preachers. The process of selection which we apply to the candidates for Annual Conference membership might, if there were easier means of applying it, give us a better local ministry. The effort to find fit work for our local preachers might

yield happier results by multiplying our churches and members with greater rapidity. It is probable that both things need to be done. It is almost certain that too many men are licensed to preach; it is quite clear that the work of local preachers could be considerably enlarged.

To consider the situation successfully, we ought to take account of the three classes of local preachers. We have, first, the young men who are preparing for the stated ministry, and who use the local rank as a vestibule to the Annual Conference. These men are only nominally local preachers. That is to say, we have no occasion to consider them in connection with the problem except as yielding a certain proportion of rejected candidates who are thrown back upon the local rank and remain there. In our day, a young man who is licensed to preach knows, and those who license him know, whether or not he is a candidate for the Annual Conference. When he is a candidate for "promotion" his temporary presence in the local division may confer honor upon that division, but it does not raise any questions that concern the body of local preachers unless he is rejected by the Annual Conference. But this exception has a certain importance. The rejected candidate almost invariably remains a local preacher, and his rejection into that rank doubtless impairs the reputation of the local preachers. The local ministry becomes at once the Botany Bay of men who fail to obtain membership in the Annual Conferences. The number of the men of this section of the local ministry, whom we may call licentiates, is not accurately known; but, in the present year, it is probably not far from 15,000 in all Methodism. It includes, of course, all the first year and second year probationers in the Conferences; for, until membership in the Conference is obtained, these men are liable to return to the local rank as rejected candidates. The number of this body of licentiates is important in the local-preacher problem only in view of possible failure as applicants for admission to Conferences. Probably, however, in all Methodism, from 2,000 to 2,500 of such candidates are annually added to the ranks of the local preachers. They did not set out to become local preachers; they were not licensed as additions to the body of local preachers; no consideration of the needs of the local Churches entered into their being licensed.

So far as this work of licensing falls upon quarterly conferences it is to a certain extent demoralizing; because the quarterly conferences are granting licenses as to which every question of the local wants is necessarily set aside. But the more important matter is that in this way the number of local preachers is continually increased by an indirection, and that many men who would not be licensed for local service are actually added to that service by licensing them for the itinerant service. It has to be remembered that, in this way, the local body of ministers grows large by a process whose numerical results cannot be foreseen or reduced by any General Conference action that leaves the licentiates to pass through this local-preacher class as a vestibule to the Conference, and to fall back upon it as a home for failures. Other aspects of this class of preachers may be considered at a later stage in our study.

A second section of the local preachers consists of *located* ministers. When a preacher ceases to be a member of an Annual Conference by his voluntary act he returns to the local-preacher class. We have now, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, made an advance upon this, and involuntary location has become the usage of the Church. As a means of securing efficient itinerants, this involuntary location is probably wise; but it adds a distinctly new ignominy to the local body that a man can be expelled into it from an Annual Conference. This is a clear case of Botany Bay. The voluntary locations heretofore in use were not always properly voluntary. The unsuccessful itinerant was informed by his presiding elder that the Conference had no place for him, and advised to ask for a location. He did not wish to retire; but he scarcely felt that he had an alternative. In many cases the locations have been, and will continue to be, purely voluntary, and the located ministers are among the brightest ornaments of local preacherdom. Of a section which the gifted and honored Abel Stevens has recently insisted upon joining, no one has a right to speak contemptuously. The leadings of Providence often take able and noble men out of the itineracy; and such men adorn the body which they join when they "take a location." On the other hand, the Conferences too often locate ministers who should be tried and expelled, and much more frequently locate men who have failed in the ministry and ought never to have

been in it. Not all the carelessness and thoughtless kindness which puts ineffective men into Conferences is atoned for by locating them after five or ten years of inefficient service; but this open door into the local ministry probably invites some of the carelessness and thoughtlessness. It were to be wished that the purgation were more thorough, but the local preachers cannot feel honored when they receive, along with some noble men, a considerable number of men who have failed in the ministry. The excellent located ministers are not numerous enough to shield the general body of local preachers from a species of odium as the receivers of rejected instruments. Nor is it a good answer to say that one may still be a good local preacher after he has failed in the Annual Conference. For to be a good local preacher one must be a good preacher, and good preachers are never "cornered" into location for lack of appointments seeking their services. In so far as the Conferences dump their failures into the local ministry they disparage and degrade that ministry. Here, too, we have a source of supply, from which we draw local preachers, which cannot be measured and which is not created to meet the wants of the local Church. Any attempt to curtail the numbers of men in the local rank must take account of this spilling over into it by the itinerant ministry. Such men become members of local Churches and often adorn and strengthen them; but their coming cannot be foreseen, and they are apt to fall into Churches already liberally supplied with lay preachers. The number of the located ministers in all Methodism cannot be accurately stated here; but it is, perhaps, safe to estimate that there are now 12,000 of them on the Church records. The number may be too small. The returns of our own Methodist Episcopal Church show that ninety men located in 1881. It is probably prudent to assume that there are 8,000 licentiates and 12,000 located ministers among the local preachers of all Methodism. That is to say, there are 20,000 of the total 89,000 who were made local preachers unintentionally and by inadvertence. They are added to the local body in the process of making up and revising the rolls of the itinerant bodies. Omitting all consideration of their quality, we are bound to recognize that this method of filling the local ranks is a considerable factor in our problem. For one fourth of the 89,000

the regular source of supply is not responsible. The quarterly conferences made itinerants, and this work has come back to them as a local ministry.

The third section of the local preachers is composed of men licensed for the service of the local Church. We state the matter *de jure* and not *de facto*. When a quarterly conference licenses a man to preach, it is presumed to want his services. When it asks for his ordination it is presumed to want his services as an elder or deacon. It is, doubtless, true that this presumption too often fails in the practice of quarterly conferences. The writer remembers very distinctly a first contact with an opposite theory, the theory that if A. thinks himself called to preach, a quarterly conference has no right to contradict him by refusing a license. From that self-stultifying doctrine there has grown up a custom under which men practically license themselves to preach the Gospel. The most forcible objection to this theory is that the licensing body pretends to exercise a candid and godly judgment, but, in fact, exercises no judgment of any kind whatever, and the license goes forth under false colors. Another untenable, though less culpable, theory is that the quarterly conference is not acting for its own Church in ordering a license to be issued, but for some hypothetical, ignorant, and uncritical people who may exist somewhere in the county or State. This generous impulse to furnish the poor and ignorant with poor and ignorant preaching would probably subside upon investigation, but it is still a very kindly feeling, and sometimes hits a great want. Its evil is that it adds in an indefinite way to the number of local preachers, and adds many men who prove to be burdensome to the Church. And whatever takes away from the licensing body the sense of doing this work for their own service must weaken their examination and promote a careless decision. The hypothetical poor people probably want local preachers of sturdy mental vigor as well as of sound piety, and a board of Church officers that licenses a man whom it would not wish to listen to probably has more egotism than the facts would ballast. Not to dwell upon unpleasant details, we pass to the general statement that for one reason or another the number of local preachers has been very carelessly multiplied by licensing boards, their fatal error lying in a belief that they

have only to say Yes to a man who claims a call to the ministry, or in the other belief, that very poor preachers are in great demand in some parts of the Lord's vineyard. It is a very singular perversion that the poor, to whom the Head of the Church preached the Gospel, should, in our day, be specially provided with poor preachers. Whatever may have been incidentally fit in some times and places, it is certain that, in our day, the local preachers should be the best and most gifted men in the Church; and a licensing body that drops the standard below that required in its own pulpit deliberately degrades the local ministry. In effect, this has been done, and a large per cent. of this third section is composed of men who ought never to have been put into the ranks. Such men do no work as preachers. They are ministers by brevet, and no duties are attached to the commissions which they hold. It might be an ungracious thing to estimate the number of men thus added by unwise licensing as a burden to the class called local preachers.

Besides careless licensing, migration has unduly enlarged this section at particular points. Local preachers who come into churches by letter do not come there in answer to any call for their services. So far as their licenses are concerned they are an importation without previous demand. This tends to the accumulation of licensed men in churches where they are not needed. The Metropolitan Church at Washington used to have its "twelve apostles," a body of worthy men six times too large for their sphere of usefulness. This migratory incident is important in its bearing upon the problem before us. It is one more way in which the supply is made to exceed the demand, an additional influence not under control of the local churches; for it has passed into the customary law of the Church, that a man once made a local preacher is always a local preacher, unless he is expelled from the Church or withdraws from it. Licensing boards are swift in giving commissions and slow in withdrawing them—we may almost say that they never withdraw them. This tenure of the local-preacher office is a question to be considered at a later stage of this discussion. Few need to be told that this third section has furnished us able, gifted, saintly men. Such examples as the late John Cottier of Brooklyn, and the living Edward Heffner

of Baltimore, or John Field of Philadelphia, may be mentioned without invidiousness as clear proofs that laymen may be powerful preachers and effective ministers. Indeed, it would be superfluous to prove in set terms the large value which the Church has gained, and is still gaining, through the services of men who never dreamed of entering the itineracy. It is safe to say that Pan-Methodism now has at least ten thousand such preachers, of whose eminent usefulness as preachers of the Gospel there is not the smallest doubt among those who know them.

This branch of our study would be incomplete if we omitted from the review that considerable body of members of Annual Conferences who are in fact local preachers. The class embraces the superannuates, supernumeraries, and official servants of the general Church. There are several thousand of them having no pastoral charges, and preaching the Gospel very effectively in the churches to which they are attached or those which they visit. The line between them and the local class is a technical one only; their ministerial work is the same as that of the licentiate, located, and lay preachers. They ought to be considered in this study because they partly supply the demand for extra-pastoral preaching. Some have thought that they fully meet the present demand for services which pastors cannot conveniently perform. And, if we consider broadly the evangelistic work of the Church, we shall have to take account of some hundreds of "elect ladies," who are effectively calling sinners to repentance. And as none of these ladies content themselves with occasional preaching, but are instant in season, their labors go some way toward supplying the lack which the local preacher exists to satisfy. Such, then, is the composition of the extra-pastoral body of Methodist preachers. If it is too large, the Church is responsible for the overplus, and it may be suggested that it has overgrown under a stimulating influence which is peculiarly Methodistic. In earlier days it was a great need of the Church that every tongue that could speak should be put to service. We began our training of converts by getting them to talk. We saw with delight the first buddings of gifts of speech. We encouraged talking about Christ quite as zealously as living Christ. We made a specialty of speaking and praying in public, and believed that

there could not possibly be too much of the "gift of gab." We worked so perseveringly on this line that we developed the tongue more rapidly than the character, and came to have a talking religion that made every thing ring in the church and on the camp-ground. It was a very proper kind of cultivation, but we probably overdid it. It was a matter of course that this zeal of ours should lead to the licensing of exhorters and local preachers without any reference to perceived demand. A certain grade of ability with the tongue seemed to earn a license to preach. This impulse has continued with us—will, it is to be hoped, always characterize us as a Church—but it is still true that the impulse needs to be checked by prudence and due attention to the sort of demand there may be for tongue service. The worthy man whom this impulse pushed into the ministry is probably in great demand to visit the sick and the poor, to teach in Sunday-school, and to lead in class. We have probably misled him by putting too much honor upon mere speech; preaching the Gospel is a great and necessary work, but there is much more of great and necessary work to which active and gifted young Christians should be trained. In these days, the man who can conduct a Sunday-school or push along a philanthropic enterprise is in greater demand than the man who can preach; in other words we are abundantly supplied with preachers and insufficiently supplied with teachers and leaders of philanthropic work. Even in evangelizing the neglected neighborhoods and classes, the Sunday-school teacher and business manager are quite as essential as the preacher. We cannot afford to bend all our talents to the service of the pulpit. We want a portion for the service of the sick, another portion for instruction, and others for various forms of charity. Many men who might have been useful in these departments have been lost to active service by being made honorary members of the overcrowded ministry. In the last score of years we have rapidly developed the teaching, managing, and philanthropic branches of lay work, and future progress in these departments will probably reduce the size of the column of men marching into the local ministry. This force is already appreciably affecting the annual number of new licenses granted in the thickly settled parts of the country. There are official boards who will license only those men who are candidates for the

Conferences; and in various ways a considerable pressure is employed to prevent the increase of local preachers, while the most potent of the living influences in the Church pushes the brightest young members into Sunday-school work.

The tendencies to which we have just referred have been most marked in the Northern States of this country. It is partly through the growth of these new branches of Church work that in the Methodist Episcopal Church the leading laymen are no longer exclusively the local preachers. Their position is not as it once was among us, and still is in other branches of Methodism—next to that of the preachers in charge. A group of laymen who do not have licenses to preach, but are hard workers in the church field—as teachers, managers, and philanthropists—now stands between the pastorate and the local preacher. A very significant proof of this may be noted in the composition of the delegations of laymen at the General and lay Conferences. Fifty years ago these delegations would have been composed in great measure of local preachers; now the lists of such delegations contain the names of very few local preachers. Another display of the same tendencies is seen in the relative weakening of the numerical strength of Methodist Episcopal local preacherdom. Our branch of Methodism has a smaller proportion of these preachers than others have. This at once appears when we note that with 1,717,567 members, we have only 12,323 local preachers; while all Methodism has 89,000 local preachers. We have one local preacher to each 140 members, while all Methodism has one local preacher for each 55 members. Extending this inquiry, we learn that the episcopal Methodisms have a smaller proportion of local ministers than the non-episcopal. Relatively to membership the non-episcopal branches have five times as many local preachers as the episcopal. In episcopal Methodisms there is one local preacher to 110 members; in non-episcopal Methodism, one to 22 members. Contrary to common belief, we find that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is in this respect on the same plane with our branch of Methodism. In that Church there is only one local preacher to each 144 members, a little below our own relative number. The proportion of local preachers in episcopal Methodism is carried up by the African Methodist Episcopal and the Methodist Episcopal

Zion Churches, which, according to the returns given in the "Methodist Year-Book" for this year, have a local preacher for each 51 members; and it is worth noticing that the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of America has only one local preacher to each 162 members. The British Islands are the favorite haunts of the local preacher. About nine in ten of the British Methodist preachers are in the local ranks, and every twentieth member is licensed to preach. The English branches have held most firmly to the original tendencies and impulses of Methodism in regard to the lay ministry, and they have undoubtedly overdone the business of making local preachers. If they have not, it is certain that Methodism in this country has sadly erred in the other direction; for it has scarcely one sixth as many licensed ministers, (relative to membership) as have the British Methodists.

Confining our survey to American Episcopal Methodism, and chiefly to our own branch of it, we soon appreciate the importance of an approximately accurate estimate of the actual number of men in the third section—the lay preachers. The locations in our branch have for thirty years averaged nearly 100 per annum, and it is probable that 2,000 of these located ministers are still on the rolls as local preachers. The number of admissions on trial in the Annual Conferences for the last year is given as 1,694. During the same year 1,621 local preachers were employed as pastors, and three fourths of them were doubtless candidates for Annual Conferences. Assuming that four years is the average service of a local preacher before entering a conference on probation, there should be some 6,500 licentiates in our Church. Adding 2,000 located ministers, the total of 8,500 in the two first sections deducted from the grand total leaves us only 3,823 lay preachers. The writer does not believe that there are, however, so many as 3,823. Let us suppose that we had no lay preachers, what number of preachers should we have left after supplying the appointments? There are 347 appointments that are not to pastoral functions. There are 2,000 superannuate and supernumerary preachers. If then we had no lay ministry—none but Conference ministers, located ministers, and licentiates—we should apparently have a preaching force, after supplying stations, of nearly 11,000. But since 1,621 local preachers were filling appointments in 1881, there

would be left, after proper deduction, about 9,400 as the reserve force. The value of this estimate is the showing that the lay preachers constitute only about one fourth of the reserve ministerial force. It should be plain that the local preachers proper are not numerous enough in the two chief Methodisms of this country to be a great nuisance, and that if a local preacher is good for any thing whatever there are not too many of them. And yet, every well-informed Methodist is familiar with the fact that unemployed local preachers are abundant among us. Nor is there much doubt that the process of wasting away has for several years been at work upon the local preacher body. A very large proportion of the men on the lists are old men. A convention of local preachers does not show ten per cent. of young men; and very few young men are licensed except those who are candidates for the conferences. We are writing here of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and we may add that, if present tendencies continue to prevail for a score of years, there will be few local preachers except licentiates and located ministers. Perhaps the local preacher proper ought to pass away; if he ought not, if we cannot afford to lose him, then the Church has some serious work to do in this department of her duties.

The number of lay ministers in our Church has probably relatively declined gradually since about 1835. In 1838, the first year in which the General Minutes separately enumerate them fully, the number of members was 696,549, traveling preachers 3,332, and local preachers 5,792. Coming down forty-two years, to 1880, we must compare the totals of the two chief episcopal Methodisms with the foregoing figures. In 1880 the combined totals are: members 2,528,603; traveling preachers 15,503; local preachers 18,307. In 1838 we had one local preacher to each 103 members; in 1880 one to each 139 members. In 1838 the excess of local preachers over traveling preachers was 75 per cent. of the latter; in 1880 it was only 13 per cent. This may not be a fair comparison, but it is the only approximately just one that can be made over a long period. Confining the comparison to our own branch of Methodism, we find that the number of local preachers in 1850 exceeded the traveling preachers by 32 per cent. of the latter, whereas the excess in 1880 was only 2 per cent. In 1850 we

had a local preacher for each 127 members; in 1880 only one for each 139 members. These are the changes of thirty years. In 1859 we had a local preacher for each 124 members; and an addition of 14 per cent. to their number would make them as numerous as the local preachers. Coming down to 1870, we find an excess of local preachers over itinerants of 24 per cent., with 120 members to each local preacher. In 1877 the same excess is only 16, and a local preacher to each 133 members. In 1880 the excess had fallen to 2 per cent., with a local preacher to each 139 members. If we now had as many local preachers in proportion to members as in 1850 we should count 13,388 local preachers; and the same proportion relative to the itinerant ministry would give us 15,748. Taking the mean of the two comparative deficits, we have a relative loss of 2,093 local preachers in thirty years, or more than 14 per cent. The importance of these figures cannot be seen until we remember that the whole loss belongs to one of the three classes of the local ministry. The licentiates and the located ministers have probably quite kept up numerically with the growth of the denomination. The loss is in lay preachers; and of this class we probably have hardly half so many as we had in 1850 relative to itinerants and members.

The official interpretation put upon the action of the General Conference of 1876, ordering a course of study for local preachers, has undoubtedly accelerated the liquidation of the lay preachers. Unfortunately the General Conference did not define the application of the new law, and it was assumed that it applied to all local preachers not in orders. Under this interpretation quarterly and district conferences were instructed by presiding elders that no license could be renewed unless the candidate had passed in the course of study. Fortunately this instruction was not always, perhaps not generally, given at first, and it was not until 1880 that it provoked a strong protest. In November of that year the Bishops advised that the course of study be applied only to new men; but as the Discipline contains the old ruling, and is very properly regarded as the law-book of the Church, some old local preachers are each year retired under it. The absence of a definition in the act of the General Conference would seem to require a minimum interpretation, and that is now the administrative rule.

Custom in the Church—and custom is excellent law—makes a permanent tenure of the office of local preacher. New conditions ought, under the analogy of the course of study in Annual Conferences, to be applied only to new men. It is true that the course of study is simple; but men commonly resent what they deem injustice, and there were in 1876 many old local preachers who were very useful with very small gifts of study. Many of these have been retired unwisely; another class, mustered out by the maximum ruling, were never regretted. This unfortunate ruling has probably caused a decrease in the actual number of local preachers. In 1878 there were 426 more of them than in 1881, though we have 212,000 more members in 1881 than in 1878.

The history of the local preacher in this country discloses some interesting matters for meditation. In the days of Asbury he was a yoke-fellow of the itinerant; and Asbury got as much work from two local preachers as from one itinerant. Two hundred local ministers answered the demand for one hundred itinerants. The distinction between the two classes was not very marked. They were all ministers. In that day the local preacher was hardly recognized as a layman; and in some sections, notably in Maryland, he is still a minister in the eyes of the people and of the law. The law of the Methodist Episcopal Church preserves this history. Local and itinerant preachers are ordained in the same form, and on similar conditions of examination and election, to the offices of deacon and elder. Itinerants and local preachers stand side by side to be ordained; and after ordination, whatever may have been true before, the men in both classes are equally ministers of Jesus Christ. Eligibility to ordination effectively classifies local preachers in the ministry. The relegation of them to the ranks of laymen in electing delegates for the General Conference was a fruit of the new growth in our Church life, as well as a formal necessity, caused by the absence of the local men from the Annual Conferences. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, makes an effort to secure the local ministers a separate standing in these elections; but the effort has produced no special results.

The local preacher's malady has been that he gradually ceased to be a minister and did not become a layman. The ministry on one side of him ceased to be circuit-riders and became

stationed pastors; the laymen, on the other side, developed teachers, leaders, and philanthropists. The Church, in its law, at least, left this middle man in possession of all his immunities and privileges, but his vocation as a fellow of the glorious company of circuit-riders lapsed into silence as the circuit-rider advanced to his new character as a pastor of a Church. In Asbury's time the local ministers were a reserve force of circuit-riders, or, rather, a regular part of the force. Our ministry has passed through a revolution which has left one half of it without regular occupation. The process is not quite finished; there are still circuits in which the local preacher takes his place on a "plan," as in the older days. But these "plans" give employment to very few of the thousands of local men. Another "plan," that of associations of local men, has taken the place of the old one in Baltimore and Philadelphia, and perhaps in some other sections; but this new departure has made little progress. We have educated the local preacher to do what he is told to do, and he is not at home in seeking to make a "plan" of his own. As he is called upon, he fills three functions: he is an evangelist, a supply, and a kind of assistant pastor. The latter function is not large; but it is conspicuously useful in special instances. A Brooklyn pastor recently left a large church in the pastoral care of his local preacher for four months, and had no reason to regret it. The pulpit had a "supply" from the editorial staff of the Church; and the pastor for the time being was an efficient, godly, and beloved local preacher belonging to the society. In other cases, the service of the ordained local preacher is a precious help to the pastors of large churches in the administration of the Lord's supper. We have very successful evangelists, of whom Thomas Harrison is a brilliant representative. But the number is not large; we doubt if so many as two hundred of our local preachers systematically pursue the evangelistic vocation. As a supply, the local preacher is more conspicuous. In this capacity he sometimes preserves the traditions of the olden time. But, ordinarily, he is now not an associate of a body of circuit-riders; he is the pastor of the stations that are too weak to support pastors and too high-spirited to become parts of an old-fashioned circuit. To a considerable extent, however, this local-preacher pastor is drawn from the licentiate

and located sections, and, to a very limited extent, we believe, from the lay preachers.

The source of much of the dissatisfaction to which the opening sentences of this paper refer may be traced, in our Church at least, to the break-up of the circuit system. In the East it dates as far back as 1835. Thirty years ago, in Illinois and Iowa, the writer served as a local preacher on circuit "plans" having from eight to ten appointments and as many local men associated with one or two itinerants. On the same ground about half of the appointments are now stations where the pastor preaches twice on Sunday in one church, and the other appointments have altogether disappeared. These circuits and their partition very fairly represent the greater part of our work in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The abandoned half of the old appointments are, however, much too large a proportion for the whole field. But these appointments deserve mention and regret. They were country school-houses in neighborhoods distant from two to five miles from towns. When the towns aspired to be stations with constant ministerial service by a single pastor, they could not well do otherwise. Other denominations established such a service in the towns, and to fail of adopting the new order was to lose influence and usefulness. The Methodists in the villages showed praiseworthy enterprise in assuming larger burdens for the sake of keeping Methodism at the front. To support these new stations required all the strength that the adjacent parts of the circuit could add to that of the villages. The country members readily consented to attend the village church and contribute to its support. For a time, services were maintained in the country appointments; but gradually such services were abandoned, partly because the new order had developed an appetite for better preaching, partly because the local preachers, as a class, could not in the changed conditions command hearers. At this transition stage a Methodist statesman *might*, if his services had been bent to the task, have saved the old appointments and the local preachers. But those were laborious days. The wants of the stations absorbed all the energy of presiding elders, pastors, and laymen. Churches had to be built and paid for; a greatly increased local expenditure for the maintenance of pastors had to be met by liberality and strenuous

enthusiasm. The statesmen were kept busy in founding the stations. It is possible, too, that the local preacher of that period could not have kept the country appointments alive. It was a period when a great growth in the Church was drafting all the best local preachers into the ranks of the itineracy. The country congregations would assemble to listen to the village pastor, but the local preacher could not as a rule then command an audience, even in the school-houses. This was, in greater measure, due to the new demands made upon the pulpit; in some measure, also, to the fact that the hearts of the country Methodists had gone to the village churches. In process of time, the thrifty farmers of our Church moved into the villages. The character of the country population changed, and in many cases the change reduced to a minimum the demand for Methodist preaching. In the central West, especially, the places where these lost appointments were filled have for some time ceased to make any call upon the services of our Church. Perhaps it was inevitable that this process should take the unpleasant features which we recall. We had to take the towns; we had not resources enough at the time to retain our grasp upon the country. But the country is still there; no other Church has stepped into our abandoned appointments. It is at least just as easy now to build this work again as it was for the fathers to build the old circuits out of which we have developed the stations. Circuits could be made in great numbers which would pay more for the support of the gospel than the older preachers received. A single preacher in charge, with a half dozen local preachers as assistants of the old type, could easily and advantageously manage one of these circuits. A movement in this direction has the elements of great promise—regarding the matter simply as one of Church aggrandizement. If we consider it in the light of Christian duty, these neglected country fields reproach us for having forgotten the faith and heroism of our fathers. Now at last we have the power to recover lost ground for Methodism. We have it, that is to say, if we have the men. Could the local fraternity now furnish the men who would be needed to reorganize and build up the abandoned portions of the old circuits? That there is some hesitancy in making an affirmative answer will prove to the reader that

we have not yet completed our study of the local preacher problem.

Since 1840 a considerable advance has been made in the education of the ministry, and in this advance the local ministry has had but a small share. Some of the best scholars of the Church are local preachers; but the main body of this local force has been recruited—as the whole ministry mainly was before 1840—from the zealous and more or less gifted, but partially educated, members of the Church. The growth of our colleges and theological seminaries has filled the regular ministry with educated men. They are not all successful; education is but one of several factors in a good preacher, and, in the present discussion, it may be freely admitted that college and theological training may be altogether omitted in exceptional cases. Education, in the higher sense, is not necessary to a preacher; but it is also true that of two men of equal talents and character, the educated one will succeed better than the one who is not educated. If one class of our ministers has shared in the benefits of our higher schools and the other has not, the former will be expected to surpass the latter in the practical test of "acceptability." In point of fact, education has increased the distance between the two classes. It is not important to this study that we should discuss the class of facts to which we now point. The local preachers of good report among us have for years sought to increase the necessary and required educational advantages of their class. The National Association of Local Preachers has been especially active and vigilant in this movement.

We have now considered three several causes which, since 1840, have worked to widen the distance between itinerant and local preachers. The break-up of the circuit system, the growth of lay work in teaching, management, and philanthropy, and the increase of educated ministers in the "regular work," are the chief causes of unpleasant facts in our present use or non-use of the existing local preacher. There is another force which is not so easily described. The old-fashioned local preacher was a minister, and the new-fashioned one can hardly be said to exist. The want which the Church of to-day *feels* —its feeling may not be right—is a new kind of lay-preachers. In name, we have always had them; in fact, we have gone on

all through our history making local preachers who are simply a supernumerary class of ministers. This historical tendency may have been on the right lines; but, for some reason, the Church has been conscious for many years of its dissatisfaction with the older impulse and its effects. It is difficult to make an argument in our generation for so large a supernumerary body of ministers. Almost any Christian congregation responds readily to an appeal for a class of lay-preachers. The distinction is not one that is fairly covered by our terms. All feel better than they can describe the difference between a man who is thought of and spoken of as a minister and one who is thought of and spoken of as a layman. Where they dwell, our local preachers usually bear the character of ministers. This creates for them two disadvantages: they are likely to be considered poor ministers, and they are stripped of the power which an unprofessional advocate of religion possesses. It is felt to be unfair to measure them as though their lives were spent in ministerial study; it is felt as a loss that they are clothed with a professional character. How much more effectively will a Christian lawyer speak! Of him the audience does not exact any special learning or skill. All faults in these lines are ignored because it were unjust to notice them. All his good points command especial attention because he speaks only as a layman. The precious harvest which we desire to reap in this field is the influence of a layman's standing, character, and power. It is plain enough, however, that a man who is licensed (practically for life) and serves as a substitute for or adjunct to pastors, must in time come to have a professional ministerial standing in his community. Perhaps it must be found very difficult in any system to gather this precious harvest of the personal value of a layman in the pulpit. The personal value of the minister we obtain more easily; and it may safely be predicted that the Church will never have a large class of habitual preachers that have no professional atmosphere about them. We are like children crying for the moon. Still there are degrees here, as elsewhere in Church order, and some excess in his ministerial standing may damage the usefulness of a local preacher, and some sturdy effort to keep his lay power may add to his pulpit efficiency. Speaking broadly, the tendency of the age to division of labor seems not to favor the hope of

getting a class of good preachers who are not classed as ministers by those who hear them preach.

The feeling spoken of in the preceding paragraph has very important relations to our study. It is a wholesome feeling whose cause lies partly in the custom of picking out (so far as is possible to the wisdom of the presiding elders and Conferences) the best half of the ministry for itinerant work, and leaving the poorer half to be employed as local preachers. This conspires with causes before noted to degrade the class in public esteem and to keep out of it some of the best laymen. To say plainly what one could wish not to say at all, the Church no longer brings its best and brightest men to the local ministry. Relatively to the rest of the leading classes, the local preachers have declined, partly because this service is, on the whole, recruited from a lower relative grade of social and moral power than it was in our earlier days. The local preacher must be a good deal of a man, must have character and commanding force, or he will inevitably more or less fail. Who believes that the laymen of such manliness and force are now commonly drafted into the local ranks of the ministry? Here and there one is recruited for permanent service in this corps; mainly these strong laymen are to be found in other Church work. The discontent which is becoming painful would be alleviated, if not removed, by any policy that should enlist the commanding lay talent for pulpit services. This discontent has advanced to a conviction that it is not worth while to recruit the local service from the class of young men who are in our days most willing to enlist. The writer appreciates the difficulty and disagreeableness of his task in making a survey of these unpleasant features of the subject. It is often said in rebuttal that, in their station, the local preachers average as well as the itinerants in theirs; but the phrase "in their station" conveys all our criticism, since we have gradually made their station that of an inferior order of ministers. It should also be remembered that in two respects at least the local preachers are under a relative disability. Weakness of character in an itinerant may be concealed by his frequent changes of residence, while that of a local preacher must be disclosed by his permanence. And while the itinerant is subjected to an ordeal in which the fittest survives, the local

preacher simply drops out of employment, retaining his license under such comparative tests as are applied to him. The unsuccessful itinerant becomes a local elder or deacon; the unsuccessful local preacher usually continues to be counted in the annual returns as a member of the order. A continual strain, an incessant sifting, voluntary and involuntary locations, all fail to keep the itineracy up to an entirely satisfactory level. What, then, must be the relative inferiority of a class in which there is no strain, sifting, or systematic weeding out of inefficiency? If this class cannot recruit from the best brain and character of the Church, if it cannot evade the necessity of receiving into it the failures of the Conferences, if it has no system of self-sifting and no effective sifting by Church authority, it cannot hope to escape from a progression in inferiority which will increase its own discontent with itself and the discontent of the Church with its influence and work.

If these studies have yielded accurate results, it is apparent that if we do not want a lay ministry we need give ourselves very little concern about it. The one we have will pass away. A score of years will place it where a General Conference might be confidently expected to pass unanimously a vote of liquidation. This action might, indeed, be delayed by the necessity of having a place of exile for the unsuccessful itinerants; but so far as the uses and values of the local order are concerned, causes now in active operation threaten the class with extinction. Can the Church afford the loss? A first question here is whether the licentiates and located ministers are sufficient in numbers and likely to remain in sufficient numbers to do such work as we now assign to local preachers. This would probably be answered in the affirmative by most students of our system. A second question would be whether it is not at least a convenience to have licentiates pass through this grade, and in many cases remain in the class. This, also, would receive an affirmative answer. We have two groups of men who fail or retire, and "to let them down easily" we shall choose, probably, to retain them in the ministry. As an attachment or "annex" to the pastorate the local preacher rank is a great convenience to presiding elders and bishops—how great few of us will realize until we have tried

to put ourselves in the place of a presiding elder who has on his hands a worthy but inefficient minister. The order is a great convenience, too, to preachers who for laudable reasons wish to retire from Conference relations. But these conveniences concern only the itinerant ministry, and perhaps it is not altogether wise to maintain an order of local preachers for such reasons. But if the next General Conference were to order: (1) that licentiates be made a class by themselves, having no relations with the local preachers; and (2) that all located ministers, or, rather, (for justice' sake,) all non-stationed ministers, form another distinct class, it would probably appear that with a little patience the liquidation of local preacherdom would be accomplished without further legislation. The noble men now in the class would pass into heaven; the local churches would content themselves with making licentiates and employing located (or supernumerary) ministers for the rare demands that arise for extra ministerial labor. Our customs and policy do not seem now to require a local preacher class in the ministry. These customs and policy are far from perfection; but there is a continual hardening of the lines about them, and there are only such feeble signs of discontent with them as inevitably show themselves in any system with which the great body of the constituents are satisfied. A division of the ministry into effective and non-effective —no man being received except with a view to effective rank—would at present meet all the wants which the Church at large feels to be of high importance. Probably our branch of Methodism is unconsciously preparing for such a decisive change, in these or other ways, as would abolish the lay preacher. Is this tendency a safe one? Ought we to arrest it? Is it possible to arrest it? Are new methods of working the office desirable and practicable?

There are good grounds for holding that our Church is neglecting large opportunities for evangelistic work. Every considerable town has its neglected population. "It is Catholic or Jewish," is a common excuse for neglecting it; but the fact is only partly such. And one wonders why we should have missionaries to Catholics in Italy and South America, and studiously pass by Catholics at home. These neglected quarters are full of people of American birth, and they respond with quite average readiness to Christian appeals. The old

circuits have their numerous neglected neighborhoods. Even so near as two miles from a village, in full view of the village spires, there are worthy people whom evangelists of other denominations, or "Union" associations, find and evangelize. We have some 12,000 pastors, of whom some 7,000 are preaching in stations, twice a Sunday in one pulpit; and it is safe to say that in the same towns there are 2,000 places where the Gospel ought to be and is not preached, and that in the country neighborhoods adjacent to these towns, and not embraced in our surviving circuits, there are 5,000 more such places. That is to say, there are probably not less than 7,000 new preaching-places that could be found without effort, and out of these places 2,000 circuits might be formed that would be self-supporting after a brief period of gratuitous service. So much would seem to be easy to an effort which merely turned our attention to matters at our doors. If we could acquire a habit of looking up neglected people, if we were as zealous for the work in the older sections as Chaplain M'Cabe is for new churches on the frontier, it is scarcely too much to say that our total number of preaching-places could be profitably doubled in ten years. We know how to plant a new church in the wilderness, and we know how to abandon one in the city. We can follow a straggling body of settlers to the summits of the Rocky Mountains or the borders of Alaska, and at the same time quietly steal away from a quarter of a million of densely packed human beings in old New York. Some disagreeable speech must be indulged in, and this is a good place for it. The local-preacher problem is half solved if we can confidently say that these habits of ours are fixed—that Methodism will never return to the fields it has half gleaned—will never go back to its abandoned appointments—will never make its circuit a parish nor its district a diocese. When we have skimmed over the land, and there are no longer any frontiers, and no up-town or suburban migrations of our people, we shall have exhausted the force of the impulses which have marked our American Methodism. If these old lines are our destiny, we must have less and less use for local preachers as our churches generally advance to the ideal of self-supporting churches served by able pastors. Whenever we shall get a new impulse to return and glean on the old fields, we shall want the local

preacher. The evangelist—in some better form than the common type of well-paid leader of special revival services in well-to-do churches—is a necessity in a Church which seeks to found new societies. We must have an evangelist who does not convert souls at so much a head, nor confine his services to those wealthy quarters where a large reward may be had for doing work. Ideally the local preacher is the best type of evangelist. He is known, accredited, trained, and sent. He is neither a tramp nor a scoundrelly stranger. We take ample measures to identify, qualify, and commission him. The ideal is perfect; the practical workmanship of him would be nearer the ideal if we took pains to send him somewhere and let him feel that he represents us while he does Christ's work at our command. The idea of leaving any preacher to find his work where he may is so un-Methodistic that there can be no surprise if local preachers—who are intensely Methodistic, whatever else they may not be—should remain ministerially idle when Church authority assigns them to no duties.

We need not dwell upon the fact that our assigned ministers are abundantly employed. Bishops, presiding elders, and pastors have full hands. We cannot expect the neglected neighborhoods to be spied out by a presiding elder who must hold a quarterly conference once in forty hours, nor from a pastor who can with difficulty care for the people who attend his church. It is the stress of our whole system that each man shall do what he is set to do, and the result of our economy of forces is to give every man work enough. We have enlarged the districts on this line of economy, and without any special effort the station has become equally engrossing of the pastor's strength. There must be some official initiative. This might properly begin with Annual Conference committees on neglected neighborhoods, and the General Conference might order new questions to be asked of presiding elders in open Conference, such as: "Are there in your district places where new appointments may be made?" and "Have you assigned work to the local preachers on your district?" Such questions might, however, fail to reach the case, for the reason that it is not often easy to assign geographical boundaries to districts or stations. We need a Methodist map-maker, and some system of grasping the soil, as a guide to so placing our nets as to

cover the souls we seek to save. The organization of Methodism, as we have worked it, embraces persons, and not lands—the class-book and the Church-record bound our parishes. If neglected and non-paying quarters are to be cultivated, official action, shaped to employ gratuitous service on a much larger scale, must be taken by the General and Annual Conferences. But are the local preachers qualified to carry on such work? Some are not; many are. We have many unemployed or very partially employed men who are entirely capable of good work. Supply in this matter, as in others, will follow demand. We shall get our best men in the local ranks when we want them again for definite work assigned to them. Out of the wealth of personal power which we have developed, all that we need could be spared from other departments of lay work, if we distinctly called for lay preachers. All the comparative weakness of the local ministry would disappear under systematic cultivation of it as an honored arm of the service. With definite ideas respecting their duties, we should easily build our local evangelist and sub-pastor on the lines of our matchless ideal. We should seek, first of all, to have him a man of much personal force. All defects except feebleness of character may be suffered. One may not even know how to read—to go to the extreme of defective education—and yet be a powerful local preacher; while no amount of drill in courses of study will compensate for the lack of manliness and strength of character. Feeble men are the curse of the pulpit; and feebleness is nowhere else so fatal as in a man pursuing secular callings and preaching to people who thoroughly know him. Whenever we can fill the local ministry with the best brain and sturdiest manhood of our laity, all lesser matters of training and furnishing will be easily settled to our liking and necessities.

From every point of view we meet with a yet more important characteristic of local preacherdom. It is unorganized and helpless. An Annual Conference is composed of peers who vote men in and vote men out. The itinerant ministry has its own character in its own hands. The local preachers have not the least organic power over their class. They are recruited by the quarterly conference, and receive the retiring itinerants. They have no word to say in the reception of

any man into their class, and their building has no back door through which they can retire unfit members. It is true they are members of the quarterly conference; but they have no conference of their own, and no status in any ministerial conference. Various efforts have been made to remedy this evil. The original idea of the district conference was a conference of local preachers; then it took the tentative form of a conference of all the preachers of a district; but it has settled into our law as a conference of all the official workers of the district, and in this form has conspicuously failed. Presuming that we want an effective unpaid ministry, one step toward getting it might be taken by organizing the local preachers by districts or conferences — better, perhaps, by conferences. These conferences of local preachers should confirm or reject the selections of the quarterly conference for new local preachers, retire from the body unfit members, and approve or reject the candidates going up to the Annual Conferences. Other duties connected with their class might be added to the foregoing. *Esprit de corps* cannot grow where there is no *corps*, and responsible duties to the Church tend to nourish the will and the capacity to discharge them with credit. It would be just to give these conferences a small representation in the Annual Conferences, and to provide for the election of a dozen or score of them to the General Conference. Such an organization is a radical change in our system, and is not to be too enthusiastically expected. An alternative plan is, to fall back upon the union of all ministers in district conferences, where the local preachers should have a separate vote on the subjects relating to their class. A bolder plan—which would certainly improve the quality of the local preachers—is to make all licensed preachers members of the Annual Conferences. The first plan is most favorable to the development of the lay character and power of the class. A separate organization, with decisive and important duties, would probably tend to build up those distinctive characteristics which make local preachers valuable; whereas the classing of them with the ministry tends to rob us of their power as laymen, and to increase the danger of comparative undervaluing of them as ministers. A preacher who fills a secular place and preaches gratuitously may be, for his special field, the best preacher; but neither he nor the Church

should forget that his secular calling is an element of his power. Making him a minister in his modes of address and thinking must generally tend to impair his usefulness.

If this study is unsatisfactory, it is because the subject involves uncertain elements. While the writer believes in a lay ministry, such as our Church law provides for, he is compelled to believe that it has declined, and is still declining, under the weight of forces that show no sign of relenting. We should need, to rehabilitate the lay preacher, a large and strong movement and some wise legislation. It may strengthen the small demand for change toward a better care of this arm of the ministry, if we remember that other branches of the Christian Church are feeling their way toward lay preachers. For example, a son of the eminent missionary, Adoniram Judson, having attempted to do a missionary work in the center of New York, has associated with himself three "assistant pastors" who speak the different tongues of our foreign population. With us, also, efforts to recover lost neighborhoods would provoke us to new zeal in cultivating local preachers. But, without such a demand for their services, it seems inevitable that this class of preachers must gradually come to be made up of licentiates and located ministers.

Art. III.—WEBER'S SYSTEM OF THEOLOGY OF THE OLD SYNAGOGUE OF PALESTINE.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

VIII. Oral Tradition.

The authentic exposition of the Scriptures.—The written Word of God was accompanied from the beginning with an authentic exposition for the community, called the "*Oral Law*," which was not to be transmitted in writing, but through tradition. The import and consequences of the divine laws are determined and explained for the community by the wise men in the *Halakah;* the doctrine and meaning of the historical and prophetical sections of the Scriptures in the *Haggadah.*

The Jewish theology distinguishes the *written* Law, תורה שבכתב and *that delivered orally*, תורה שבעל פה. These expres-

sions were demonstrably in use in the time of Rabban Gamiel. They are often found in the older literature. This oral law, equally with the written, proceeded from God; but, in respect to the manner of it, there are two current views. According to one view, the oral doctrine was so far given with the written Torah, as this was so formed that it comprehended the oral doctrine in itself; it is indeed of infinite contents. According to the other view, God himself added to the written Torah the oral doctrine, either in its outlines or details, written (upon tables) or merely orally. Dr. Weber gives the various authorities that bear upon these points.

After Moses received from God, along with the Torah, which was to be written down, also its exposition, to be transmitted orally according to a predominant and older view, he began to repeat it faithfully in the tabernacle and to explain it. According to *Erubin*, 54^{b}, he delivered the oral law to Aaron, who transmitted it to his sons. These taught it to the elders, and the latter instructed the people in it. But this oral law of Moses, complete in its contents and form, was not safely kept by Joshua and his Sanhedrim. In the mourning for Moses, three thousand *halachoth* (legal precepts) were forgotten, which even Joshua did not restore. Othniel first restored these through the exposition of the written Torah. This was generally the fate of the oral law during all ages, that it was partly lost and partly renewed. The renewal was possible because the oral doctrine is already contained in the written, out of which it can be developed.

The entire matter of tradition is called מדרשות, literally, *inquiries, discussions*, and that, too, upon the Torah. For all that has been handed down orally has been acquired through inquiry and determining the sense of Scripture. This inquiry has moved in two directions. So far as the contents of the Torah were developed, the *halachoth* resulted; so far as the historical and prophetic contents are explained, the *haggadoth* (edifying discourses) resulted. The former are laid down in the Mishna and are further discussed in the Gemara. The latter especially form the contents of the Midrash in the stricter sense, or of the *haggadah*, the Biblical Commentary.

The relation of Tradition to Scripture.—The import of the Holy Scriptures and tradition is identical in principle, for

the latter is essentially contained in the former. Hence the statements of both are to be accepted. But inasmuch as tradition must first be developed from Scripture, the latter holds the rank of being the source and rule of all doctrine; it is *norma normans*, while tradition is *norma normata*, that is, it must always prove itself to be contained in the Scripture. Finally, Scripture is revelation in a completed form; tradition, on the contrary, is in a state of continual development; the latter exercises itself throughout with contradictions and often ends in unsolved problems.

The Halakah (traditional law) is determined by the vote of a college of wise men, (*Gittin*, v, 6;) but another college, if it has greater authorities in itself, and counts more members, can annul the decision of the first college, and fix the *halakah* differently.

Scripture and Tradition in practice.—Although the Scripture, in respect to its dignity, precedes tradition, yet, for practice, the oral law has a higher value than the written. For legalism, which believes that it possesses salvation in the Torah, inasmuch as through its fulfillment it obtains the promised reward, requires the Torah in a form in which it can be immediately realized in life. In such a form it lies before us only in the oral law. The higher appreciation of the oral law finds its expressions, not only in the predicates of the oral doctrine, but also in the study which is devoted to it, and in the strictness with which the oral law is held.

In the post-Talmudic tract, *Soferim*, 15^{b}, the Holy Scriptures are compared to water, the Mishna to wine, the Gemara to medicated wine. The world cannot do without the Holy Scripture, without the Mishna, and without the Gemara. Or, the Holy Scriptures are like salt, the Mishna like pepper, and the Gemara like wine. Such comparisons always represent an ascending series from the Scripture to the Gemara.

To the high authority of the oral law corresponds the fact that its violation is severely punished by the community, and it is also believed that a divine punishment awaits its transgression. The transgression of rabbinical laws is sin. *Tosefta* to *Baba Kamma*, c. 8. In *Berachoth*, 4^{b}, it is said: Every one who transgresses the words of the wise is guilty of death. After giving an example of remarkable devotion to tradition, Dr. Weber

closes this part of the subject with the remark: "A Jewish saint will rather die than break the words of the wise, the traditional law. In fact, this is considered higher and holier than the simple word of Scripture."

IX. Scripture Proof.

The thirteen rules.—Oral tradition should be susceptible of proof from the written Torah, or, at least, it should be able to lean upon it. The Scripture proof for the tradition accordingly follows, either through a regular derivation of the traditional doctrine from the Scriptures by the application of the thirteen *Middoth*, that is, hermeneutical principles, or by searching for such words of Scripture as contain at least an allusion to the received opinion. Tradition, as it accompanies Scripture, stands firm already before the biblical proof. The Scripture proof is simply added to it. Even what has no proof from Scripture, or goes beyond it, is valid, if it rests upon rabbinical authority.

Hillel appears to have been the first who established rules for the interpretation of Scripture. His six or seven rules were afterward increased to *thirteen*. But, as these rules have no special interest for us, and we have not space for them, we omit them.

The proof through intimation (*hints.*)—Where, in accordance with these rules of exposition, a derivation of single points of tradition from the Holy Scriptures is not possible, a hint, רמז, or support, אסמכתא, is sought in a text of Scripture for the points once established. Such hints of Scripture are found in the signs, letters, particles, in the position of the words, and in the connection of the sections of Scripture.

So far as the thirteen rules of the school are observed in Scripture proof, we can, in a certain way, speak of a regulated, unprejudiced treatment. But now, not only by means of these rules is the *halakish* (traditional) or *haggadish* (edifying) matter shown to be in the Scripture, but, in the end, satisfaction was attained by hints which the text seemed to offer, and which, according to our ideas, have no value and are purely arbitrary. Of the methods here indicated we shall cite a few examples in which the value of a word, its *Gematria*, (γεωμετρία,) gives important disclosures. From Berachoth, 8ᵃ, we learn

that there are 903 kinds of death for man. How do we know that? Through the *Gematria* of the word תוצאות, (*issues, ends,*) the sum of whose letters equals 903. *Pesikta*, 176ª, teaches that the Gematria of the word השטן, (*Satan,*) gives the number 364, but the year has 365 days; therefore Satan has power over Israel every day in the year except one, the Day of Atonement, in which he has no power. The *Gematria* finds a peculiar application in the Kabbala, in which, from the equal value of different words, a mysterious connection is inferred to exist between them—one word is explained by the other. In Zech. iii, 8, when God promises to bring forth his servant, the BRANCH, צמח, we are to understand by it the Messiah, because צמח has the same numerical value as מנחם, (*Comforter,*) in Lam. i, 16, a designation of the Messiah. Comp. *Sanhedrin*, 98ᵇ. In the same way it is shown by *Gematria*, that, in Gen. xlix, 10, the Messiah is meant; for יבא שילה, (*Shiloh shall come,*) has the same numerical value as משיח, (*Messiah.*) Dr. Weber closes this chapter with the remark: "So manifold are the ways of rabbinism to make the Holy Scriptures declare whatever was already established through tradition, or as the result of a rabbinical way of thinking. In truth, tradition shows itself as the moving force to which the Scriptures hold the relation of servitude."

X. THE RABBINICAL AUTHORITY.

The order of Wise Men.—For the authentic exposition of the Torah, and the guidance of the community according to the Law, there is need of the regular constituted office of the rabbis and elders, which, according to the rabbinical view, came into existence even in the days of Moses. The rabbis and elders govern the community as the wise men, that is, as the lawyers. The order of the wise men unites in itself, as the order especially consecrated to God, ecclesiastical, priestly, and prophetic power and dignity; enjoys from God an especial communication of his Spirit and honor; it should honor itself by its deportment, and it enjoys also especial honor and benevolence from the community. It is graded according to the knowledge of the Torah that is possessed; the grades of rank are accurately distingnished by external marks of honor.

Moses was God's pupil; but he himself became the founder

and the head of a learned order which has, from the days of Moses, continued through all time, and has spiritually guided the people. Upon this order of learned or wise men, חכמים, now alone devolves the guidance of the people. Hillel, the head of the wise men, therefore bears the name prince of Israel. *Shabbath*, 31ª. The Sanhedrim is called the scepter of Judah, *Sifre*, 145ᵇ. The wise men in Israel, accordingly, exercise a royal power over the people. *Baba Bathra* 18, tells us that, since the destruction of the temple, prophecy has been taken away from the prophets and transferred to the wise men.

This order of wise men is now in a special sense consecrated to God, and forms a hierarchy. The elders are the property of God. In distinction from the wise men, the plain Israelite is called הדיוט, *ἰδιώτης*, not endowed with honor and dignity. Comp. *Tosefta* to *Sanhedrin*, c. 4. In reference to the מצוה, (*commandment*,) it is there said even the high priest and king, in comparison with the wise man, pass for הדיוט, an *ἰδιώτης*.* The הדיוט, *ἰδιώτης*, is not to be confounded with the עם הארץ, (*a plebeian*,) for in this designation there does not lie the meaning that he does not know and keep the law; but it is said only he does not belong to the order of the wise men, and has no share in their privileges. To the order of the wise men there belongs a special gift of the Spirit, for the spiritual guidance of the people. Even Moses had communicated to the elders a portion of the Holy Spirit without being made poorer by it. Bammid. Rab., c. 15. From that time one has lit his candle from that of the other, whereby it is said that the Holy Spirit has been transmitted, in the order of the wise men, from one to the other, and it is still always communicated in the ordination, סמיכה, (*laying on of hands*,) just as Moses once delivered it to the elders. Comp. *Sanhed.*, 13. It was required of the wise men to observe a certain decorum in deportment and dress. It was not lawful for them to talk with a woman, not even with their own sister, nor to sit at table with the unlearned. The community bestowed upon the wise men special honors. The honor of a rabbi precedes that of one's father. The wise man takes precedence of the king, priest, and prophet. To

* This rabbinical use of *ἰδιώτης* for a *plain citizen, devoid of rabbinical culture*, explains the meaning of the same word in Acts iv, 13, where both the English Versions wrongly render "*ignorant*."

revile a wise man after his death is said to deserve excommunication; whoever despises the disciple of the wise man, says *Shabb.*, 119^{b}, for that man there is no cure, for these are now the prophets, the anointed of the Lord. They are also free from the burdens of taxation.

According to the Jewish view there was always a law-school, while we know historically that the school system in the strictest sense did not come into existence before Hillel and Shammai. At all events, since that time the law schools were the spiritual central point of the life of the people. The most important schools for the development of traditional law were those of Hillel and Shammai, which existed until the destruction of the temple; their decrees, especially those of the school of Hillel, no later school can annul. After the year 70 several schools arose in Palestine and Babylon, among which that one held the first rank in which a head from the house of Hillel taught.

The threefold power of the Wise Men.—A threefold power is conferred upon the Jewish lawyer (or theologian)—a legislative, a judicial, and a teaching power.

If a wise man has acquired sufficient knowledge of the law, and is called by a society to be its president, he receives for the exercise of his office the laying on of hands סמיכה, or *ordination.* This ordination is performed by three elders, (*Tos.*, *Sanh.*, 1,) whereby the ordained person receives the title of rabbi, and therewith the authority to teach and to pronounce sentence even in matters of punishment.

To the wise men *legislative* power is attributed and exercised through the Sanhedrim. For the Jewish idea is that the council established in the days of Moses, and directed by himself, at all times gives the law to Israel. In *Sifre*, 25^{b}, the College of the Elders which Moses established at the command of God is expressly called Sanhedrim, and it is said that it is to be a perpetual institution.

The *judicial* power is a second part of the prerogatives of the wise men. In this department the highest tribunal is the Sanhedrim in Jerusalem, consisting of seventy-one members, with two or three secretaries, a *Nasi* (chief) as presiding officer, and an *Ab-Beth-Din* (father of the place of judgment) as deputy (or vice-president) of the *Nasi*, sitting on his right

hand. Besides this, there was a small Sanhedrim, consisting of twenty-three members, which every town containing more than a hundred and twenty inhabitants had power to establish. There was also a small tribunal consisting of three men elected by the society and confirmed by the Sanhedrim.

The authority to teach is the third prerogative of the wise men. This teaching consisted in faithfully imparting the doctrines which these rabbis had learned from their predecessors who were considered authorities.

XI. The Jewish Conception of God.

The effects of Legalism on the comprehension of the idea of God.—The fundamental principle that the Law is the only and essential revelation of God to men, and legality the essence of religion, determines necessarily the Jewish conception of God. For this fundamental principle can be comprehended as follows: Religion is right conduct before God. While we say: Religion is the communion of man with God. According to the latter conception, God reveals himself in communion with man, because he, in his holiness, is love. According to the first conception, he remains the absolutely sublime, beyond man and the world, separate from them and persisting in himself, since the moment of holiness is exclusively emphasized. From this fundamental view result the peculiarities of the Jewish conception of God.

From the fundamental view of God as the absolute, the Jewish theology draws two further inferences, which must be distinguished as peculiarities of the Jewish conception of God, and at the same time antithetical, namely: abstract Monotheism, and abstract Transcendentalism. The former has developed and established itself in opposition to the Trinitarian revelation of a Deity in three persons; the latter, in opposition to the personal indwelling of God in the human race. This view of the divine nature is the older, appearing with special intensity in the Targums. By its side, later, appeared a new view contradicting it, in which another side of legalism exhibits itself, a view which brings the absolute nature of God, elevated above all, down into finiteness, while it makes God the God of the Torah.

The unity and sublimity of God.—The older Jewish con-

ception of God, which appears in the Targums, stands nearer to the Old Testament view than the later, but it suffers from a certain monism and transcendentalism which makes it incapable of admitting the internal Divine activity of life which lies at the basis of the trinitarian conception of God—incapable, also, of being adjusted to God's appearing in history, which is attested in the Old Testament.

The unity of God is the fundamental confession of Judaism in opposition to heathen Polytheism. But Jewish Monotheism has also appeared in opposition to the Christians' trinitarian conception of God; especially in opposition to the Jewish Christians, who, in the literature of the Talmuds and Midrashim, bear the name *Minim*, (מינים.)

The Judaizing of the conception of God.—The decision with which legalism maintains the Law as the absolute revelation of God, beyond time as well as in time, has led to this: that the conception of God became at a later period Judaized by its being determined through the principle of the nomocracy, and God's being conceived as the God of the Torah—a reaction against transcendentalism, but which did not lead nearer to the goal of truth.

The Old Testament represents God as the living Personality through whose word all things have been created. This dogma is the inalienable inheritance which the Jewish theology has received through the biblical revelation and through the facts of the history of Israel. From this it follows that a divine thinking and willing must be supposed which was from the beginning and *before* the world, an object correlative to him in which he himself knows and wills. This, his other self, (literally, *this other of himself*,) this eternal object for his self-activity, is, according to the Jewish theology, the Torah, which has proceeded from God's thinking. It is the object of his eternal love—its realization the end of his willing. With this view the Jewish theology has abandoned the way of simple negation, the hitherto empty conception of God it has filled with life, and has supposed of the Divine Personality another in which God manifests himself. The Torah is the purport of his life; in it his thinking, willing, and doing exercise themselves. On these points Dr. Weber gives ample quotations from the Jewish writings, and concludes this subject with the

remarks: "The older conception of God of the Targums, though more abstract and empty, was, nevertheless, more pure, and stood nearer the biblical conception even of the Old Testament. In the very midst of the interval between that older form of the conception of God and this Judaized one, lie historically the development of the trinitarian conception of God and the revelation of the God-man and his kingdom. This revelation Judaism rejected. The Judaizing of the abstract and empty conception of God was the religious-historical consequence."

XII. The Heavenly World.

The habitation of God and his glory.—What the Jewish theology teaches concerning the habitation and glory of God does not stand in opposition to the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, but it makes prominent the absolute sublimity and separateness of God still more sharply than these.

The habitation of God.—According to the rabbinical doctrine there is above the earth a sevenfold heaven, of which the highest is called *Araboth*, and is the dwelling of God and of the righteous, as well as of the angels who minister before the Lord, but not in a promiscuous way. In the midst of these spheres of the highest heavenly space is situated the habitation of God, the holy of holies of the highest heaven. In the habitation of God stands the throne of his glory, created before the world. Magnificent descriptions of this throne of glory are given by the rabbinical writers. The Divine Glory that dwells upon this throne is, in its nature, light as bright as the light of all the suns. It is said, "One of his many suns thou canst not look at; how wilt thou gaze at his glory?"

The heavenly spiritual world.—Some of the angels are not independent beings, but a mere efflux of the glory of God, whose circumference they, as it were, form; therefore they are of a transitory nature. Others, "the angels of his service," have a permanent existence, are graded according to their dignity, and are innumerable. They serve for the glorification of God, and act as mediators between him and the world. They were formed by God on the second day of creation. On the other hand, the daily creation of angels, which *Chagiga*, 14[a], mentions, rather the continual formation of angels from the

fiery stream *Dinûr*—which flows under the throne of glory—or from the breath of the mouth of Jehovah, refers to the angels of a transitory nature. They sing a hymn in the presence of God, and vanish. At the head of the ministering angels stand Michael and Gabriel. The angels are not only the ministers or instruments of Divine providence in the world, but they further serve as powers which direct and move nature, and work in and through it. The only language which the angels understand is Hebrew, which, being the language of the Torah, is also the language of the heavenly world. From this it follows that the service of the angels belongs only to the people of Israel. Israel is the sphere of the angels. Among the people of the world the demons rule.

The relation of the spiritual world to God.—In the older Jewish views found in the Targums there is an absolute distance between God and the world of spirits. The position of the angels is one of subordination and absolute dependence. But in the later Jewish theology, in which God appears as Judaized, he enters into communion with the angels, who form, as it were, his heavenly council. These he addresses: "Let us make man in our image." This council of angels sometimes protest against the divine decrees, and procure their revocation.

XIII. Mediatorial Beings, (Hypostases.)

Introductory Remarks.—From the old Jewish conception of God as a being absolutely beyond us, it follows that mediating persons are necessary for the intercourse of God with other heavenly beings, and especially for the divine existence and action in the earthly world. For such a God cannot immediately hold intercourse with his creatures or work in them, but all the activity and presence of God in the world must be by mediation. These mediating beings are, 1. The Metatron; 2. The Word, *Memra* of Jehovah; 3. The Condescension, *Shekinah* of God; 4. The Spirit of God, *Ruach hakkodesh;* 5. The heavenly Voice of Revelation, *Bath Kol.*

The Metatron.—The Metatron is the ministering spirit that stands next to God, on one hand as his confidant and representative; on the other, as the intercessor (or representative) of Israel before God. Both, nevertheless, only within the heavenly sphere.

Respecting the origin of *Metatron*, it is best to understand it as μετάθρονος Hebraized, or μετατύραννος, that is, the one next after the ruler. The *Metatron* is not eternal, neither had he an existence before the world. The tradition which is found in Targum of Jerusalem I, on Gen. v, 24, identifies the *Metatron* with Enoch. He is mentioned along with the angels who buried Moses. He is called a messenger of God. On the other hand, he is exalted above the angels and placed nearer to God than all other spirits. He is also represented as God's secretary and even representative. To come to the *Metatron* is to come to God; to see him is to see God. In Exodus xxiii, 21, where it is said, "My name is in him," the commentators remind us that here *Metatron* is to be understood, who is the representative of the Almighty.

The Memra of Jehovah.—In the Targums a *hypostasis* (person) is found who bears the name מימרא, (*Memra*,) and stands in the place of God wherever he appears as ruling and working in history and in personal intercourse with the holy people. In Midrash Rabba it is described how, when the ten commandments were proclaimed, the Word went forth from the mouth of God, and repaired to every Israelite in his tent, and asked him whether he would accept it on the specified terms. As soon as the Israelite answered in the affirmative and accepted the Word, the *Dibbur* (Word) kissed him on the mouth. This is the basis for understanding the *Memra* of Jehovah of the Targums, the Word that has proceeded from the mouth of God, which, as a divine potency working within the history of salvation, has, in the view of Judaism, become a *person*, and stands as a mediating being between God and his people. In proportion as the Palestinian theology removed God from the affairs of the world, it transformed the *Memra* into an independent organ of all the divine operations in history.

With the Chaldee paraphrasts the *Memra* had to appear wherever corporeality or corporeal movements are attributed to God, or where mention is made of what occurs in the divine mind, where the face of God, the eyes, mouth, voice, and hand of God, are named; where he is described as walking, standing, seeing and being seen, and speaking. Dr. Weber gives numerous passages in proof of the statement. When God speaks or swears to himself that he will do any thing,

there he speaks or swears through his *Memra*, for what he himself thinks or does in himself is indeed absolutely concealed. The prophets received their commission from the *Memra* of Jehovah. As to the possible relation of the *Memra* of Jehovah to the Messiah, although the former, in Jonath. on Zech. xii, 5, (comp. *Targ. Jer.*, I, II; Gen. xlix, 18,) appears in Israel's redemption as the Mediator, as the Messiah always is in the history of Israel—yet Jonath. on Isaiah ix, 5, 6, clearly distinguishes between the Messiah and the *Memra* of Jehovah. The former is the servant of God, faithful to the law, who sets up and governs the kingdom of David as the kingdom of the Law and of Peace; but it is the *Memra* of Jehovah through whose activity it finally extends so wide.

The Shekinah of God.—According to the older conception of the Targums, the *Shekinah* is, in distinction from the *Memra*, the impersonal sign of the presence of God; according to the view of the later Targums and Midrashim, it represents God in his presence, as in his government of the world.

For the correct understanding of the older conception of the Targums of the divine *Shekinah*, it is important to observe that this conception is closely connected with that of the divine glory. *Targ. Jer.* has on Exod. xxxv, v: "And Jehovah manifested himself in the clouds of the glory of his *Shekinah*," etc. In *Pesikta*, 2^{b}, it is said: "The splendor of the *Shekinah* filled the tabernacle." In *Targ. Jer.* I, it stands for "The splendor that goes forth from the face of God and the visible sign of his presence." This close connection of the *Shekinah* with the glory of God shows that the *Shekinah* itself is really nothing else than the glory of God originally concealed in heaven, which descends upon the earth, and here forms the visible sign of the divine presence and activity.

In the older Targums the *Shekinah* is especially distinguished by its impersonality from the *Memra*, which is a person. But in the later writings of the Jews, Talmud and Midrash, the *Memra* of Jehovah entirely disappears, and the *Shekinah* alone is recognized as the mediator of the divine presence and activity in the world. The *Shekinah* is not simply a sign of the divine presence and communion, but also a subject of divine activity, a bearer of the presence of God, dispensing blessings. If ten persons pray together, the *Shekinah* is in their midst.

The Holy Spirit and the Voice of Revelation.—As the *Memra* and *Shekinah* effect the presence and activity of God among his people and in the world, so does the Holy Spirit especially effect the divine operations upon the human spirit. He is light from the light of God, a word of revelation proceeding from God which grants to office-bearers the necessary illumination for each case; or he is to the pious a special sign of divine grace. The *Bath Kol*, on the contrary, is a voice of revelation (oracle) from heaven for the decision in cases of uncertainty respecting legal questions, a slight compensation for the ministry of the Holy Spirit of which the later generation was no longer worthy.

The Holy Spirit.—Among the ten things which, according to *Chagiga*, 12[a], were created on the first day, is the Spirit of God, which moved upon the waters. Onkelos understands by the expression "Spirit of God," "a spirit from Jehovah," by which is indicated a ministering spirit sent forth from God, and the idea of a procession from the nature of the Godhead is excluded. Thus, Jonathan says on the passage, "I will pour out my spirit," "I will pour out the spirit of my holiness." The synagogue avoids the expression, "God's spirit." Is this spirit a personal being? Maimonides calls it a divine power which was active in the authors of the Holy Scriptures. In Wayyikra Rabba, c. 6, the Holy Spirit appears as the defender of Israel, whose merits he recounts before God; likewise in Debbarim Rabba, as *synegor*, (defender.) Scripture expressions are cited with the words, "The Holy Spirit says." It proceeds from God and makes proclamation, Bammidbar Rabba, c. 17; three judicial sentences it confirmed through a loud call, Kohel. Rabba, 81[d]; it rested upon Joseph from his youth until his death, and guided him into every thing pertaining to wisdom as a shepherd guides his flock. All these expressions presuppose *personality*. Sometimes the Holy Spirit is considered masculine; at other times feminine. When, however, it appears as a power proceeding from God, it is impersonal. It is stated that every thing which the righteous, as such, do, they perform through the Holy Spirit. Kohel. Rabba, 84[a], says that the Holy Spirit, after the destruction of the Temple, ascended to God, and in the second sanctuary is no longer present; or that he, as we have before seen, since the time of Malachi

no longer works by inspiration as in the authors of the Holy Scriptures.

The Bath Kol.—Between what the Talmudic and Midrash literature call the Holy Spirit and the *Bath Kol* (daughter of the voice) there exists an internal relation, on account of which both conceptions pass over into each other. According to Bereshith Rabba, a *Bath Kol* cried out to Solomon, respecting the mother of the living child, (1 Kings iii, 27:) "She is certainly its mother." It is likewise said, respecting the words of Samuel, when he laid down his office, (1 Sam. vii, 5:) "'Jehovah is witness,' that there came a *Bath Kol* and said, 'He is witness.'" According to Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii, 10, 3, the *Bath Kol* once came out of the Holy of Holies. The essential distinction between the earlier revelation through the Holy Spirit and the later one through the *Bath Kol* lies in this: The former, as the spirit of prophecy, or as the leader to wisdom, teaches, not simply details, but continuous matter; while the *Bath Kol* gives in single oracles divine indications and hints, answers to questions, decisions in difficult cases, but never continuous instruction.

XIV. The Creation and Preservation of the World.

According to the Jewish theologians, the world was created as the theater in which the Law was to be realized in the life of a created humanity. Matter is represented as a substance not altogether pliable in the Creator's hands. The present creation is only the result of several creative attempts. In Bereshith Rabba, c. 9, it is inferred from Gen. i, 31, that God created and destroyed successive worlds until he created the present ones. In the preservation of the universe, the old Jewish theology held that both natural and supernatural causes co-operate.

XV. The Creation and Fall of Man.

Creation and primitive condition of man.—According to the biblical doctrine, man is the image of God. This doctrine the Jewish theology has in general held fast, but it has weakened it, while it has put the image of the angels in the place of the image of God. Man consists of body and soul; the former is taken from the lower elements, from dust, but organized for the fulfillment of the Torah; the latter originates from above. The Creator has given to the body of man a power which can

determine him to resist God, called in Gen. vi, 5; viii, 21, the evil inclination, (יצר הרע.) The soul, the other constituent of man's nature, originates from above. The Bible is *traducian.* The Talmud and Midrash, on the contrary, represent quite decidedly *creationism* and the doctrine of pre-existence, (*präexistentianismus.*)

All human souls which, until the time of the Messiah, enter into human bodies, already existed even before the creation; they are found in a conservatory, out of which they are called forth to unite with the human bodies which they are to animate. *Sifre*, 143[b]; *Aboda Sara*, 5[a], etc. These souls are deemed truly living, active beings. Man's primitive state of purity, happiness, and glory was intended by God to be perpetual. He was destined for eternal life; only transgression made him mortal. His happy state lasted but six hours.

The moral condition of man.—According to the rabbinical doctrine, man was originally endowed by his Creator both with an inclination to good and an inclination to evil. According to Bammidbar Rabba, c. 22, the former dwells in the right part of the human breast, the latter in the left of it. Man's task now is to make the good principle prevail over the bad. He will succeed in doing this if he employs himself with the Torah.

The fall of man.—Respecting the first sin of men, the Talmud and Midrash have the following tradition: At the same time with Eve, Satan was also created. Beresh. Rabba, c. 17. The Jewish theology calls the serpent, in Gen. iii, the old serpent, and designates with this expression the devil. That a spiritual being acted through the serpent appears clearly in the tradition preserved in *Jalk. Shim.*, *Bersh.*, 29, that Sammaël, the highest angel of the throne, had induced the serpent to deceive Eve. The rabbis describe fully the great changes introduced by the fall of man and his heavy losses. By the fall good conduct has become more difficult, but on that very ground more meritorious. Free-will, even in regard to conduct toward God, remains in man even after the fall. There is hereditary depravity* (Erbschuld,) but no hereditary (original) sin, (Erbsünde.) The fall of Adam has caused the death of the entire

* *Erbschuld* literally means *hereditary debt*, and may also mean *hereditary guilt;* but standing in contrast with *Erbsünde*, (original sin,) it appears to have the meaning we have given it.

race, but not sinfulness in the sense of a necessity to sin; sin is the result of the decision of each individual. As far as experience goes, sin is universal, but in itself, even after the fall, it is not absolutely necessary.

XVI. The Condition of Sinful Man.

The origin and nature of sinful man.—At the conception of each individual, God determines what he shall be with the sole exception of his moral character; but whether he is to be righteous or wicked, that God does not determine; that alone he commits to the hands of man, according to Deut. xxx, 15.

Before the soul enters the human embryo, an angel shows it the righteous in the garden of Eden, and the wicked in *Gehenna*, (hell,) and points out to it the results of obedience or disobedience to the Torah and the other laws of God. The soul itself is represented as pure, but the body impure.

The relation of soul and body.—As the soul lived by itself before it entered the body, and will live by itself when it leaves the body, and only with reluctance entered the earthly body, its relation to the latter is of an external character. It seeks to withdraw itself from the body during life. It ascends into heaven during sleep, and returns in the morning as a new being.

The freedom of the will and the universal sinfulness.—Without doubt the Talmud and Midrash attribute to man in principle, even after the fall, still freedom of will, and suppose not only the possibility of the sinlessness of man; but they also really regard single men—though only as an exception—as sinless. The commission of at least single sins, nevertheless, forms the rule. A man's worth or worthlessness is measured according to the number and nature of his transgressions. The fact that the occurrence of single transgressions do not necessarily damage the state of essential righteousness is important for the conception of sinfulness.

Sin and depravity, (schuld.)—The synagogue teaches that in the creation of man there was implanted in him a disposition toward sin, but that no inherited sinfulness really exists before the sinful act. Every one establishes his own sinfulness through his own sin, that is, through the transgressions which he commits. On these points Dr. Weber gives numerous extracts from rabbinical authorities.

XVII. Punishment as a Consequence of Sin.

Sin and evil.—As the Jewish theology considers sin as a single fact, without fixing its attention upon the organic connection between the act and the entire moral condition of the actor, so it also refers the punishment of sins generally to definite, sinful, single acts, and thereby disconnects the punishment from the organic connection with the sinfulness and damnableness of the generations. To a single sin corresponds, as a punishment, a single evil; and, *vice versa*, where a single evil is found, there it points to a definite single act on the part of the one upon whom it has come. The question in the Gospel of John ix, 2, proceeded from this view; for as a child itself generally sins only after reaching mature age, one born blind can scarcely have brought his suffering upon himself, except, perhaps, in the extraordinary case which Midrash Rabba reports, on Ruth iii, 13, that a child sinned in its mother's womb; otherwise a sin of the parents must be the cause of the evil. The answer of Jesus rejects at once all these suppositions and the view in which they have their root. But the passage is the oldest proof of the view of the Jewish theology respecting the relation of sin and evil.

Sin and death.—Death has been caused through the fall of Adam, and has since reigned in the world, and will reign, until the Messiah shall remove it. This is a chief and fundamental doctrine of the synagogue. On this doctrine Dr. Weber gives ample quotations from the Jewish authorities.

Sin and the demons.—Jewish theology recognizes the existence of evil angels, at whose head stands Satan. Their employment is to lead men into sin, and their power is described as very great. These evil beings are, however, under the control of the Almighty. In opposition to the tradition that Satan was created on the sixth day, is another tradition that he was the highest of the angels of the throne, and made use of the serpent to deceive Eve. The other devils also are represented as fallen angels. The Jews also believed in magic.

XVIII. Revelation and the History * of Salvation.

God's plan of salvation.—That man still lives after the fall, and is preserved for salvation, has its ground in this, that God,

* We omit the discussion on this part of the subject.

already in advance when he formed the idea of the creation of man, established for his conduct toward him two rules, modifying each other, the so-called מדת הדין, (*rule of justice,*) and the מדת הרחמים, (*rule of mercy.*) God proceeds with man according to justice as Elohim, but not before he, as Jehovah, has allowed mercy to rule. Repentance, and the study and the practice of the Torah, are the means of salvation.

XIX. Righteousness before God and Merit.

The conception of Zekuth, (*righteousness.*)—In the theology of the Talmud and Midrash respecting justification, the conception of *Zekuth* (purity) is of the highest importance. The word has two meanings: that the divine demand shall be satisfied, and that reward may be justly claimed in consequence of this. Man is pure so far as he fulfills the Law, and guilty so far as he violates it.

Righteousness from fulfilling the Law.—When any one fulfills a precept of the Law, the synagogue says *he has* a precept. These precepts, which he fulfills, form his moral possession and speak before God for him. When any one transgresses a precept he *has* a sin. The wish to perform a command is equivalent to its performance. But the mere purpose to commit a wicked act is not reckoned as an act. God determines his relation to man according to man's relation to the Torah. Whoever has fulfilled all the precepts of the Law is truly a righteous man. And although it is possible that a man may fulfill, from the beginning to the end of his life, the whole Torah, yet, in reality, there is no righteous man who does not sin. 1 Kings viii, 46. Hence God acts upon the principle that a man is to be considered righteous or wicked according as his good or evil deeds preponderate. All a man's expressions, even those said in a jest, are recorded in a book. The justification of men is taking place every day.

Righteousness by means of good works.—A second means of obtaining justification before God is the practice of good works, especially almsgiving and the works of love, respecting which Pesikta, 124[a], says, those who perform works of love may take refuge under the wings of the *Shekinah.*

The different relation of individual men to God.—The Jewish theology recognizes three classes of men, namely, the

righteous man, the wicked, and the middling man, (indifferent,) who sometimes acts wickedly, at other times virtuously.

The vicarious righteousness of the fathers.—On account of the uncertainty which exists whether one has kept commandments enough and possesses works of love in a sufficient degree to be counted righteous before God, and therefore can hope to be heard in prayer, protected in danger, and to be received into eternal life in death, it is advisable to supplement his own righteousness, as far as possible, by the righteousness of others whose lives have been perfect, that is, of the fathers. The merits of the fathers are made available: 1. When the condition of man before God is to be examined, that is, when he prays before God. 2. In times of decision respecting life or death. 3. Especially in God's annual time of judgment.

The merit of the saints.—Along with the merits of the fathers, the merits of great righteous men still living have a saving power for their contemporaries before God. In the first place, they procure for their contemporaries, who are deficient in merit, a respite; secondly, they enter as intercessory into all the public distresses and cares of each individual; thirdly, they themselves possess the power to bring miraculous help.

The reward of works.—Every precept has its definite proportionate reward; for every good work God has a storehouse of his own. Even the godless receive for their performance of easy commands—for they do not perform difficult ones—the definite reward. The performance of a duty on the part of men seems to be a gift to God, and the reward as God's gift. The reward is partly temporal and partly eternal. Man enjoys here the interest of his good works, but only in the future world the capital of good works, namely, giving lodging to travelers, visiting the sick, exact observance of prayer, early visiting the school-house, education of sons for the study of the Talmud, and the judging of one's neighbor according to his good side.

XX. The Atonement.

The conception of the atonement.—The consciousness that for transgression the divine forgiveness may be granted without any compensating performance on the part of man, is not entirely wanting in the theology of the synagogue. But this

forgiveness is so limited that it is quite practically annulled. The conception of atonement found in Talmud and Midrash is, therefore, not the biblical one. The biblical כפר is the covering of sin, through which it is withdrawn from the divine presence and still placed under the divine indulgence, where God himself provides an atonement, which the sinner, needing an atonement, appropriates to himself in faith. On the contrary, the atonement, according to the Talmud and Midrash, is to undo sin and to put the man back again in the position which he had before the transgression for which atonement was to be made.

Dr. Weber gives the views of the ancient rabbis on the atonement under the headings: *Repentance and the day of atonement; Suffering and death as a means of atonement; The vicarious sufferings of the righteousness; The atonement through good works;* and concludes this subject with the following remarks under the heading: *Results of the doctrine of justification and atonement:*

"Two facts stand out prominent as results at the conclusion of the doctrine of salvation: the multiplicity of the means which are employed for obtaining of righteousness and expiation of sin, and the uncertainty of the sinner respecting his relation to God in spite of, or, indeed, on account of, this multiplicity. For the attainment of righteousness, not merely is the fulfillment of the commandments required, but also still special good works; and one's own performances simply are not sufficient, but also the merits of the fathers as well as those of contemporary greater righteous men are demanded. And not for atonement does the daily repentance nor the great repentance of the day of atonement suffice. There is needed for the expiation of certain sins still special suffering, even that of death; besides this, special good works must make reparation for sins committed; and all these performances, as a general thing, the individual cannot allege; but the atonement also demands the co-operation of the righteous whose sufferings, death, and good works appear for others; so great is the multitude of works through which righteousness before God, and thereby certainty of salvation, is laboriously obtained. And what is the consequence? The certainty of salvation is not obtained, the assurance of the religious consciousness, joyfulness toward God, is

wanting to the sinner, and fear accompanies him to death, even beyond this. Of this fear Talmud and Midrash give many an eloquent testimony."

XXI. The Consummation of Each Individual.

Death and the condition of death.—The decree of God, formed on New Year's day, and sealed on the day of atonement, that a man shall die, is for the wicked irrevocable if the measure of his sins is full. Then death is simply the execution of punishment. The death of the righteous, on the contrary, which atones for their own sin as well as for that of the community, follows at the time when the decree of God demands it for the good of the community, and if the righteous man is perfected, that is, has atoned for all his sin and can receive the reward of his righteousness without abatement. Death is characterized as the departure of the soul from the body. The souls of the righteous ascend to God, whence they proceeded, although even still for a time, attracted by a longing for the body, they often return to the grave. The souls of the wicked wander about in a restless condition. The result is that the connection of the soul with the body, this earthly form of existence, in the consciousness of Judaism, is more highly valued and therefore held faster than the hope of a union of the soul with God. Even the souls of the righteous fully depart from the body only gradually; the souls of the others ever seek it again. Herein is reflected the uncertainty of salvation after death. He who is not sure of heaven holds fast to the earth. The entrance into heaven is certain to only a few; the majority at death are not yet ripe for heaven, and yet they are not to be absolutely excluded from it.

The abode of souls in Gehinnom, (hell.)—The common religious consciousness relegates souls when they leave the body into *Sheol* as their present abode. Only those which at their departure are completely righteous, ascend to God and receive their portion in heaven. In the theology of the Talmud and Midrash, *Sheol* is not to be distinguished from *Gehinnom*, (hell.) The Kabbalistic theology of the Middle Ages divided *Sheol* into two parts, *Gehinnom* and the lower Paradise, which latter is distinguished from heaven. In Luke xvi, 22, *et seq.*, Hades and Paradise are separated by an impassable gulf as between heaven

and earth. In the same way the older Jewish view knows only of a *Gehinnom* for the wicked and a *Gan Eden* (Garden of Eden, Paradise) for the righteous, but knows no place between the two. *Chagiga*, 15[a]: He has created righteous men, He has created wicked men, He has created *Gan Eden*, He has created *Gehinnom;* each man has two portions, one in *Gan Eden*, one in *Gehinnom*. If the righteous man at death has been found worthy, he receives his own portion and that of the other (the wicked) in *Gan Eden;* if the wicked man at his departure is found guilty, he receives his own portion, and that of his (righteous) associate in *Gehinnom*. *Gehinnom* has its name, according to Kimchi, (on Psalm xxvii, 13,) from the valley of Hinnom, at Jerusalem, where they were accustomed to bring all impure things, especially all bones, where they also kept a perpetual fire to burn up the impurities. *Gehinnom*, accordingly, is the place for the impure, just as *Gan Eden* is the place for the pure, and the end for which souls descend there is either to be purified or to be consumed by the fire. The first destiny is for the members of the House of Israel; the latter for the heathen. The pre-supposition for the thought that for Israel *Gehinnom* is a purgatory, forms the view that all who are provided with circumcision as the sign of the covenant can not remain eternally separated from God, but must finally be again added to the community of God. In *Gehinnom* they suffer the pain of fire, and this pain is their repentance. They must pay in hell what justice demands. This repentance lasts, according to *Edijoth*, ii, 10, *Pesikta*, 97[b], Echa Rabba, 48[b], in general twelve months—six months in the flame and six months in the cold. All Israelites, says Baba mezia, who descend into *Gehinnom*, ascend into the Garden of Eden, with the exception of three characters: the adulterer, the one who puts his neighbor to shame, and the one who gives his neighbor a disgraceful name.

The lot of the blessed in Gan Eden.—Paradise is destined for the righteous, to give them there the reward of their works. It was created, according to *Pesachim*, 54[a], and *Nedarim*, 39[b], before the world, that is, it forms a constituent part of God's eternal plan of salvation, for there at least first for individuals the communication of salvation comes to a close. Paradise is the place where God holds communion with the righteous, and

where they consecrate themselves to his worship. This communion is so intimate and immediate that the righteous are nearer to God than the angels. The rabbis give the most glowing descriptions of the vastness and splendor of Paradise, which are chiefly of a physical nature. In Paradise there are eight hundred thousand kinds of trees. In its midst is the tree of life, whose branches cover the whole of Paradise. This tree has half a million kinds of taste, of which no two are alike. To each righteous man is assigned an abode, according to the degree of his glory. There are said to be seven orders of the righteous. Thus there are degrees in the glory of Paradise according to the grade of worthiness.

XXII. The Redemption of Israel Through the Messiah.

The Messiah.—To that which God created before the world belongs, according to Beresh. Rabba, c. 1, also the name of the Messiah. He is an essential element in the divine plan of salvation. For it is the destiny of the Messiah to appear at the end of the world's history, when all pre-existing souls shall have entered into a human existence, and to bring them to a close, but to lead Israel to the completion determined by God. His advent is the object of the faith and hope and ceaseless prayer of Israel. In the prayer of the eighteen blessings in the first *Beraka*, (blessing,) supplication is made for the appearance of the *Goël*. But *Goël* is the Messiah. Zunz places the origin of the first three and last two *Berachoth* (blessings) in the time of the second temple. *Gottesd. Vorträge*, 367. Accordingly the hope for the Messiah and the prayer for him is an essential element of the old Jewish religion and theology.

The preliminary conditions for the appearance of the Messiah are repentance and good works. *Sanhedrin*, 97^{b}, says: "All the appointed times (in which the Messiah should have come) have passed away, (without his coming,) now the matter (his advent) only still depends on the repentance and good works of Israel."

It is supposed that the duration of the world's existence, corresponding to the days of the week, embraces six thousand years, which the eternal Sabbath follows. So Aboda Sara, 9^{a}, and *Sanhedrin*, 97^{a}. The first two thousand years include the time without the Law; the third and fourth, the time under the

Law, from the time that Abraham taught the Torah in Harran; and the fifth and sixth thousand, the days of the Messiah. More exactly, they reckon the days of the Messiah from the year 172 after the destruction of the temple, that is A. D. 242. Another determination for his coming was A. D. 531.

There will be signs of the Messiah's coming, both among the people of the world and in the community of Israel. The time that precedes the Messiah will be a period of dissolution for the nations of the world, the time of חִבְלֵי הַמָּשִׁיחַ, (throes of the Messiah.) *Shabbath*, 118[a]; comp. Matt. xxiv, 8. The Messiah is born in the midst of pains, in the time of war, famine, pestilences, and perplexities of all sorts, and earthquakes and other fearful phenomena. In Israel, when the Messiah comes, every thing will have reached the lowest degree of degradation. The son will mock his father, the daughter will arise up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and one's foes will be those of his own household.

Elijah, the forerunner of the Messiah.—To raise up the Jews from their deep degradation, and prepare them for the reception of the Messiah, Elijah is to make his appearance. His coming is promised, in Mal. iii, 23, to precede that of the Messiah. Comp. Matt. xvii, 10, 11. Also Sirach, full of longing, refers to his advent, xlviii, 10, 11. He is to appear three days before the Messiah comes. When he comes he will first announce his arrival to the Sanhedrim. Comp. John i, 19, *et seq.* When he announces peace to the world, he will raise his voice upon the mountains so high that it will be heard from one end of the earth to the other. He will shed light upon the descent of the Jewish families so that each family will know to what tribe, stock, and family it belongs. He will purify those who are not of pure descent, that they may be united to the community of God. So the language of Mark in reference to Elijah: "He restoreth all things," (ix, 12.) He will also strive to reform the moral and religious condition of the people, and at the same time decide legal questions which the rabbis were not able to solve. The Jews also expected that Jeremiah would appear along with Elijah as his forerunner. Matt. xvi, 14. Jeremiah is to be understood by "the prophet" in John i, 21, 25; vii, 40; Mark vi, 15. In 4 Ezra ii, 18, Isaiah also appears as a forerunner and assistant of the Messiah.

The entrance of the Messiah into the world.—The Messiah is in no way to be confounded with the *Memra* of Jehovah of the Targums, or with the eternal wisdom. That the *Memra* of Jehovah must be distinguished from the Messiah, the Targum of Jonathan, on Isaiah ix, 5, 6, shows altogether irrefutably. When Midrash on the Proverbs calls the King Messiah one who was created before the creation of the world, the sense is that it was God's eternal purpose to create the Messiah and to send him into the world. From this ideal pre-existence, the real pre-existence of the soul of the Messiah in the גוף הנשמות, (conservatory of souls,) is to be distinguished. Any other pre-existence according to the older Jewish theology is inconceivable. The later Jewish theology alone admits a real existence of the Messiah in *Gan Eden*. He is to enter into his earthly existence by being born of a woman. He is to be Son of David, (Sanhedrin, 93^{ab},) a descendant of Ruth. Beresh. Rabba, c. 98, remarks, on Gen. xlix, 10: "Shiloh is the King Messiah; the sovereign authority remains with the tribe of Judah until the coming of the Shiloh, *i. e.*, the Messiah." The descent of the Messiah from David is through Hillel and his successors. That the Messiah is a son of David in no other sense than all other sons of David, we see, for example, from the *Targ. Jonath.* on Isaiah xi, 1. From a pre-eminence over angels being attributed to the Messiah, his supernatural nature does not follow, for even the righteous, according to *Sanhedrin*, 93^{a}, are greater than the holy angels.

The secret growth and activity of the Messiah.—Entirely corresponding to the old tradition which represents the Messiah as an unknown person appearing upon the theater of his activity, the Jewish theology says that he will come from the North when he publicly appears to restore Israel. Wayyikra Rabba, c. 9; Bammidbar Rabba, c. 13. As Moses grew up in Pharaoh's house without its knowing that it was sheltering the future avenger of Israel, so will also the Messiah, who will exercise retribution on Edom, (the Roman Empire,) dwell in the capital of the Empire without at all being known. This period of quiet and secret existence is not lost for the Messiah and his work. He is growing and becoming worthy of his work of redemption. The future Redeemer himself, first of all, devotes himself most zealously to the knowledge of God and

his Law as well as to the practice of the Law. He will experience severe sufferings, for these are necessary to make a righteous man perfect. But nowhere is it hinted that the Messiah will be sinless. Even he sins, even he repents and becomes perfectly righteous through action and suffering. He will bring Israel out of his last captivity into his own land. This will not be accomplished without the execution of judgment upon the world-power and the breaking of the yoke of Israel's captivity. After this has been accomplished, the Messiah will restore Jerusalem and the sanctuary, establish his kingdom over the nations, but renew Israel through the law. *Targ. Jonath.* on Isaiah. Finally, the glory once lost through Adam's fall will be restored to the people, and thus passes the splendor of the days of the Messiah over into the glory of eternity. Beresh. Rabba, etc.

In this brief sketch of the Messianic work there is no interruption through sufferings and death. This forms no part of the Messianic work. But how does this sketch correspond to Isa. liii? The Targum of Jonathan, which is here our standard, and which, according to the testimony of Aben Ezra and Abarbanel, in their commentaries on Isa. liii, the Wise Men followed for a long time, refers the section Isa. lii, 13–liii, 12, to the Messiah. Dr. Weber, after giving the exposition of Jonathan, remarks, "Nowhere, not even in the last verse, does the Targum find the vicarious sufferings and death of the Messiah as an atonement for the sins of his people."

The work of the Messiah, the redemption of Israel from foreign dominion, the establishment of sovereign authority over the nations, the renovation of Israel as the people of God, are executed, according to the old Jewish theology of Palestine, without being interrupted by atoning sufferings and the death of the Messiah. His power rests, not as the prophet teaches, upon his atoning sacrifice, but upon the personal righteousness which makes him worthy to execute the work of the Messiah.

The Messiah the son of Joseph.—As the servant of God, or the Messiah, according to Isaiah liii, must suffer and die for his people, and as this could not be believed of the Son of David, a Messiah of less dignity must precede him, who, through his death, atones for the sins of Israel, and opens for King

Messiah, with his people, the way for the establishment of the kingdom of glory. This is the Messiah, the son of Joseph, called also the son of Ephraim. This inferior Messiah is to assist the real Messiah, just as Aaron was an assistant to Moses. Dr. Weber thinks that these later pictures of an inferior Messiah were occasioned by the appeals of the Christians to Isaiah liii.

The redemption of Israel and the first resurrection.—As the Israelites were delivered from Egyptian bondage by Moses, so will the Messiah redeem the Israelites from servitude to the nations among which they have been dispersed since the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar. He will manifest himself to Israel, and then conceal himself for forty-five days, after which he will again appear to execute his work. First the world-power must be crushed. This, in the old Jewish theology, is considered the fourth and last kingdom of the world, (Aboda Sara, 1^{b};) that is, the universal Roman Empire. This kingdom the Jewish theology generally calls the kingdom of Edom. In the days of the Messiah a powerful ruler will stand at the head of the Roman Empire. He is called Armilus, will be notorious for his wickedness, and will unite in himself, in the highest degree, hostility to God and hatred to the people of God. Before the beginning of the Messianic kingdom, the kingdom of the world will fall, and Rome at the same time will be destroyed.

By the overthrow of the world-power Israel is made free and can be collected, and from their dispersion among all the nations be brought back to their home. According to the prevailing view, the ten tribes will then be united with the two tribes.

As all Israel is to be united in the Messianic kingdom, those cannot be wanting who before this time have descended into *Sheol*, and are there waiting for redemption. All those who have the sign of the covenant have claims to redemption and to a share in the Messiah's kingdom. After the captives have been brought out of *Sheol* by the Messiah they and all the righteous who are waiting for redemption will be restored to this temporal life, that is, they will rise from the dead. That this is to take place, according to Jewish tradition, after the exiles shall have been brought back home, Abarbanel testifies in his

Commentary on Isaiah xviii, 3, and Kimchi on Isaiah lxvi, 5. Others suppose that the resurrection of the dead will take place, not at the beginning of the Messianic age, but in the course of it. To the Messiah God gives the key of the resurrection of the dead. The Messiah is called Jinnon, (from נון, *to raise,*) because he will wake up the dead. The resurrection will take place in the Holy Land. The righteous who are buried outside of this land will be rolled thither through subterranean passages. The dead will be gradually raised to life at the successive blasts of a great trumpet, which the Holy One will blow, and which will be heard from one end of the earth to the other. The resurrection body will be composed of bones, flesh, and skin. The starting-point of this new body is the lowest bone of the spinal column, (the coccyx,) which the rabbis suppose incapable of destruction. The resurrection body, in material and organization similar to the present body, will, nevertheless, according to *Sanhedrin*, 92ª, be immortal. The living Israelites gathered from their dispersion, and the dead brought to life, will enjoy in the Holy Land the glory of the Messianic age.

XXIII. The Kingdom of the Messiah.

The Messianic age.—The Messiah will bring collected Israel to *external glorification* and *dominion* and to *spiritual consummation.* These three things form the contents of the days of the Messiah, or Messianic age. With this Messianic age begins עולם הבא, (*the world to come,*) or עתיד לבא, the everlasting life which is predicted by the prophets. At the end of the Messianic age follows the last and general judgment, with which time passes over into eternity. In respect to the duration of the Messianic age the traditions widely differ, giving from forty years to seven thousand.

The building of Jerusalem and the sanctuary.—In the Messianic age Jerusalem shall be rebuilt in great splendor and of vast extent, to become the metropolis of the whole world. The Messiah will rebuild the temple in great splendor. The temple service will be renewed, and the laws pertaining to it will be enforced, and also the traditions. The Messiah will not give a new law, but a new and full exposition of difficult legal questions.

The righteousness and blessed condition of the community. —The Messiah is called the *Lord our righteousness*, because he procures for the people a righteous condition before God, and leads them to the fulfillment of the law. Through the Messiah peace exists between God and his people. This condition of the people before God is not subject to change.

The dominion of the Messiah over the people of the world. —The Messiah, the Son of David, is destined to become the ruler of the world. All the prophecies which speak of a kingdom of God, which is to embrace the whole world, are referred to the Messiah's rule over the world. So Gen. xlix, 10. Shiloh is the Messiah to whom the kingdom will be given. The Targums contain not a few references to the dominion of the Messiah. The world-kingdom which the Messiah will establish takes the place of the Roman Empire. It is supposed that the nations of the world, even in the Messianic age, will further continue to exist as such. But the statements respecting Israel's religious relation to the nations differ widely.

Gog and Magog and the end of the Messianic age.—While the Messiah in Jerusalem is ruling over the nations, a rebellion of Gog and Magog* is made against him, and especially against the law of God which the nations are no longer willing to bear. With the overthrow of these enemies of the Messiah, the general judgment takes place and the world comes to an end.

XXIV. The Final Consummation.

The resurrection and judgment of the world.—Through the rebellion of the nations of the world against the Messiah, the Messianic kingdom comes to an end, and now begins the judgment of the world and the separation of the ungodly people from the earth, which is renovated and assigned to the people of God as their sole dwelling-place. According to the ancient Jewish theology, there will be a resurrection of the righteous only, as a part of their reward. The judgment upon the heathen and those of Israel deemed like them, is continually taking place, while they are dying and descending into *Gehinnom* to receive their just punishment. This is also the view which is found in Luke xv, 23. *Gehinnom*, which is for Israel

*Magog is the country of the ancient Scythians, of which Gog is king.

a purgatory, is for the heathen the place of punishment. At the same time there are such in Israel who likewise fall into *Gehinnom* without hope because they are viewed as heathen. *Erubin*, 19ª, says that all Israelites will be brought by Abraham out of *Gehinnom*, with the exception of the one who has approached a Samaritan woman, and of the one who has made himself uncircumcised so that he may no longer be known as a Jew. There are also sins, not to be forgiven, which consign even the Israelite forever to *Gehinnom*.

Those who have fallen into *Gehinnom* await, first torture and pain, but in the end complete annihilation. In respect to the duration of punishment, the house of Hillel says, (*Rosh Hashshana*, 17ª:) The apostates of Israel who have made known their apostasy (by omitting to put on the phylacteries,) and the apostates from among the nations of the world who have shown by great sins their abandonment of God, go down into *Gehinnom* and are punished for twelve months; after which their bodies are entirely burnt up and also their souls, and the wind carries away the ashes under the soles of the feet of the righteous, according to Mal. iii, 21. But the *Minim*, (Jewish Christians,) and the betrayers (of their people), the epicureans, who deny the divine origin of the Torah and the resurrection of the dead, and separate themselves from the ways of the community, and who, like cruel overseers, have made themselves an object of terror in the land of the living, who have sinned and have caused the multitude to sin, like Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, and his companions, these go down into *Gehinnom*, and are punished in it for all generations. In *Sanhedrin*, x, 3, it is said that the generation of the great flood was long ago annihilated. It appears, then, that a part of the wicked are to be punished forever.

Although judgment is continually executed in the death of individuals, yet at the close of the historical development of this world, a judgment of a universal kind will take place, which we may designate as the judgment of the world. Of this judgment Dr. Weber gives a copious description from the old authorities, and concludes with the remark: "Accordingly, the nations of the world, through the judicial sentence of God, will be delivered to annihilation through the fires of *gehenna*. And thus afterwards the earth, in the sole possession of Israel,

and freed from the ungodly nations of the world, can be renewed and become the seat of eternal life."

The new heaven and the new earth, and the new human race.—From the old creation a new, pure one is to proceed—a new heaven and a new earth—luminous and pure, in which there will be no sinner. This new earth will be perfect and harmonious, and will afford the conditions of an existence free from trouble. There will be no destruction and death, neither will there be strife in the animal world, nor will the peace between men and the animal world ever be disturbed. Upon the earth dwells a new humanity, whose moral renovation is effected by the eradication of the יצר הרע, (*wicked inclination,*) from the heart and the implanting of a new heart.

The Olam Habba, (*future world.*)—The future world belongs to Israel to the exclusion of the nations of the world. To this every Israelite has an expectancy, unless he has lost it by apostasy. Respecting the form of life in the future world there are two different views—the one spiritual, according to which, in the eternal life, none of the functions belonging to the sensual body will any longer exist. In opposition to this, a more materialistic view is given in *Tanchuma*, Chayzé Sara, 8: In this world the righteous beget good and bad, but in that world all (their children) will be good. And we further find in passages the repast of the righteous praised, which must be understood literally, as the food consists of the flesh of the Leviathan.

But whatever may be thought to be the forms of existence in the future world, one thing is fixed: that this existence is a happy and glorious one, because it is a life in full communion with God. This happiness and glory of the righteous are in their nature one and the same, but of different degrees.

Art. IV.—THE WINES OF THE BIBLE.*

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

We must now enlarge the sphere of our inquiry, and examine the grounds on which, at this day, the sanction of Christ is claimed for the use of alcoholic beverages. What are the alleged facts in support of which testimony is offered? Careful analysis reduces the specifications to three: (1) Jesus Christ made fermented wine; (2) Jesus Christ commended fermented wine; (3) Jesus Christ used fermented wine.

Before we enter upon the detailed examination of these several charges, some

III. Preliminary Discussion

will be necessary concerning an assumption which is common to them all, and which, if it be conceded, settles the whole question at once and affirmatively. It is the assumption that there was and is but one kind of wine, and that fermented, and, when taken in sufficient quantities, intoxicating. Chancellor Crosby says,† "There is not a chemist or a classical scholar in the world who would dare risk his reputation on the assertion that there was ever an unfermented wine in common use, knowing well, that *must* preserved from fermentation is called wine only by a kind of courtesy (as the lump of unbaked dough might be called 'bread,') and that this could never, in the nature of things be a common drink." Prof. Bumstead makes similar assertions;‡ declaring that the theory "of an unfermented wine has failed to commend itself to the scholarship of the world.§" And Dr. Moore remarks,‖ "The history of the doctrine of unfermented Bible wine cannot be carried back beyond a few decades; and this fact furnishes a *préjugé légitime* against it." As to the argument from scholarship, it is sufficient to say, there are many and eminent authorities, inferior to none and superior to most in scholarship, who do un-

* In order to give the entire argument we have allowed this Article to greatly exceed our usual maximum of twenty pages.—Ed.

† "A Calm View of the Temperance Question."

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, pp. 62, 109, 113. § *Ibid.*, p. 115.

‖ "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 81.

hesitatingly affirm the existence and use of unfermented wine in Bible lands and times. They have as complete access to the evidence in the case, and are as competent judges of its validity and bearing, as either of the authors we have quoted or as any of the authorities whom they have cited. We need only mention Moses Stuart,* Eliphalet Nott,† Alonzo Potter, George Bush,‡ Albert Barnes, § William M. Jacobus,‖ Tayler Lewis,¶ George W. Samson,** F. R. Lees, †† Norman Kerr,‡‡ and Canon Farrar.§§ As to the *préjugé légitime*, this is not the first instance in which it has been appealed to for the sanction of error. There has rarely ever been a bad cause in whose support it was not invoked. The almost universal interpretation of the Bible in defense of the doctrine of passive obedience was pronounced a *préjugé légitime* against the right of resistance to tyrants in Charles the Second's day. That interpretation, however, has gone for very little since the Revolution of 1688. The almost universal interpretation of the Bible in support of the system of human slavery was deemed a *préjugé légitime* against the right and duty of abolition, a quarter of a century ago. That interpretation, also, has been worth very little since the crisis of civil war and the act of emancipation. But the principle upon which the non-jurors argued the divine obligation of passive obedience, and the slaveholders defended the divine authority of human chattelism,

* "It was a very common thing to preserve wine in an unfermented state, and when thus preserved it was regarded as of a higher aud better quality than any other."—Letter to Dr. Nott, New York, 1848, p. 44.

† "That unintoxicating wines existed from remote antiquity, and were held in high esteem by the wise and the good, there can be no reasonable doubt. The evidence is unequivocal and plenary."—"Lecture on Temperance," London edition, p. 85.

‡ The language of both of these distinguished men to E. C. Delevan, Esq., on the subject was, "You have the whole ground."—"The Enquirer," Aug., 1869.

§ "The wine of Judea was the pure juice of the grape without any mixture of alcohol, and commonly weak and harmless."—"Commentary on John ii, 10."

‖ "All who know of the wines then used, will understand the unfermented juice of the grape."—"Commentary on John ii, 10."

¶ Wine "simply meant the liquid that came from pressing the grape. It was not fermenting fluid, but grape juice."—"The Advance," Dec. 24, 1874.

** "Divine Law as to Wines," *passim.*

†† "Wines, Ancient and Modern," *passim.* ‡‡ "Unfermented Wine a Fact."

§§ "Wine means primarily the juice, and often, as I believe, the unfermented juice, of the grape.—"Talks on Temperance," p. 41.

is precisely the same as that now employed in upholding the theory of a divine sanction for intoxicating wine. The old lesson must once more be learned, that a traditional interpretation of Scripture is not conclusive proof of any doctrine, but is often an obscuration of the truth of God. It is needful, therefore, to "pray against that bias which, by importing its own foregone conclusions into the word of Scripture, and, by refusing to acknowledge what makes against its own *prejudices*, has proved the greatest hinderance to all fair interpretation, and has tended, more than anything else in the world, to check the free course of divine truth." * In every age the Lord has some new light to break forth out of his Holy Word,† and in the next generation we may look to see it break as clearly on the duty of total abstinence as we have seen it shine in the generation just passing on the right of human freedom.

Without attempting any further appeal to authority in this case, we will proceed to examine as carefully and candidly as possible the evidence we have of

1. *The existence and use of unfermented wine in ancient times.*

(1.) And the first is found in the references both of Greek and Roman writers to wine which they declared would not intoxicate. For example, Aristotle ("Meteorologica," iv, 9,) says of the sweet wine of his day, (*οἶνος ὁ γλυκύς*) that it did not intoxicate, (*οὐ μεθύσκει*). And Athenæus ("Banquet," ii, 24,) makes a similar statement. Prof. Bumstead says ‡ that this wine was fermented and called sweet only "from the presence of considerable untransformed sugar." Dr. William Smith says § that it signified "wine positively sweet." It may have included wine which had undergone some degree of fermentation, but in general it was free from intoxicating properties, as the authorities just quoted indicate. This was probably true of the *vinum dulce* of the Romans, described by Columella, ("De Re Rustica," xii, 27.) The same author ("De Re Rustica," iii, 2,) and Pliny also, ("Natural History," xiv, 2,) mention a wine made from the grape, *inerticula*, (literally, "that

* Bishop Ellicott in "Aids to Faith," p. 421.

† Robinson's "Address to Pilgrim Fathers."

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 62.

§ "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," art. "Vinum."

produces no effect,") which Pliny says did not cause intoxication — *temulentiam non facit.* Dr. Moore attempts to break the force of this testimony by saying * that "it is not of the wine, but the grape, that Pliny says it alone does not cause intoxication. And it is not of the wine, but of the grape, that he tells us that we ought to call it sober (*sobriam*)." But any lexicon would tell him that these terms were applied to the grape because they describe the qualities of the wine made from it. So Columella distinctly states, (iii, 2,) *unde etiam nomen traxit.* Still, Dr. Moore insists † that the wine made from this grape "was certainly fermented," because, forsooth, "Pliny tells us that it could grow old, which must or unfermented grape juice could not." This is simply not so, as we shall see. Against both these statements of Aristotle and Pliny, and all similar ones, the objection is brought that it is only in "the comparative sense, and not absolutely," that their testimony as to the non-intoxicating character of certain wines is to be taken.‡ Prof. Bumstead compares them § "with similar statements in regard to lager beer and other beverages, which, it is well known, contain alcohol and can intoxicate if a sufficient quantity be taken. Such statements are popular and not scientific." The standard of comparison in this case, however, is the distilled and fortified liquors of modern times. But a very different standard was in the minds of the ancient authors whom we quote. They knew nothing of these stronger drinks. Distillation was not discovered until the eleventh or twelfth century of the Christian era, ‖ and the wines of antiquity were, in general, of small alcoholic power. In fact all wines, until within the last hundred years, were comparatively weak. The analyses of Neumann in the last century have determined this point.¶ They show that the very strongest of mediæval wines contained only about twelve per cent. of spirit, and the average scarcely more than six. The distilled and fortified drinks of to-day average from twenty-five to fifty per cent. of alcohol. A wine which, in comparison with the ordinary standards of antiquity was pronounced weak, must have been devoid of any intoxicating power.

* "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 105. † *Ibid.*
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 106. § "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 61.
‖ Richardson, "Cantor Lectures on Alcohol," p. 27. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

(2.) But, however that may be, the objection has no pertinency when the pure juice of the grape freshly expressed is drank. This is the first and simplest product of the grape, and would naturally be the earliest artificial beverage.* It is drank to this day by the peasants in wine-bearing districts.† Its use is clearly traceable as far back as the times of the Pharaohs. This custom is certainly indicated in the record of the chief butler's dream, (Gen. xl, 11:) "And Pharaoh's cup was in my hand; and I took the grapes and pressed it into Pharaoh's cup, and I took the cup and gave it into Pharaoh's hand." The objection that dreams are "not very good historical evidence,‡ is not well taken. The falsity of a dream to real life lies not in its separate images, but in their incongruous relations. The argument for "the unreliability of this particular dream," from the rapidity with which the several events transpire, is answered by the fact that they are events such as actually do occur, and that, too, in precisely the order set forth in the dream. The marvelous fidelity of both the dreams of the chief baker and the chief butler is proved by "so trifling a detail as the bake-meats being said to have been carried on the head," which "is true to Egyptian life, for, while the monuments show that men carried their burdens less often on their head than otherwise, bakers are a marked exception."§ The literal accuracy of the dream of the chief butler is maintained by Tuch,‖ Michaelis,¶ Rosenmüller,** Henry,†† Clarke,†† Lowth,†† and Stuart.‡‡ But without relying upon the authority of these scholars, or making any "prosaic"§§ appeal to the picture exhumed at Pompeii representing Bacchus squeezing grape clusters into a wine-cup, or resting our case on the probability that Herodotus refers to the freshly expressed juice of the grape by *ἀμπέλινος οἶνος*,‖‖ we are able to cite irrefragable proof that the chief butler's dream pictured a literally correct trait of Egyptian

* *Vide* Barry, "Wines of the Ancients," London, 1775, p. 27.
† *Vide* "Life of Dr. Duff," i, 392; Kerr, "Unfermented Wine a Fact," p. 39.
‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 76.
§ Geikie, "Hours With the Bible," p. 467.
‖ "Com. zur Gen.," sec. 513. ¶ "Mosaic Laws," iii, 120.
** "Biblische Alterthumskunde," iv, 219. †† Com. *in loco*.
‡‡ "Essay on Prize Question Respecting the Use of Spirituous Liquors," p. 81.
§§ "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 77.
‖‖ "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 112.

life. Dr. Ebers has recently discovered, on the walls of the temple of Edfu, a picture of the king, standing cup in hand, while underneath is the inscription: "They press grapes into the water and the king drinks." *

(3.) Again, it is without doubt or question that both the Greeks and the Romans had a beverage which consisted of the pure, unfermented juice of the grape, whether freshly expressed or carefully preserved does not just yet concern us. This is referred to frequently by the classic authors of both tongues, and is conceded on every hand by classical scholars of every shade of opinion. For confirmation of this statement we need only refer the reader to Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," article "Vinum;" or to his "Dictionary of the Bible," article "Wine." The Greek beverage was known by the name of γλεῦκος. It is not affirmed or admitted that it was not known under other names. That point is postponed. It was known by this title. Aristotle frequently mentions it, ("Meteorologica," *passim.*) Suidas, in his lexicon, defines it τὸ ἀποστάλαγμα τῆς σταφυλῆς πρὶν πατηθῆ, "the droppings from the cluster before it is trodden." Josephus, ("Jud. Antiq.," ii, 52,) applies the term to the wine represented as being pressed out of the bunch of grapes by the chief butler into Pharaoh's cup. Prof. Bumstead admits † that "it was sweet from lack of vinous fermentation," and again he calls it ‡ "the newly expressed juice of the grape." From the supposed necessities of exegesis in the New Testament (Acts ii, 13) Alford, § followed by Dr. Moore, ‖ attempts to widen its meaning to include a certain amount of intoxicating property. But this is contrary to classic usage. The corresponding Latin term, with a precisely similar signification, is *mustum.* It designates a pure and unfermented beverage made of the grape. It is so explained by all the authorities. ¶ It is so used by all the Roman rustic writers, Cato, Columella, Varro, and by Pliny. Indeed, so strongly do these authors insist upon its special characteristic of freedom from fermentation—Pliny, *e. g.*, saying, ("Natural History," xiv, 9,) "*Sic*

* Eber, "Durch Gosen zum Sinai," p. 480. Geikie, "Hours With the Bible," p. 465.
† "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 62. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 81.
§ Com. *in loco.* ‖ "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 110.
¶ *Vide* "Harper's Latin Dictionary," 1880, *in loco.*

—*scil. fervere—appellant musti in vina transitum*"—that Dr. Moore and others declare, "this distinguishes must from wine, the differentia consisting in its having undergone fermentation." * This much, therefore, is settled without controversy. The people of antiquity did have a form of unfermented grape juice which they used as a beverage.

We advance now another step, and consider the fact that

(4.) The ancients were familiar with the methods by which fermentation † is prevented. Grape juice contains two leading ingredients, sugar and albumen or gluten. The former is composed of the three chemical elements, carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen; the latter is composed of four elements, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen. Nitrogen in all of its compounds is an unstable element, disposed to disengage itself from one union and to seek another. Thus it hastens the decay of vital organisms and tends to the formation of new substances. The decay of the gluten in the grape juice affords the necessary conditions for the reception and growth of the yeast germs which are floating every-where in the air, and in the presence of which the sugar is gradually converted into alcohol, while carbonic acid escapes from the liquid.‡ Now there are four or more different methods by which this process may be prevented and the grape juice preserved fresh and unfermented.

a. The gluten may be separated from the other elements. This substance, enclosed in minute cells, is located in the lining of the skin and in the envelope of the seed of the grape. By careful manipulation the flowing juice in which the sugar is concentrated may be released without disturbing the fermentable pulp. This principle was understood by the ancients and applied in practice. They had a drink which they called *πρόχυμα*, ("Geoponica," vi, 16,) or *protropum*, ("Natural History," xiv, 9.) Of this article Pliny says: *Ita appellatur a quibusdam mustum sponte defluens, antequam calcentur uvae*, "So the must which flows out of its own accord, before the grapes are trodden, is called by some." Such a liquid, oozing

* "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 101.

† We use the term throughout this article for what is strictly "vinous" fermentation, unless the contrary fact is indicated.

‡ Nichols, "Manual of Chemistry," pp. 148, 181. Schützenberger, "Fermentation," p. 18.

spontaneously from the skin of the grape, and composed almost entirely of the saccharine portion of the juice, could not have been quick to ferment. But Dr. Moore says,* "Pliny expressly tells us that it was allowed to ferment," (*Hoc protinus diffusum lagenis suis defervescere passi.* N. H., xiv, 9.) This does not mean, however, that fermentation was essential to *protropum*—it is called that before any thing is said about its undergoing that process—but that *protropum* was allowed to ferment, after which it was known under another name. The value of careful handling of the grapes to prevent the escape of the gluten is indicated by several items in the directions and descriptions of Roman writers on wines. They frequently insist that the grapes shall be trodden by foot, (*calco,*) rather than crushed by the heavy beam, (*prelo.*) Thus Columella, (xii, 37,) in a recipe for making *vinum dulce*, directs that the grapes shall be trodden, (*calcato,*) and the juice kept free of every thing which has come through the press, *quod habeat ex tortivo.* And Pliny, in describing the process of making *passum*, says, (xiv, 9,) *Tunsasque* [*uvas*] *leniter exprimunt*, "They *gently* crush and press the clusters." The juice which was obtained from this careful pressure, before the grapes had been fully trodden, was known as the *mustum lixivium*, and was preserved for drinking in its unfermented state. ("Geopon.," vi, 16; Columella, xii, 41.)†

When the gluten has been expressed with the saccharine juice it is still possible to effect a separation. By means of filters the fermentable pulp may be strained out. This is accomplished with complete success by modern apparatus.‡ It is not certain that the ancients possessed equally effective methods. It is probable, however, that during the whole history of wine-making attempts in this direction have been made. It was, doubtless, with this end, in part at least, in view that the early Egyptians employed the presses which are represented on the tomb-walls of Beni-Hassan. "The most simple consisted merely of a bag in which the grapes were put, and squeezed by means of two poles turning in contrary directions; a vase being placed

* "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 104.

† *Vide* Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," art. "Vinum."

‡ *Vide* "Encyclopædia Britannica," Ninth Ed., art. "Fermentation." Also, Ure's "Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures and Mines," i, 697.

below to receive the falling juice."* There was another press, nearly on the same principle, but more elaborately constructed. Both strained as well as expressed the juice of the grapes. The Latin writers refer to the use of strainers or filters in the preparation of wines. The *cola* or cloth sacks, according to Virgil, ("Georg.," ii, 240–245,) were a regular accompaniment of the *prelum* or wine-press. Pliny says, (xxiii, 24,) *Utillissimum* (*vinum*) *omnibus sacco viribus. Meminerimus succum esse qui fervendo vires musto sibi fecerit.* "The most useful wine for everybody is that whose strength is destroyed by the filter. We must remember that there is a juice which, by the fermenting of the must, has made to itself strength." That in this instance Pliny refers to the use of the filter to destroy—for such is the force of *frango*—the strength of wine in which fermentation had already begun, is admitted. But it does not follow that because it was used for this purpose it was applied to no other. The passage we have quoted indicates its employment to separate the *succum*, which may refer to the gluten or fermentable substance, as well as to strain out the *fæces*. It is of some significance in this connection that the Delphin notes on Horace i, xi, where the expression *vina liques*, "filter your wines," occurs, say, *Veteres nempe mustum priusquam ferbuisset per saccum toties colabunt*, etc. "For of a truth the ancients were in the habit of straining *the must* repeatedly through a filter *before it had fermented.*" It is certain that wines were filtered to deprive them of their intoxicating power. Pliny says, (xiv, 22,) *Ut plus capiamus* (*vini*) *sacco frangimur vires.* "That we may drink the more wine we destroy its strength by the filter." So Plutarch, ("Sympos.," viii, 7,) after speaking of the process of filtration in very much the same words as Pliny, and telling us that *it was frequently repeated*, says, "The strength being thus withdrawn, the wine neither inflames the head nor infests the mind and the passions."

But this is not the only method by which fermentation may be prevented.

b. The expulsion of the moisture is equally efficacious. Says Prof. Ditman,† "No fermentable subject will ferment except

* Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," i, 45.

† "Encyclopædia Britannica," Ninth Ed., art. "Fermentation."

in the presence of water, and unless it be kept by means of that water in contact with some specific ferment." There are two ways in which the removal of the water is effected. The grape may be dried before the skin is broken, and, preserved in that condition, after any lapse of time it will afford material for an unfermented beverage. By the simple soaking of dried grapes or raisins in water many churches provide the wine used in celebrating the Lord's Supper. Rev. Henry Homes, American missionary at Constantinople, informs us,* that in Asia Minor and Syria the grapes are carefully dried, and then the "raisins are boiled for two or three hours to make a refreshing drink, called 'sweet water,' (*khosab*, literally, boiled water.) It has no intoxicating qualities, for the proportion of the water is large, and it is drunk only when freshly made." Mr. Edward W. Lane, the distinguished Arabic scholar and traveler, says:† "*Nebeedh*, prepared from raisins, is commonly sold in Arab towns under the name of *zebeeb*. I have often drunk it in Cairo, but never could perceive that it was in the slightest degree fermented." This raisin wine was the Roman *passum*, (from *pando*, so called because the grapes were *spread out* to dry.) Columella, (xii, 39,) Varro, (Ap. Non. 551, 27,) and Pliny (xiv, 9) describe this kind of wine. Dr. Moore quotes Columella, (xii, 39,)‡ "*Deinde post* xx. *vel* xxx. *dies cum deferbuerit in alia deliquare*," etc., to prove that it was fermented. But in this case, as in that of *protropum*, already mentioned, the statement merely indicates the fact that *passum* was sometimes allowed to ferment, not that fermentation was essential to its being *passum*. On the contrary, Columella says, (xii, 39,) *Prelo* [*uvas*] *premere passumque tollere*, "Squeeze the grapes in a press and take away the *passum*." It was *passum* immediately, before any fermentation could have taken place.

The most common and successful method, however, of expelling the moisture is by inspissating the fresh juice. By boiling, the water is evaporated and fermentation prevented. The people of Syria to this day boil down the simple grape juice "until it is reduced to one fourth of the quantity put in."§

* "Bibliotheca Sacra," May, 1848.

† Notes to the "Arabian Nights," vol. i, p. 215.

‡ "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 105.

§ Rev. Mr. Homes in "Bibliotheca Sacra," May, 1848.

The product known as "*nardenk* is used as a syrup for a beverage, one part of the syrup to from six to fifteen parts of water. It ordinarily has not a particle of intoxicating quality." "In the manner of making and preserving it, it seems to correspond with the recipes and descriptions of certain drinks included by some of the ancients under the appellation wine." The modern Italian wine known as *vino cotto* is boiled, and has been found by chemical analysis not to contain a particle of alcohol. When drank it requires weakening with water.* The Arabic *dibs* is the product of boiling grape juice.† Archbishop Potter (A. D. 1674) says:‡ "The Lacedæmonians used to boil their wines upon the fire till the fifth part was consumed; then after four years were expired began to drink them." He cites as authority for this statement Democritus, a Greek philosopher, and Palladius, a Greek physician. Virgil ("Georg." i, 295) pictures the housewife as

> "—— dulcis musti vulcano decoquit humorem,
> Et foliis undam tepidi despumat aheni."

"She boils down by the fire the moisture of the sweet must, and skims off with leaves the wavy froth of the simmering caldron." Varro, Columella, and Pliny describe the boiled wines of the Romans, and give them different names according to the extent to which evaporation was carried; as, *carenum*, one third; *defrutum*, one half, (so Pliny; but Columella and Varro say one third;) *sapa*, two thirds.§ These were distinguished by the Greeks under the general names of ἕψημα, γλύξις, and σίραιον. Prof. Bumstead and Dr. Moore both dismiss them with the general denial that they were "ever used or designated" as "wines." As regards the latter point we shall see further on. As regards the former, it is true Pliny says, (xiv, 9,) *Omnia in adulterium mellis excogitata*, "They were all contrived for the adulteration of honey." But he does not say they were limited to that use. We know they were not. They were employed to give body to lighter and fermented wines, (Col. xii, 39,) and they also "entered as ingredients into many drinks."‖ It is probable that they were themselves simply

* Van Buren, "Gospel Temperance," p. 105, note.

† Van Lennep, "Bible Lands," p. 120.

‡ "Grecian Antiquities," Edinburgh, 1818, ii, 360.

§ Smith, "Greek and Roman Antiquities," art. "Vinum." ‖ *Ibid.*

diluted and drank like the Syrian *nardenk*, the Persian *duschab*,* the Italian *vino cotto*, and the French *vin cuit*. We know that the practice of diluting wines was universal in ancient times. Rome had a public establishment for this purpose, known as the Thermopolium. It furnished its patrons hot water and cold; the hot, according to Sir Edward Barry,† to dissolve their more inspissated and old wines. This process was made necessary, not only by the strength, but quite as much by the sweetness and consistency of the wines. This is the key, we think, to the interpretation of the oft-quoted passage from the "Odyssey," (ix, 196 f.,) concerning the wine which the priest, Maron, gave to Ulysses. Prof. Bumstead says,‡ "It was *so strong* that a single cup was mingled with twenty of water." Homer says nothing of the sort. He calls the wine (l. 205) *ἡδὺν, ἀκράσιον, θεῖον ποτόν*, "a sweet, unadulterated, divine drink;" (l. 346,) *μέλας οἶνος*, "black wine;" (l. 360,) *αἴθοπα οἶνον*, "dark wine." And he says of Polyphemus, to whom Ulysses offered it, (l. 208:)

> Τὸν δ' ὅτε πίνοιεν μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐρυθρόν,
> Ἓν δέπας ἐμπλήσας, ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα
> Χεῦ'.

"But when he drank this honey-sweet, red wine, filling up one cup, he poured in it up to twenty measures of water." There is not a word here or elsewhere about its strength, but every one of the adjectives employed indicates just such excessive sweetness, thick consistency, and dark color as would be produced by heat. The celebrated Opimian wine, which Pliny tells us (xiv, 4) had in his day, two centuries after it was made, the consistency of honey, may have been an inspissated article. Such, very likely, was the Tæniotic wine of Egypt, which Athenæus, in his "Banquet," (i, 25,) tells us had such a degree of richness (*λίπαρον*) that "it is dissolved little by little when it is mixed with water, just as the Attic honey is dissolved by the same process." A further fact in this connection calls for

* "The Persians sometimes boil the duschab (a syrup of sweet wine or must) so long that they reduce it to a paste for the convenience of travelers, who lay in a stock of it for the journey, cutting it with a knife, and diluting it with water to serve as a drink."—"Travels in Muscovy, Tartary, and Persia," by Adam Olearius, Embassador for Holstein, by Wicquefort, lib. v, 802.

† "Observations on the Wines of the Ancients," London, 1775, p. 165.

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 62.

notice. As grape juice boils at 212 deg. Fahr., and alcohol evaporates at 172 deg. Fahr., it is evident that, if there were any in the liquid, boiling would expel it.

c. Fermentation may also be prevented by the exclusion of the air from the grape juice. The researches of Pasteur and Hallier * have established the fact that the spores or germs of the yeast plant are introduced by the action of ordinary air into the fermentable fluid. So that if the grape juice be inclosed in some air-tight receptacle fermentation will not occur. The ancients were acquainted with this fact, if they did not understand its theory. It was their custom to take the earthen *amphora*, Greek *κέραμος*, carefully line it with pitch, and having filled it with the fresh juice, seal it and then sink it in water or bury it in the earth. In this way it was preserved from the access and action of the atmosphere. We find directions for this process in Cato, ("De Re Rustica," 120,) Columella, (xii, 39,) Pliny, (xiv, 9,) Plutarch, (Q. N., 26) and the "Geoponica," (vi, 16.) Columella introduces his directions as follows: *Mustum ut semper dulce tanquam recens permaneat sic facito*, "That your must may be always sweet as when it is new, thus proceed." He closes by saying, *Sic usque in annum dulce permanebit*, "It will thus remain sweet for a whole year." Dr. Moore is at some pains to point out † that this remark indicates the sense in which *semper* is to be understood, both in this passage and the one soon to be quoted from Pliny, and intimates that must could be preserved in this way only for a year. If it were so, that would be all that was required. Each vintage would yield a fresh supply. But it is not so. The method that would preserve it one year would keep it ten, twenty, or any number of years.

This process is so closely connected with another, as indicated by the passages to which we have referred, that we will turn to it without further illustration of the one under consideration.

d. Fermentation may be prevented by keeping the grape juice at a temperature below 40 deg. Fahr. Fermentation is possible only at a temperature between this and 86 deg. Fahr. Above the latter point the acetous surplants the vinous process; below the former point the ferment is inoperative. Any thing,

* Appleton's "American Cyclopædia," art. "Fermentation."

† "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 104.

therefore, that reduces the temperature to 40 deg. or below will keep the liquid fresh and sweet. Pliny, in speaking of the Greek, *dεὶ γλεῦκος*, Latin, *semper mustum*, says, (xiv, 9,) *Mergunt e lacu protinus in aqua cados, donec bruma transeat, et consuetudo fiat algendi*, "Immediately after the casks have been filled from the vat they sink them in water, until the winter solstice is past, and the habit of being cold is created." Thus, by a combination of the two last-mentioned methods, the exclusion of the air and the reduction of the temperature, fermentation is prevented and the grape juice kept fresh.

e. It remains to speak of one other method of preventing fermentation, namely, by sulphur fumigation. This absorbs the oxygen of the air and arrests the action of the nitrogenous element in the gluten. The process is employed by wine growers in Europe at the present day in preserving unfermented wine.* It is well-known that the ancients used sulphur, pumice-stone, the yelk of eggs, and other substances containing sulphur, in the preparation of their vines. Pliny in a chapter (xiv, 20) devoted to recipes for preserving wine *in primo fervore*, "in the first stages of ferment," says: *Cato facit et sulpuris mentionem*, "Cato also makes mention of sulphur." Horace doubtless alludes to this practice, (Car. iii, 8 :)

> "Hic dies, anno redeunte, festus,
> Corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit,
> Amphoræ fumum bibere institutæ.
> Consule Tullo."

"This day, sacred in the revolving year, shall remove the cork fastened with pitch from the amphora which was set to fumigate in the consulship of Tullius." The next stanza informs us that this fumigated wine might be drank to the extent of a hundred cups without exciting passion or clamor. "When the Mishna forbids *smoked* wines from being used in offerings, (Manachoth, viii, 6, *et comment*,) it has chiefly reference to the Roman practice of fumigating them with sulphur, the vapor of which absorbed the oxygen of the air and thus arrested the fermentation."†

(5.) We have thus far been considering the thing itself without much regard to the name by which it was called. We

* Kerr, "Unfermented Wine a Fact," p. 21.

† Kitto, "Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature," art. "Wine."

have seen that there was and is such a beverage as the unfermented juice of the grape, that it was used as freshly expressed and when carefully preserved. That it was a common drink is amply attested by the frequent references to it in the writings of almost every ancient author, among both the Greeks and the Romans, in all ages of their history, from the earliest to the latest. It is mentioned not only by specialists, but by writers on general topics, historians, dramatists, moralists, and poets. The inference is natural that it was every-where recognized and used as a beverage. But the claim is set up that the unfermented juice of the grape was never known as wine. How that may be in the case of the Hebrews is reserved for separate consideration. Whatever was the classical usage we propose now to ascertain. The position taken is, that *wine meant always the fermented juice of the grape.* But the fallacy of such a proposition appears from these facts:

a. The fermented juice of the grape was not always called *wine.* Pliny, in referring to the Roman custom of forbidding the use of intoxicating wine to women, says (xiv, 13) in Cato's day kinsmen kissed the women when they met them to see if their breath smelled of *temetum;* and adds, *Hoc tum nomen vino erat,* "At that time this was the name for wine." Like this is the change in modern Greek by which wine is called *κρασί,* literally, *the mixed,* instead of the more classical *οἶνος.*

b. The term "wine" is used without any reference whatever to the *grape.* Herodotus calls beer made from barley (ii, 77) *οἶνος κριθέων,* and palm toddy (ii, 86) *οἶνος φοινικήϊος.* Xenophon also speaks of *οἶνος φοινίκων,* (Anab., ii, 3, 14,) and Dioscorides (Mat. Med., v, 40,) mentions *φοινικίτης οἶνος.* Herodotus (iv, 177) calls a drink made from the lotus plant *οἶνος.* Pliny says, (xiii, 5:) *E myxis in Ægypto et vina fiunt,* "Wines also were made from figs in Egypt."

c. Wine did not always mean the *juice* of the grape. The Greek *οἶνος,* (ancient, *Fοῖνος,*) Latin, *vin-um,* (ancient, *vain-om,*) Gothic, *vein,* Armenian, *gin-i,* (for *gwin-i,*) German, *wein,* and English, *wine,* according to the best etymologists,* are either derived from or have a common origin with the Hebrew יַיִן

* Relations of the Aryan and Semitic Languages, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 142; Fürst, "Lexicon," *sub* יַיִן; Renan, "Lang. Sem.," i, 207.

yayin. This term, as we shall soon see, is used in at least two instances for the grape itself. The cognate Arabic term for wine means literally, "dark-colored grapes," and the Ethiopian term, "a vineyard." Similarly we find that the most ancient name for the vine among the Greeks was *οἰνη*, (Hesiod, Op. 572,*) and even after the introduction of *ἄμπελος* it retained its place, for example, in Euripides. Josephus enumerates (Bel. Jud. vii, 8, 4) among the stores in the fortress of Massada, corn, (*σῖτος*,) wine, (*οἶνος*,) oil, (*ἔλαιον*,) pulse and dates. He calls them *τοῦς κάρπους*, and by the terms wine and oil undoubtedly designates grapes and olives. We find the Latin *vinum* used for grapes, (*vinum pendens*, Cato, 147,) and for the vine, (*locus optimus vino*, Varro, i, 25.)

d. Wine did not always mean the *fermented* juice of the grape. The Greek writers frequently apply *οἶνος* to the juice of the grape before fermentation was possible. Æschylus (Agam. 939, 940) describes Zeus as creating *οἶνον* within the green grape, *ἀπ' ὄμφακος*. Anacreon (Ode 48) speaks of *τὸν οἶνον πεπηδημένον ὀπώραις ἐπὶ κλημάτων*, "the wine imprisoned in the fruit on the stems." Nicander of Colophon says,† *δεπάεσσιν Οἰνεὺς δ' ἐν κοίλοισιν ἀποθλίψας οἶνον ἔκλησε*, "And Æneas having squeezed (the juice) into hollow cups called it wine." Proclus, (A. D. 412,) who annotated the "Works and Days" of Hesiod, in his comment on line 611, explains the process of treading the grapes and "treading out the wine," *ἐκθλίβοντες τὸν οἶνον.*

e. The unintoxicating and unfermented juice of the grape was called wine. The beverages which Aristotle and Pliny said do not intoxicate were respectively designated as *οἶνος* ("Meteorologica," iv, 9) and *vinum* ("Natural History," xiv, 2.) *Γλεῦκος* and *mustum* were wine and were so named. Aristotle, speaking in the terms of the most exact science of his age, says, ("Meteorologica," iv, 7:) *οἶνος γάρ τις καὶ πήγνυται καὶ ἕψεται, οἷον τὸ γλεῦκος*, "For some *wine*, such as *gleukos*, is both congealed and evaporated." This is decisive of the fact that *gleukos* was wine, and was recognized scientifically as such. Cato, in giving instructions for making hellebore wine, says, ("De Re Rustica," 115:) *In vinum mustum veratri atri manipulum conjicito in amphoram*, "Throw a handful of black hellebore into *must wine* in an amphora." This settles the significance of

* *Vide* Athenæus, "Banquet," i, 1. † *Ibid*, ii, 1.

mustum. It first appears in the age of Cato (200 B. C.) as an adjective signifying "fresh," "new," "sweet," or "young," and is applied to *agna*, ewe lamb, (Cato, ap. Prisc., 711,) and to *mala*, apples, (Cato, "De Re Rustica," 73,) as well as to *vinum*. But in the latter case it became so identified with its noun that the latter was gradually dropped or absorbed, and the adjective became substantive in use and force. *Mustum*, therefore, always implies *vinum*, and means unfermented wine.* This is the explanation of other forms, such as *defrutum*, equivalent to *defrutum vinum*, boiled wine; *passum*, equivalent to *passum vinum*, raisin wine; and so *mulsum vinum*, honey wine; *protropum vinum*, untrodden wine, etc., etc. This is so plain a truth that any one acquainted with the usages of the language will immediately recognize it. The lexicons (for example, Harper's "Latin Dictionary," 1880,) corroborate the statement by supplying *vinum* after each of these forms. To say that they were not wines, simply because in common usage *vinum* was omitted, is illogical and absurd. On exactly the same grounds one might deny that claret (French, *clairet*, dim. of *clair*, clear) is wine, or that hock and sherry are. The usage in both cases is precisely similar. In Greek, likewise, *γλεῦκος*, *γλύξις*, *πρόδρομος*, *ἔψημα*, *σίραιον* κ. τ. λ., were originally adjectives used with *οἶνος*, but having incorporated into themselves the signification of the noun, they were generally used substantively. Yet occasionally we find the noun expressed, as in Hippocrates, *οἶνος σίραιον*. We think this a sufficient answer to Professor Bumstead, who "has yet to learn that the name *οἶνος* or *vinum* was ever applied to any of these products, (*ἔψημα*, *γλύξις*, *carenum*, *defrutum*, and *sapa*,) unless, perhaps, by some figure of speech." † By the side of Professor Ramsey's assertion ‡ that these were "grape jellies and nothing else," we place the testimony of Parkinson, § who calls them *vina*, and that of Dr. Richardson, ‖ who classes them among "wines."

* Varro (i, 13) expressly ranks *mustum* as *vinum*, *Sæpe, ubi conditum novum vinum, orcæ in Hispania a fervore musti ruptæ*, "Often when *new wine* is put up, the casks in Spain are burst by the fermenting of the *must*."

† "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 63.

‡ Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," art. "Vinum."

§ "Theatrum Botanicum," 1640, p. 1557.

‖ "Cantor Lectures," p. 22.

From the fact that Pliny (xiv, 9) speaks of certain *dulcia*, among which *defrutum*, *carenum*, etc., are enumerated, it has been claimed that they were something distinct from *vina*. This classification includes *mustum*, *passum*, *protropum*, *mulsum*, etc., and would indicate that all, if any, were not wines. But it is by no means an exclusive category. It does not follow, because an article is ranked among the *dulcia*, that it does not also belong among the *vina*. *Dulcia* is an adjective with substantive force, and the word, in this instance, to be understood is *vina*. The chapter (9) which treats of these *dulcia* opens with a statement concerning *vinum omne dulce*, and the whole book (xiv) is devoted to the consideration of *vina* as the next book (xv) is of *olea*, *duo liquores humanis corporibus gratissimi*, (xiv, 22:) "The two liquors most grateful to the human body." Pliny confirms this interpretation when, after quoting several authorities concerning a certain wine called Myrrhina, he says, (xiv, 14,) *Quibus apparet non inter vina modo murrinam, sed inter dulcia quoque nominatum*, "From which it is evident that Myrrhina was classed, not only among wines, but also among sweets," or sweet wines.

Further evidence of the fact that the unfermented juice of the grape was called wine will appear in our examination of the Scripture terms for wine to which we now turn.

2. *The Recognition of Unfermented Wine in the Scriptures.*

Our inquiry in this direction will embrace the Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testaments. It is necessary to include the former as well as the latter, since the Old Testament was the only written law of the Church of God until after Pentecost; it was constantly quoted and referred to by Christ, who declared that he came not to destroy but to fulfill it, and it is, therefore, our principal key to the interpretation of the New Testament. Both Testaments discriminate between fermented wine, which is stimulant and intoxicating, and unfermented wine, which is nutritious and unintoxicating. They do this in two ways.

(1.) By the terms in which they speak of wine. In one class of passages it is commended and in another class it is condemned; in each case in the strongest and most unmistakable language. It is described as a blessing (Psa. civ, 15, etc.) and as a curse, (Prov. xx, 1, etc.) It is allowed (Deut. xiv, 26, etc.)

and it is interdicted, (Prov. xxiii, 31, etc.) It is made a symbol of spiritual blessings, (Isa. lv, 1, etc.) and an emblem of divine wrath, (Psa. lxxv, 8.) The natural inference is, that two different substances are designated by these totally diverse characterizations. Says Professor Stuart,* "I cannot refuse to take this position without virtually impeaching the Scriptures of contradiction or inconsistency." But an attempt is made to meet this argument by the citation of other things which, it is claimed, are spoken of in the Scriptures in like contradictory terms. Prof. Bumstead instances rain,† "as a blessing given alike to the just and the unjust," and "as a curse sent to destroy the inhabitants of the earth in a flood." Dr. Moore, with iconoclastic fury, piles example upon example in order "to demolish utterly a specious fallacy by which multitudes have been deceived." ‡ He cites the tongue which St. James calls "a fire, a world of iniquity," etc., but which is, nevertheless, "an organ of unspeakable benefit to man;" wealth, which may be either "a blessing or a snare;" knowledge, which St. Paul says "puffeth up," but which is "elsewhere described in the Scriptures as an excellent thing;" marriage, which the same apostle both approves (1 Tim. iv, 3) and disapproves, (1 Cor. vii, 1;) God, who is "love" and "a consuming fire;" Christ, who is both a Saviour and a "stone of stumbling;" the lion, who is an emblem of Christ and of the devil; leaven, unto which the kingdom of heaven is likened, and of which, as the symbol of Pharisaic doctrine, men are bidden to beware; and the four cups of Passover, which the Talmud expressly declares symbolize both blessings and curses. And then both authors ask if we are to infer in these cases that there are two kinds of rain, tongues, knowledge, etc., or that the distinction lies in the uses of the several objects. As regards the rain, the tongue, the lion, the leaven, and the Passover cups, it is apparent on the surface that they are used in a purely figurative sense, and that in no instance is the object itself intended to be described as intrinsically good or bad. It is not the tongue, for example, that is meant, but the evil disposition which it symbolizes and which would remain were the phys-

* "Letter to Dr. Nott," p. 49.

† "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 65.

‡ "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 83.

ical member literally cut out. As regards the other examples, it is not denied that the best gifts may be abused, and that even so excellent a thing as knowledge may become "an occasion of pride." But an isolated instance of warning against the misuse of a good thing furnishes no proper parallel to the scores of warnings against the use of wine,* which is distinctly declared a bad thing.† This remark applies to marriage, which is every-where commended in the Scriptures, save in this special instance, where, under exceptional circumstances, it is suggested as inexpedient. The Bible nowhere condemns wealth or warns against it, but against the inordinate desire for it. When Dr. Moore refers to 1 Tim. vi, 9, 10, in support of his statement ‡ that "some people, to be consistent, should put away wealth as an accursed thing," he forgets that those passages say nothing concerning wealth or money, but the love of it. The references to God and Christ, and their twofold attitudes toward sin and the persistent sinner, on the one hand, and toward the repentant believer on the other, are in no sense pertinent to the case in hand.

But the ample vindication of our interpretation of these two classes of passages concerning wine lies in two considerations.

a. First. There are two kinds of wine. We believe this has

* Such, in particular, as Prov. xxiii, 31. Prof. Bumstead ("Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 87) calls it "an intense literalism" to make this "mean an entire prohibition of wine." He says it is "the gloating look of the wine-bibber against which the warning is directed." But this is a strained interpretation which nothing in the simple verb רָאָה, *to see*, warrants. That the sense may be "look not with desire" is possible. But the prohibition is one that ranks in comprehensiveness with the New Testament precept forbidding so much as the lustful look, (Matt. v, 28.) Dr. Moore, who admits that it is a warning "against looking" at "this dangerous wine," ("Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 96,) limits its application to the persons specially addressed, who, he says, are those addicted to its intemperate use; but that is contrary to the terms and spirit of the passage. The prohibition is based, not upon the habits of the person addressed, but upon the dangerous properties of the wine described. Dr. Moore, stating that the passage has a construction similar to Gen. i, 4, "See not wine that it is red," absurdly suggests that it means "Don't put your eyes on these tempting qualities," as though every thing would be all right, drunkenness and all, provided the victim did not fix his gloating eyes on its intoxicating properties. The construction of the particle כִּי, however, is not simply conjunctive, as in Gen. i, 4, but temporal, as in A. V. here, and with an implied causal force, as in Gen. ii, 3, "Look not *because*."

† For example, Prov. xx, 1, "Wine is a mocker." Heb., לֵץ, LXX, *ἀκόλαστον*. Eph. v, 18, "Wine wherein is excess."

‡ "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 82.

been sufficiently proved, but the argument will be re-enforced by evidence soon to be submitted. Just at this point, however, it is important to emphasize the fact that these two kinds are totally distinct in their constituents and characteristics. This is clearly set forth in the following comparative tables: *

Unfermented wine is composed of	Fermented wine is composed of
1. Gluten.	1. *Alcohol.*
2. Sugar.	2. *Œnanthic Acid.*
3. Gum.	3. *Œnanthic Ether.*
4. Various *odorous* matters.	4. *Essential or Volatile Oils.*
5. Malic Acid.	5. *Acetic Acid.*
6. Citric Acid.	6. *Sulphate of Potash.*
7. Phosphorus and	7. Bouquet or Aroma.
8. Sulphur in combination.	8. Chlorides of Potassium and Sodium.
9. Bitartrate of Potash.	9. Tannin and Coloring Matter.
10. Tartrate of Lime.	10. Undecomposed Sugar, gum, etc., in *small* quantities.
11. Water, etc.	

The first six elements in the second table are entirely new compounds, and there is no more chemical identity between the two substances than between barley and beer.

b. Second. The two classes of passages, the one commendatory, the other condemnatory, could not be indiscriminately applied to the two substances. Unfermented wine would not be interdicted, since it is a perfectly natural, nutritious, and healthful beverage. It could not legitimately be made the symbol of wrath and destruction, any more than the bread and oil with which it is often joined. It would be the proper emblem of mercy and salvation, as bread and oil are, (for example, Psa. civ, 15,) and as it is itself, especially in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. On the other hand, the fermented wine could not properly be commended for use or employed as the symbol of blessing and life. We have already seen, by the testimony of the latest and best science, that alcohol in any form or quantity is alien and harmful to the healthy system. It is the product of corruption, and is pronounced a poison both by Scripture and science. Orfilla, Taylor, Christison, the American, United States, French, and English dispensatories, and all the best authorities on toxicology, class it with arsenic, corrosive sublimate, and prussic acid. The Scriptures describe it as a poison. Such is the signification of the Hebrew term

* Dr. Lees' "Text-Book of Temperance," p. 44.

חֵמָה, *chemah.* This is the word the psalmist uses when he says, (Psa. cxl, 3,) "Adder's *poison* is under their lips." This explains the figure in Prov. xxiii, 32: "At the last . . . it stingeth like an adder." So we read, "Their wine is the poison (*chemah*) of dragons," Deut. xxxii, 33. "Take the wine cup of this fury;" literally, take the cup of the wine which is poison, (*chemah,*) Jer. xxv, 15. "The princes have made him sick with bottles" (literally, poison, *chemah*) "of wine," Hosea vii, 5. "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that puttest thy bottle" (literally, poison, *chemah*) "to him," Hab. ii, 15. It is incredible that such a substance, which Scripture and science unite in describing as poison, a fermented and alcoholic wine, should in any instance have been the wine which the sacred writers mention in terms of commendation and sanction.

But the Scriptures distinguish between these two wines,

(2.) By the words which they employ to designate them. They discriminate and describe them with an accuracy and affluence of terms which is remarkable when we remember that the Hebrew is comparatively a meager language. In this case our own ordinarily copious tongue suffers in the comparison. For in our English version of the Old Testament the word wine, either alone or in combination with some other word, is used to express no less than eleven different things, which are designated in the Hebrew by as many different terms. How successfully this is done will appear upon an examination of the original words, on which we now enter.

1. יַיִן, *Yayin.*

This is the first and most frequently used word for wine in the Old Testament. It appears in the earliest and in the latest history, from the time of Noah (Gen. ix, 21) to that of Nehemiah, (Neh. xiii, 15.) Gesenius derives it from an obsolete root, יָנָה, *yon,* "which," he says, "probably signified to boil up, to be in a ferment;" and defines it, "wine, so called from its fermenting, effervescing." But this imports into a primitive term a later and scientific idea, while "new terms, when first imposed, are always expressive of some *simple* and *obvious appearance*, never of latent properties or scientific relations." * Fermentation is not the first, the simplest, or the most obvious

* Dr. Lees, in "Temperance Bible Commentary," p. xxv.

characteristic of grape juice. "Vegetable juices, in general," says Liebig,* "become turbid when in contact with the air before fermentation commences." This characteristic must have been the first to attract attention, and would most naturally have suggested the name. The primitive signification of *yayin* was, doubtless, simply "foaming," "spuming," "bubbling," as Dindorf suggests and illustrates by reference to the kindred Arabic. It would be very naturally and appropriately applied to the grape juice as it rushed foaming into the wine-vat. Moses Stuart says: † "The simple idea of *grape juice*, or *vine liquor*, is the basis and essence of the word in whatever connection it may stand." And Tayler Lewis says: ‡ "*Yayin* and *oinos* simply meant the liquid that comes from pressing the grape. There is no evidence of any further idea associated with it. It was not *fermenting fluid*, but *grape juice*." By a natural extension of meaning it would gradually come to designate wine in all its subsequent stages, and would even be applied retrospectively to the wine still confined in the cluster. That *yayin* was a generic term, including every kind of wine, new or old, fermented or unfermented, intoxicating or unintoxicating, is established by such facts as the following:

a. It is constantly used, occurring oftener than all the other terms for wine combined, in all one hundred and forty-one times.

b. It is employed by Nehemiah (v, 18) in the phrase כָּל־יַיִן, *kal-yayin*, LXX ἐν πᾶσιν οἴνοις, Vulg. *vina diversa*, A. V. "all sorts of wine."

c. It was applied to every species of fermented grape juice, (*e. g.*, Prov. xxiii, 31, where the characteristics of fermentation are distinctly specified.) Concerning this point there is no controversy. But in less than one half of the one hundred and forty-one texts in which *yayin* occurs can it be shown that the term is applied to a fermented article. In many of the other passages the contrary fact is plainly indicated.

d. It is used for the grape in Num. vi, 4, and in Judges xiii, 14, (lit. the wine-vine.)

e. It is spoken of as "gathered," Deut. xxviii, 39; Jer. xl, 10, 11.

* "Chemistry of Agriculture," fourth edition, p. 327.

† "Letter to Dr. Nott," p. 11. ‡ "The Advance," Dec. 24, 1874.

f. It is coupled with *chalab*, which signifies *fresh* milk in distinction from *chemah*, curdled milk, Isa. lv, 1; Cant. v, 1.

g. It is connected with *dagan*, corn, Lam. ii, 12.

h. It is associated directly with the wine press, Isa. xvi, 10; Jer. xlviii, 33.

i. It is used synonymously with *dam-anabim*, "blood of the grapes," Gen. xlix, 11.

j. It is mentioned with approbation, Psa. civ, 15, etc.

k. It is commanded to be offered in sacrifice, (Exod. xxix, 40; Num. xv, 5, 7, 10, etc.,) while all fermented things were excluded from the offerings.*

These considerations must lead the candid mind to the conclusion that *yayin* is a generic term, and includes the fresh and unfermented as well as the fermented and intoxicating juice of the grape.

II. תִּירוֹשׁ, *Tirosh.*

This word occurs thirty-eight times, first in Gen. xxvii, 28. It is translated (A.V.) "wine" twenty-six times, "new wine" eleven times, and "sweet wine" once. More controversy has been waged over this term than over all the other words for wine combined. It is asserted that it always designates a fermented wine.† It is claimed that it always signifies an unfermented wine.‡ It is affirmed that it "denotes wine in the process of growth and manufacture," including "the solid fruit, the unfermented juice, or the fermented product of that fruit and juice."§ It is denied that it means "wine at all, but the fruit of the vineyard in its natural condition."‖ Equally diverse have been the explanations of its etymology. There is a very general agreement as to its derivation from the verb יָרַשׁ, *yarash*, to seize, or dispossess, hence to possess. Gesenius says it is applied to wine "because it gets possession of the brain," than which nothing could be more arbitrary or absurd. Fürst says it signifies "what is got from the grapes." Bythner says¶ it is

* *Vide* Discussion of Lord's Supper, *infra.*

† Dr. Robinson, "Lex. of the N. T.;" Dr. William Smith, "Bible Dictionary;" Dr. Moore, "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 110.

‡ G. W. Samson, "The Divine Law as to Wines," p. 70, f.

§ Prof. Bumstead, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 67–69.

‖ Dr. Lees, "Temperance Bible Commentary," p. 28.

¶ "Lyra Prophetica."

used of "the vine as a possession in the eyes of the Hebrews." Dr. Samson, deriving it from the Hiphil conjugation of the verb, as something *causing* possession or dispossession, makes it refer to the laxative effect of the fresh grape juice. The theory is an ingenious one, but can hardly stand the test of application. A careful and critical examination of this term in all the passages where it is used has compelled the conclusion that the view of Dr. Lees is the more nearly correct, and the etymology of Bythner the most probable. *Tirosh* seems to have been the word used for the vine-fruit in its natural, solid state, and with special reference to its being the source and material of wine. But in no instance does it appear to have denoted the liquid product of the grape. Our interpretation of *tirosh* is sustained by the manner in which the Hebrew writers use the term.

a. It is never found associated with לֶחֶם, *lehem*, bread, or with שֶׁמֶן, *shemen*, oil. In thirty instances it is mentioned in connection with דָּגָן, *dagan*, "corn," namely, grain, which in no case signifies an artificial preparation as bread.* In twenty-one instances it occurs in connection with יִצְהָר, *yitzhar*, which is rendered "oil," (Gesenius and A.V.,) but which "is derived, as Dindorf, Gesenius, and others admit, from a root signifying to 'shine,' 'glisten,' like the Spanish term *azahar*, 'orange flower,' and the Latin *aurantium* for the shining orange class of fruits," and probably denotes the olive, which "also shines and glistens in the sun," and other orchard fruit. Dr. Lees, from whom we have just quoted, well says:† "These three terms constitute a beautiful triad of natural blessings, (1) *corn*-fruit, (2) *vine*-fruit, (3) *orchard*-fruit, or, in other words, the produce of field, vineyard, and orchard." These three terms are mentioned together nineteen times. Once *tirosh* is joined with זַיִת, *zayith*, olives, (Micah vi, 14, 15,) and, as this passage is a striking proof of the correctness of our view of the term, we quote it, arranging it in such a way as to bring into view the Hebrew parallelism.

* We do not consider Lam. ii, 12 an exception, (cf. Gesenius.) It makes the picture of the famine more vivid to regard even the raw materials for food as lacking. This passage also illustrates the generic use of *yayin*.

† "Temperance Bible Commentary," p. 29.

Thou shalt eat, but not be satisfied,

. . . . . .

And thou shalt take hold, but shalt not deliver;

. . . . . .

Thou shalt sow, but shalt not reap;
Thou shalt tread the *zayith*, but thou shalt not anoint thee with *shemen*;
And *tirosh*, but shalt not drink *yayin*.

This makes it plain that *tirosh* was regarded as the natural source of *yayin*, as olives were of oil. It also disproves Prof. Bumstead's view that *tirosh* included wine in all stages from "its germinant state in the vineyard" to the finished product after fermentation. It is true he adduces it as "an unanswerable argument" in its favor, but it is no more such than it is a proof that *zayith* meant *shemen* in any state, fresh or old, sweet or rancid. There is no more evidence that *tirosh* ever denoted wine than there is that *dagan*, with which it is so constantly associated, ever denoted bread in any state, whether dough or baked. There is nothing in the etymology or usage of *tirosh* in any passage to sustain Prof. Bumstead's position.

Further facts indicative of the signification which we have given to *tirósh* are these:

b. It is constantly connected with the mention of conditions affecting natural growth, such as drought, (Isa. xxiv, 7; Joel i, 10,) and dew, Gen. xxvii, 28; Deut. xxxiii, 28.

c. It is every-where treated as a natural product. It is found "in the cluster," (Isa. lxv, 8;) "gathered," (Deut. xi, 14;) put into "storehouses," (2 Chron. xxxii, 28;) "trodden," (Micah vi, 15;) "bursts out from the press," (Prov. iii, 10;) and makes the vats "overflow," Joel ii, 24.

d. It is tithed as a natural product of the soil, just as *dagan* and *yitzhar* are. Deut. xii, 17, etc.

e. It is never spoken of as being poured out, put into cups, or drunk, save in a single instance. Isa. lxii, 8. But the interpretation which is so fully supported by a careful induction of every other text in which *tirosh* occurs is not to be set aside on the strength of a single exceptional usage, which is easily and naturally explained as a case of metonomy. There seems to be no warrant for the assertion* that in Deut. xii, 17, and xiv, 23, "the drinking of *tirosh* is intimated by the figure called *zeugma*." In both passages we find the triad, *dagan*,

* Prof. Bumstead, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 67.

yitzhar, and *tirosh*, all solids and all the proper objects of the verb אָכַל, *akal*, to eat.

If our view of *tirosh* be the right one, then there is no need of pausing to examine the single passage which has been adduced in evidence of its intoxicating character: "Whoredom and wine (*yayin*) and new wine (*tirosh*) take away the heart." Hos. iv, 11. Prof. Bumstead is fortunately "quite ready to abandon it." * But Dr. Moore still clings to the old interpretation.† "To take away the heart" in this text does not refer to intoxication, but signifies, as Bishop Lowth says,‡ to "deprive men of their judgment and darken their understanding. So a gift is said to 'destroy the heart.' Eccles. vii, 7." The fact that three distinct things are enumerated, indicates a difference. There is no parallelism in the passage. Whoredom is not *yayin*, and *yayin* is not *tirosh*. The first is undoubtedly used for illicit worship or idolatry; the second for sensual gratification; and *tirosh* for worldly possessions. The three had drawn their hearts away from "God as the infinite Goodness and Fountain of spiritual joy." The whole forms a striking fulfillment of the dying prophecy of Moses, Deut. xxxii, 14–16. We conclude, therefore, with reference to *tirosh*, that it does not signify wine in any sense or case, but the natural fruit of the vineyard in its solid state and regarded as the basis of wine.

III. שֵׁכָר, *Shechar*.

This word occurs twenty-three times, first, in Lev. x, 9. It is rendered "strong drink" (A.V.) in all instances save in Num. xxviii, 7, where it is translated "strong wine," and in Psa. lxix, 12, where, instead of drinkers of *shechar*," the A.V. reads simply "drunkards." As *yayin* is the generic term for the liquid of *tirosh*, so *shechar* is the generic term for the liquor of *yitzhar* § or of any other fruit than the grape, such as dates, pomegranates, etc. It is claimed that the intoxicating nature of the beverage is established by "the unquestionable significance of the word, as indicated by its derivation and use." ‖

* Prof. Bumstead, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 69.

† "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 110, note. ‡ Com. *in loco*.

§ In Deut. xiv, 26, *shechar* answers to the *yitzhar* of verse 23, as *yayin* answers to *tirosh* in the same verse.

‖ Prof. Bumstead, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 74.

Gesenius' derivation from שָׁכַר, *shachar*, "*to drink deeply, to be drunken*," is cited. But, as Gesenius admits, the verb is used "not always of drunkenness; but sometimes *to drink to the full.*" Gen. xliii, 34; Cant. v, 1. This is confirmed by the LXX, which often renders *shachar* by μεθύομαι, the radical signification of which is *to drink to repletion*. The LXX also, and the Greek versions generally, render *shechar* by μέθυσμα, whose root, μέθυ, is cognate with the Sanskrit *madhu*, honey.* So *shechar* is doubtless etymologically akin to the word for sugar in all the Aryan and Semitic tongues. It probably denoted sweet juices of all kinds originally, but came at length, in distinction from *yayin*, to be applied to the juices of other fruits than grapes, and, like *yayin*, was used generically of both fermented and unfermented drinks. The contrast between "sweet" and "bitter" in Isa. xxiv, 9, (literally, "bitter shall be the sweet drink—*shechar*—to them that drink it,") shows that *shechar* was valued on account of its sweetness, a quality which decreases in proportion to the amount of alcohol present.† The facts that it was commanded to be consumed "before the Lord," (Deut. xiv, 26,) and to be offered in sacrifice, (Num. xxviii, 7,) indicate that it included unfermented forms of fruit juice. The "asis of pomegranates," (Cant. viii, 2,) which was an unfermented beverage, was a species of *shechar*. It is further confirmatory of this view that to this day the juice of the palm tree in an unfermented state, when just fresh from the tree, is a common and favorite beverage of the natives of Arabia, and is called by a name whose root is the same as that of *shechar*.‡

IV. חֶמֶר, *Chemer;* חֲמַר, *Chamar;* חֲמְרָא, *Chamrâ.*

The first form occurs twice, (Deut. xxxii, 14, and Isaiah xxvii, 2,) and once as a verb, Psa. lxxv, 8. The other two forms are Chaldaic, and occur six times, Ezra vi, 9; vii, 22; Dan. v, 1, 2, 4, 23. It is from the verb חָמַר, *chamar*, to foam or be agitated, as, for example, the sea, Psa. xlvi, 3. Like *yayin*, it is descriptive of the foaming appearance of the newly-expressed grape juice, or of the same liquor in the process of

* Peile, "Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology," p. 127.

† Kerr, "Unfermented Wine a Fact," p. 19.

‡ Macleod, "Peeps at the Far East," p. 27.

fermentation. Mr. Bevan, in Smith's "Bible Dictionary," says: "It may equally well apply to the process of fermentation, or to the frothing of liquid freshly poured out, in which latter case it might be used of an unfermented liquid." It does not affect this testimony that the author elsewhere expresses his dissent from the doctrine of an unfermented wine. Like *yayin*, also, *chemer* was undoubtedly used as a generic term, and was probably a poetical substitute for the former, with which it was almost identical in meaning. It signifies a fresh and unfermented beverage in Deut. xxxii, 14, "Thou didst drink *chemer*, the blood of grapes," as the appositive phrase proves. Prof. Bumstead thinks it would "require a painfully prosaic turn of mind to understand 'the blood of the grapes' as meaning simple grape juice, especially when associated with such a word as *chemer* has already been shown to be."* But what has it been shown to be? Certainly not the designation exclusively of a fermented article. The etymology supports no such view. The usage in this case, moreover, which is the earliest on record, gives it no favor. "Blood of grapes" cannot be fairly construed in any other sense than that of "simple grape juice," as will hereafter appear. To argue from a much later usage of this term, where the circumstances of the case were entirely different, that in this earlier instance and primitive age it meant an intoxicating drink, is illogical and absurd. Instead of *chemer* proving "the blood of grapes" a fermented drink in this passage, "the blood of grapes" proves that *chemer* was unfermented. And also, in Isa. xxvii, 2, if the Hebrew text be genuine, it describes the juice of the grape, not as "red," (A.V.,) but "as if already foaming under the treader's feet." In Psa. lxxv, 8, where it is again rendered "red," (A.V.,) it doubtless signifies "foaming." It also, in all probability, denoted a light effervescing wine, like our modern bottled wines. It is doubtless used in this sense in Daniel.

v. אֲשִׁישָׁה, *Ashishah.*

This word occurs four times, first in 2 Sam. vi, 19, and in in each case it is associated with some kind of drink. In Cant. ii, 5, it is rendered simply "flagons;" in the other three in-

* "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 65

stances it is rendered "flagons of wine." It is conceded on all hands to mean, not wine at all, but a cake of pressed raisins. It denotes, therefore, a solid and not a liquid.

VI. מֶסֶךְ, *Mesek*; מִמְסָךְ, *Mimsak*; מֶזֶג, *Mezeg*.

The first of these cognate forms occurs but once, (Psa. lxxv, 8,) and the third but once, (Cant. vii, 2,) and they are each rendered (A.V.) "mixture." The second form occurs twice, (Prov. xxiii, 30, and Isa. lxv, 11,) and in the first passage is rendered "mixed wine," in the second "drink-offering." These words occur in a verbal shape five times, Prov. ix, 2, 5; Psa. cii, 9; Isa. v, 22; xix, 14. They signify wine compounded with some other ingredient, but whether drugged or diluted is not necessarily indicated. That the latter is sometimes the case is evident from the use of the term in Prov. ix, 2, 5, where the wine which Wisdom prepared was, doubtless, diluted with water, and also in Isa. v, 22.* This is also indicated by the fact that the LXX in these and other passages render the term by κεράννυμι, which always denotes a weakening of wines by dilution.†

VII. שְׁמָרִים, *Shemarim*.

This word, which is the plural of of שֶׁמֶר, *shemer*, occurs five times, first in Psa. lxxv, 8. It is derived from the verb שָׁמַר, *shamar*, to preserve, and has the general signification of "things preserved." Gesenius admits as much, but applies the term in all cases to the dregs of wine, "so called, because when wine is kept on the lees its strength and color are *preserved*." The explanation is far-fetched, and is not needed, at least in the case of Isa. xxv, 6, where the term occurs twice, and is rendered (A.V.) "wines on the lees." It is difficult to understand why wine (*yayin*) should not have been expressed if it is in any way intended or alluded to here. The literal reading of the passage is "a feast of fat things, a feast of preserved things," and the natural inference is that the term answers to our English "preserves." So the earlier translators understood it. Coverdale (1535) rendered "sweet things," and the Bishop's Bible (1568) and Cranmer, (1585,) "deli-

* *Vide* Gesenius, "Lexicon," *sub* מֶזֶג.

† *Vide* Liddell and Scott, "Lexicon," *in loco*.

cate things." In Psa. lxxv, 8, where it is rendered (A. V.) "dregs," it seems to denote not so much the *fæces* of the wine before being drawn off from the vat as the undissolved drugs of the mixture. In the two other instances of its use, where it is rendered (A.V.) "lees," the LXX suggests other readings altogether: *δόξη*, glory, in Jer. xlviii, 11, (LXX, xxxi, 11,) and *φυλάγματα*, defenses, in Zeph. i, 12. In Isa. li, 17, 22, an entirely different Hebrew word is used for "dregs." So *shemarim* may have no reference whatever to the lees of wine. If it does in the two last mentioned passages, as it most surely does not in the first mentioned, its use is so purely figurative as to have no bearing on our present inquiry.

VIII. עָסִיס, *Asis.*

This word occurs five times, first in Cant. viii, 2, where it is used of the juice of the pomegranate. In Isa. lxix, 26, and Amos ix, 13, it is rendered (A.V.) "sweet wine;" in Joel i, 5, and iii, 18, "new wine." It is derived from the verb עָסַס, *asas*, to tread, as all authorities agree. It denotes the newly expressed juice of the grape or other fruit. So the LXX, which renders *νάμα* "juice" and *γλυκασμόν* "sweetness," and the Vulgate, which renders *mustum* and *dulcendo* "sweetness," indicate. The attempt is made* to prove that *asis* included an intoxicating liquor from its use in the passages Isa. xlix, 26, and Joel i, 5. But in the former case, as Prof. Bumstead well observes:† "The point of the comparison lies not in any intoxicating power of the *asis*, but in the manner in which the *asis* is produced by the process of treading."‡ In the second passage the new wine is regarded as the source of the fermented wine. The latter fails because the new wine is cut off, and the new wine is cut off because the vineyards are destroyed by the invasion of insects described in the preceding verse. Prof. Bumstead's view of *asis* as "a poetical substitute for *tirosh*"§ is negatived by the established character of *tirosh* as always a solid and never a liquid, such as he claims it sometimes was. Cant. viii, 2, proves *asis* a liquid, and Joel iii, 18, and Amos ix, 13, do not disprove it. "It would seem to require a painfully prosaic turn of mind to see" only a solid

* Gesenius, "Lexicon," *in loco.*
† "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 77.
‡ Comp. Isa. lxiii, 6, and Rev. xix, 15.
§ "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 77.

"product of the soil" in the *asis* which the mountains drop down. The dull imagination may be assisted by a quotation from Pallas, who says of the grapes of the Hungarian vintage:* "In August they ripen, burst, and begin to evacuate their juice. The *shirnoi* contains a rich juice and bursts when ripe." Prof. Bumstead attempts to make out an intoxicating character for *asis* by reason of "its association with spiced, or mixed, wine" in Cant. viii, 2, and "the pervading voluptuousness of Solomon's imagery." He calls it, however, "an exceptional use of the word." But the fact that two beverages are mentioned in this passage implies a difference if not a contrast between them; and we should expect to find it in the unspiced and unintoxicating character of the second named. The LXX, which renders it by *νάμα*, and the Vulgate, which renders by *mustum*, both support this view. "The pervading voluptuousness of Solomon's imagery" is better satisfied by making *asis* the new juice than by any other interpretation. Luxury always commands the greatest variety, and in that age considered the freshly expressed beverages among the choicest. We conclude, therefore, from the etymology and usage of *asis*, that it always denotes a sweet and unfermented liquor.

IX. סֹבָא, *Sobe.*

This word occurs but three times. It is derived from the verb סָבָא, *saba*, to drink to satiation, and probably denoted a rich boiled wine, such as would speedily surfeit. It corresponded to the Greek ἕψημα, Latin *sapa*, to which it is doubtless etymologically akin, and to the Italian and French *sabe*. In Isa. i, 22, the allusion to mixing with water favors the view of a boiled wine. Hosea iv, 18, literally "sour is their *sobe*," suggests Columella's remark, (xii, 20,) "*Defrutum* is accustomed to grow sour (*solet acescere*) however carefully prepared." In Nahum i, 10, the sense may be, "soaking as with *sobe*," though the LXX has an entirely different reading here. There is no proof that *sobe* ever designated an intoxicating beverage.

X. עֲנָבִים, *Anabim.*

This word means, literally, "grapes," but in one instance (Hos. iii, 1) it is rendered (A. V.) "wine," under a mistaken

* Travels, (1793,) i, 314, quoted in "Temperance Bible Commentary," p. 27.

notion of the meaning of *ashishah*, with which it is immediately connected in the same passage.

XI. יֶקֶב, *Yeqeb.*

This word means, literally, wine-press or vat, but it is rendered (A. V.) "wine" once, Deut. xvi, 13. The phrase should read, "In thy gathering from thy floor and from thy press."

This completes the list of Hebrew words translated in our English Version by "wine" or by any phrase containing the word. There remain, however, five other terms signifying the liquid product of the grape, and better deserving the rendering "wine" than many we have considered.

XII. דַּם־עֲנָבִים, *Dam-anabim.*

This expression occurs in Gen. xlix, 11, rendered (A. V.) "blood of grapes," and in the singular, *dam-enab*, (A. V.,) "blood of the grape," in Deut. xxxii, 14. "Blood" is a poetical name for juice. It was used not so much with reference to the color of the liquid, for grape juice is generally, though not always, colorless, as to the fact that the life of the vine is in it. Cf. Lev. xvii, 11. The term is employed in the same sense now. Dr. Macleod, for example, calls the fresh and limpid juice of the palm "a genuine product of nature, and *the very blood of the tree.*" * We shall see in our discussion of the Lord's Supper that no other form of grape juice than the unfermented can with any propriety be called "the blood of the grape."

XIII. מִשְׁרַת־עֲנָבִים, *Mishrath-anabim.*

This phrase occurs but once, (Num. vi, 3,) and is rendered (A. V.) "liquor of grapes." *Mishrath* is derived from the verb שָׁרָה, *sharah*, "to loosen, to macerate," according to Gesenius, who defines the phrase, "the steeping of grapes." Dr. Thomas Laurie says † it refers to "a drink made in that way, [steeping,] and drank before it ferments."

XIV. דְּבַשׁ, *Debash.*

This word is derived from a verb דָּבַשׁ, *dabash*, to knead, "as being glutinous like a kneaded mass.‡ It is always rendered (A. V.) "honey," but in not more than three cases out of

* "Peeps at the Far East," p. 27. † "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1869.
‡ Gesenius, "Lexicon," *in loco.*

nearly fifty where it occurs does it mean honey from bees, but honey of grapes, that is, the fresh juice boiled down to a syrup. "At the present day," says Gesenius, "this syrup is still in common use in Palestine under the Arabic name *dibs*."

XV. חֹמֶץ, *Chometz.*

This word occurs six times, first in Num. vi, 3, and is in each case rendered (A. V.) vinegar. It is derived from the verb חָמַץ, *chamatz*, "to be sharp, pungent," and denotes the juice of the grape or of other fruits which had undergone both the alcoholic and the acetous fermentations. It was a thin, sour wine something like the French *vin-ordinaire*.

XVI. מִמְתַּקִּים, *Mamtaqqim.*

This word occurs twice, and is derived from the verb מָתַק, *mathaqh*, "(1) to suck, (2) to be sweet, sweet things being wont to be sucked,* " and signifies "sweetnesses, or sweet things." It is applied to the mouth (Cant. v, 16) as full of sweet things, and in Neh. viii, 10, "drink the sweet," it denotes the thick, sweet wines, devoid of intoxicating properties, which needed to be largely diluted before they were drunk.

Coming now to the New Testament we find five Greek terms used for beverages made from the grape and other fruits, but of these only two are in any instance rendered "wine" in our English Version. We shall briefly consider them.

I. Οἶνος.

This word occurs thirty-two times, outnumbering all the other terms in use four to one. It has the same generic sense in the New Testament that it has in classic usage, and that *yayin* has in the Hebrew. Moses Stuart says:† "In the New Testament we have *oinos*, which corresponds exactly with the Hebrew *yayin*." As has been already suggested, the two terms probably have a common etymological origin. Every argument for including unfermented wine under the Hebrew term applies with equal or augmented force to the Greek, for *οἶνος* has really a wider range of meaning than *yayin*, since the Hebrew has several distinct roots to express differences denoted in the Greek by adjectives qualifying this single generic term. In the New Testament usage it comprehends "new

* Gesenius, "Lexicon," *in loco.* † "Letter to Dr. Nott."

wine," *οἶνος νέος*, (Matt. ix, 17 and Mark ii, 22,) "sweet wine," *γλεῦκος*, (Luke x, 34,) and "sour wine," *ὄξος*, (Mark xv, 23.) These several passages will be considered under their appropriate heads in the further discussion of this subject.

II. *Γλεῦκος.*

This word occurs but once, (Acts ii, 15,) where it is rendered (A. V.) "new wine." We have established its reference to an unfermented beverage in the classical writings, and the single instance of its occurrence in the New Testament confirms this view. Professor Bumstead says* that it "clearly refers to an unfermented liquid," and successfully joins issue with Robinson, Bevan, Alford, Moore, and others who attempt to deny it.

III. *Σίκερα.*

This word, which occurs but once, (Luke i, 15,) is a literal rendering of the Hebrew *shechar*, and like that is doubtless used generically for all kinds of beverages made from other fruits than the grape.

IV. *Οἶνος νέος.*

This word is used nine times, (Matt. ix, 17, twice; Mark ii, 23, three times; Luke v, 37, twice, 38 once, 39, *νέος* expressed and *οἶνος* understood,) and is rendered (A. V.) in each instance "new wine." It was perhaps a general term for grape juice recently expressed, and may have included that which had begun to ferment. But in its New Testament usage, in the single connection in which it appears, it denotes a freshly expressed and unfermented liquor, as we shall see.

V. *Ὄξος.*

This word occurs six times (Matt. xxvii, 34, 48; Mark xv, 36; Luke xxiii, 36; John xix, 29, 30) in connection with the accounts of the crucifixion, and is in each case rendered (A. V.) "vinegar." It is equivalent to the Hebrew *chometz*, and designated, like that, a thin, sour wine. It will be more fully considered hereafter.

VI. *Γέννημα τῆς ἀμπέλου.*

This expression is employed three times (Matt. xxv, 29; Mark xiv, 25; Luke xxii, 18) in connection with the record of the institution of the Lord's Supper, and is rendered (A.V.)

* "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 81.

"fruit of the vine." It signifies the first and simplest product of the grape, the fresh juice. It will be discussed at length in our consideration of the Lord's Supper.

Summing up the results of our inquiry concerning the terms for wine in the Scriptures, we find that

1. There are eleven words in the Old Testament and two in the New, thirteen in all, which are rendered (A. V.) by "wine" either singly or in connection with some other word.

2. There are five other terms in the Old Testament and four others in the New, nine in all, which refer to the juice of the grape or of other fruits in some form. So that

3. There are in all, in both the Old and New Testaments, twenty-two terms which are applied to the products of the grape or of other fruits.

4. But of these twenty-two terms, there are five which have no reference whatever to the juice of the grape or to the juice of any fruit: one (*tirosh*) denotes the vine fruit in its natural, solid state; another (*ashishah*) denotes a cake of pressed raisins; another (*shemarim*) denotes the insoluble dregs of the wine, or, more probably, "preserves" or confections; another (*enab*) denotes simply the grape; and the fifth (*yeqeb*) denotes the wine-press.

5. Of the remaining seventeen words and phrases which do refer to the juices of fruits, three Hebrew terms (*yayin*, *shechar*, and *chemer*) and two Greek terms, (*οἶνος* and *σίκερα*,) five in all, are generic. One Hebrew term (*chometz*) and one Greek (*ὄξος*), two in all, denote a wine that has entered the acetic stage of fermentation. One Hebrew term (*mesek*, etc.) denotes a wine, either fermented or unfermented, which has been drugged or diluted. And six Hebrew terms (*asis*, *sobe*, *dam-anabim*, *mishrath-anabim*, *debash*, and *mamtaqqim*) and three Greek terms, (*γλεῦκος*, *οἶνος νέος*, *γέννημα τῆς ἀμπέλου*,) nine in all, denote some form of unfermented grape or other juice. So that

6. With the exception of one Hebrew and of one Greek word, which designate a beverage that has entered the acetic stage of fermentation, there is no term in the Old Testament or in the New which invariably indicates a fermented liquor, while there are nine which signify an unfermented article, and six others, the most important and by far the most frequently used, which leave us absolutely free to decide, by reference to

the context or circumstances of the case, whether or not a fermented wine is intended.

Having examined at length the assumption underlying the claim that the example of Jesus sanctions the use of alcoholic beverages, namely, that there was not in his times an unfermented wine in existence or use, and having proven it to be false, both from the testimony of the ancient classics and of the sacred Scriptures, it now remains to consider the specifications themselves.

ART. V.—PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, AND ITS NEGRO POPULATION.

PASSING over the historic events connected with the growth and prosperity of Petersburg, Va., up to 1861, we find it a city of 18,266 inhabitants—white, 9,342, colored, 8,924. Of the colored population, 3,244, strange to say, were free negroes, and 5,080 were slaves. At that time there was a large section of Petersburg, in the south-western part of the city, called Gilfield, inhabited almost exclusively by free negroes, some of whom were property-holders in a small way. They were, however, greatly restricted in their civil rights, and for the most part degraded in social position. It is a fact that the slaves, in the better classes of white families, would not associate with them.

Prior to what is known as the "Nat Turner Insurrection," in Southampton Co., Va., in 1831, the negroes, free and slaves, enjoyed the unrestricted privilege of holding their own religious meetings. Their preachers were duly licensed, and, in some instances, regularly ordained. They had their Sunday-schools and church organizations, and many of them acquired a knowledge of letters and a fair average of general intelligence. Some of the negro preachers were eloquent and instructive in their pulpit ministrations, not unfrequently preaching, by invitation, in the pulpits of the white congregations.

Thousands of the negroes, more especially the slaves, held their church membership with the whites, and worshiped with them, occupying the galleries provided for their accommodation, and were supplied with the sacraments by the white pastors, who, in addition to the regular services to which the

negroes had access to the extent of the gallery accommodations, held special services for them on Sunday afternoons. But the insurrection, which was headed by Nat Turner, a negro preacher and a slave, owned by one of the most indulgent of masters, led to stringent, and apparently cruel and oppressive, legislation, prohibiting negroes, under pains and penalties, from preaching or holding public religious services without the presence of one or more white persons, and even denying them the privilege of learning to read or write.

In the absence of this history, "The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin" is one of the most abhorrent and appalling commentaries ever written on African slavery. It has made the cheek of many a slave-holder tingle. But the legislation at the time, in Virginia, was deemed a life and death question. Nothing short of it, for the time being, could allay the painful and distressing excitement that prevailed every-where through the country. It almost makes one's blood run cold, even at this remote period of time, to recall the trepidation and alarm that pervaded the whole community. The stoutest hearts were made to quail. Rumors of negro insurrection filled the air. Sleep ceased to be refreshing, haunted as it was by hideous dreams of murder, blood, and arson. Mothers and maidens, and even little children, for months, not to say years, following the "Nat Turner Insurrection," looked pale and ghastly as the shadows of the evening gathered around them, from the horrifying apprehension that with bludgeon they might be brained, or with torch might be burned to a crisp, before the morning. I speak from experience. Nor would I go through the agony of those years again, for all the gold that ever passed hands in the negro traffic from colonial times till President Lincoln emancipated them with the stroke of his pen. Pharaoh and his people, under the visit of the destroying angel, when the first-born were convulsively quivering in the death-struggle in every household, did not more earnestly desire the quick departure of the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, than did the great majority of the slave-holders in the Carolinas and Virginia desire the removal of the negroes from among them immediately after the Southampton insurrection.

It was this state of feeling that led to, if it did not positively justify, the legislation that now looks so repellant on our

statute-books. The measure was considered imperative, under the circumstances—circumstances that cannot be fully appreciated at this distance of time; and yet it must be admitted that it is difficult to defend an institution that required such legislation to protect its patrons from consequences more to be deprecated than empty barns, untilled fields, and hard-handed toil.

Falling back a little in our narrative, it is just and proper to say that, prior to the prohibitory legislation in Virginia, at least two negro churches, independent of the whites, had been in existence for many years in Petersburg, namely, the African Baptist Church, claiming to have been organized in 1784, if not earlier, and the Gilfield Baptist Church, in the free negro quarter of the city, organized as early as 1803, possibly at an earlier date. The Third Baptist (colored) Church, was organized in 1843. Besides these three Colored Baptist churches, in 1861, there was the Union-street Methodist Episcopal Church, South. These churches were severally served by white pastors after the insurrection in 1831.

Such was the condition of affairs so far as they relate to the religious and educational privileges of the negro population in Petersburg, at the beginning of the war in 1861.

Many of the slaves, under all the disadvantages of their condition, were intelligent and really religious, in the best sense of the term. Those who were in more intimate association with the whites, as butlers, porters, dining-room servants, nurses, and chamber-maids, gathered up a great deal of current information, and acquired easy and even graceful manners. In point of genuine politeness many of the old family negroes in Petersburg, male and female, were models of gentility and polite behavior. The great masses, however, were ignorant, as a matter of course, and had a low standard of morals. The relations between the two races were pleasant. Docility and obedience on the part of the negro, with a due recognition of the superiority of the white race, secured to the blacks kind and conciliatory treatment. Instances of cruel and inhuman treatment there unquestionably were; but a hard and oppressive master or mistress was at a discount in good society. The slaves, as a rule, were warmly attached to their owners, and the administration of the laws was immeasurably milder than the stringency of the statutes would seem to indicate.

At the beginning of the war, in 1861, Petersburg was in a prosperous condition. The merchants were successful; manufacturers of tobacco, working slave and free-negro labor, were thrifty, and all departments of industry were in a state of remunerative activity. The citizens generally were in easy circumstances, and many of them rich. Hospitality was unbounded, and abundance reigned every-where. The cotton mills, of which there were six or seven in and around Petersburg, gave employment to the poorer classes of white laborers, male and female; so that among all classes there was contentment, prosperity, and plenty. I speak from personal knowledge, being then, as I am now, pastor of one of the principal churches of the city.

Apart from the fact that more than five thousand of the negroes were slaves, and held as chattels by their owners, and were subjected to disabilities as citizens, and restricted in their religious privileges, as above recited, there was nothing in the condition of the population to excite the commiseration of the philanthropist or to invoke the pity of the humanitarian. The negroes themselves were cheerful and happy, singing merrily at their work, and enjoying the comforts of convenient shelter, necessary clothing, and an abundance of nutritive food. They had, with limited exceptions, no aspirations beyond their condition. Altogether they were the happiest and best contented laborers in the world.

Such was the condition of affairs in Petersburg when the first gun was fired on Fort Sumter. At first there was no violent disruption. Business continued with but slight interruption. But the storm thickened, and grew more and more portentous, and at last seemed to spend its fury on the devoted city. It sustained a siege the history of which has not been written—never will be written.

Religious services were kept up in the negro churches, with more or less of regularity during the war, from April, 1861, till April, 1865. No additional restraints were imposed upon the colored population as to their religious privileges; and, to the praise and credit of the slaves, be it recorded that, as a body, they continued faithful to their owners during the continuance of the war. They manifested neither restlessness nor insubordination; and in many instances displayed a devotion

to the Confederate cause unsurpassed by the whites who were not in active service. Families of defenseless women and children were perfectly safe under their protection. Not an instance of personal violence, not so much as a threat of violence, ever fell under the knowledge of the writer during the four long years of the war. The negro church members were as attentive to religious worship and as earnest in prayer for the preservation of the lives of the soldiers, as were the whites who were not in the field. Indeed, I think it may be said in truthfulness that there was less of open backsliding, less of religious defection, among the negroes than among the whites. And what is here stated with respect to the negroes of Petersburg was true with respect to the slaves generally in the Confederate lines. Many of the slaves accompanied their owners to the camp and to the field. They were cognizant of all that was transpiring around them, and might with ease, had they been so disposed, have passed the lines at any time, and yet they remained faithful and trustworthy till the close of hostilities. There were, as might naturally be expected, individual exceptions. The wonder is there were so few. This page of the history of the war has not yet been written out. The fact is, and perhaps this explains the matter, that neither the whites nor the blacks regarded it as a struggle for the emancipation of the slaves. Hence the relations between the two races continued unimpaired. There was mutual confidence and reciprocal trust. As an evidence, the negroes were every-where employed in constructing breastworks and other defenses, as occasion demanded. They cultivated the soil, and provided for the families of the soldiers at home. They visited the camps, and bore messages between husbands and wives, between mothers and their sons. They greeted the return of the soldiers, on temporary furlough, with unfeigned joy, and many a "mammy" clasped the bronzed and ragged boy-soldier to her breast with an affection but little short of that of an own mother.

Nor was it till the close of the protracted conflict, and the emancipation of the slaves, that any marked alienation took place between the races; and only then as it was instigated and fostered by the presence and teachings of fanatical preachers and low politicians. These infested the country and stirred

up strife and excited suspicion and distrust of the whites; and for a season led to estrangement and alienation, to a greater or less extent, between the two races.

Happily, I may say here and now, though it anticipates the current order of events, a healthful reaction has set in, and the relations between the whites and the blacks are comparatively free from the elements that hitherto created friction and antagonism; and there is, at the time of this present writing, a better state of feeling, and a stronger tendency than ever before to a mutual recognition of each other's rights, and to a peaceable and permanent state of society.

It is not an unpleasant task to review the history of events as they stand connected with the past and present condition of the negro population of Petersburg, Virginia. And Petersburg is chosen for the reason that it has had a negro population in excess of the whites ever since the war; it has had a majority of colored voters—a majority of colored scholars in the public schools—it now has a larger number of colored church members than the aggregate of white church members in the city; and for the further reason that the writer has a better personal knowledge of the past and present *status* of the negroes in Petersburg than elsewhere. Petersburg came out of the war battered and broken. For the space of ten months it was under the fire of the Federal forces, day and night, with only an occasional cessation of the terrible rain of shot and shell. The midnight sky was lurid with the glare and trail of fiery and explosive missiles. A momentary lull was soon followed by the fearful crash of a stray shot coming through the walls or the roof of a family residence on Bollingbrook-street, or suddenly exploding at the feet of the unprotected passenger in the public thoroughfares of the city. Thousands of the citizens had sought refuge in the country, huddled together in frail tents or in rickety shanties, but thousands remained, resigned to their fate. Strange how few were killed! Strange how few of the negroes—proverbially timid—deserted their cabins, or sought to escape for safety to the besiegers of the city. They were heard singing and praying, night after night, during the long continuance of the pitiless storm. In the midst of the painful and agonizing suspense a mine was sprung under one of the principal defenses in the

long line of earthworks around the city, and for the nonce it seemed as if hell itself had let loose its infernal fires on Petersburg! The "Crater" still remains in sight of our church steeples, a hideous scar that Dame Nature's healing hand has not yet blotted out of sight and memory. A cavalry attack, under General Kautz, with 2,000 men, was made on the city, June 9, 1864, which would have proved a success but for the intrepidity of a handful of reserves, made formidable by the apprehension, on the part of the cavalry, that the city reservoir, which occupied a conspicuous position in the rear of the little reserved force, was a powerful fortification, impregnable to their assaults. This is no fiction! But the day, so long delayed, came at last. Petersburg fell an easy prey to overwhelming force. It emerged from the calamitous results of the war in a wrecked and pitiable condition. Its wealth was swept away. The negroes were free. The whites were poor, dispirited, and crestfallen. Military rule was established. Some of the officers in authority were conciliatory and kind. Not so *all*. The negroes, as a general thing, behaved well. Many of them clung to their former owners with a tenacity and tenderness that was marvelous. It were better, perhaps, to pass over in silence much that occurred during the period of military rule and reconstruction.

At no distant day after the close of the war the attention of the good people of Petersburg was directed to the inauguration of a public-school system, even in advance of any State action on the subject. The provisions of the system projected looked to the education of the children of freedmen as well as to the children of white parentage. This was a new departure in Virginia. Under the new Constitution public schools came regularly into vogue; and, whatever may have been the prevailing prejudice in the South, and especially in Virginia, against a common-school system, making education equally accessible to all, the poverty to which all classes had been reduced led them to accept it under a sort of protest, and yet from necessity to accept it. Petersburg was not behind any city in the State in taking vigorous hold of the subject. The system was fully inaugurated in 1868. The city, through the Common Council, appropriated $11,000 to the object. It received from the Peabody Fund $3,000; and from the Freedmen's Bureau

$1,400, making a total of $15,400 which was applied to public-school purposes the first year. Four white and four colored schools were put into successful operation. The annual report of the "Board of Education," as it was then styled, shows that 1,003 white, and 1,176 colored scholars had been enrolled for the year 1868. This was the initiative of a movement, the seed planting, so to speak, from which there has already been reaped a harvest that far exceeds any expectation indulged by the most hopeful of the friends of public schools in Petersburg. Appreciative acknowledgment is made by the Board, in its first report, not only of the donation from the Peabody Fund, but also of the liberality of leading publishing houses in New York and Philadelphia in supplying the schools with text-books, as also of the donation of school-room furniture from Mr. Joseph L. Ross, of Boston.

The colored schools were placed at disadvantage at first for the lack of school-room accommodation, and for the want of home influences to stimulate the children and keep them up to their duty. Attendance, as a consequence, was irregular, absence and tardiness, half days and truancy, complained of; a thing to have been expected in the outset. It was a novelty, not to say a grave innovation, in Virginia, to see the *colored children*—girls and boys, with satchels, slates, books, etc., going to school. None but a Southerner, who has been reared up with negro slaves, can appreciate this remark. Popular prejudice was, at first, decidedly shocked. It is no exaggeration to say that, in the minds of not a few, it excited a species of indignant resentment. This feeling prevailed in Petersburg, as elsewhere in Virginia, and indeed throughout the slave-holding States. The time is past in which we feel any hesitancy in frankly stating what every one knows to be a fact. The white population had, for so long a time, been accustomed to look upon the negroes as inferior to the whites, and really as being incapable, with rare exceptions, of acquiring scholarship, that the idea of culture was deemed as preposterous and absurd as it was distasteful and repugnant to the prevailing popular sentiment. Nor was it till a year or two had passed, and experiment had actually demonstrated the fact that the colored children, suitable allowances being made for heredity, were as apt, under an equality of facilities and appliances, in the acquisition

of elementary learning as the average whites, that the prejudice alluded to abated its violence, and the tide of public opinion turned in favor of the education of the negroes in the public schools at corporation and State expense.

The report of the "Board of Education," for the year ending June, 1870, showed a decided advance. The whole number of white scholars enrolled for the year being 1,135; colored 1,526. Receipts for school expenses as follows: city of Petersburg, $14,500; Peabody Fund, $2,000; United States Government, through Freedmen's Bureau, $1,200. Total, $17,700. According to the United States census for 1870 the population of Petersburg was 18,950—negroes 10,185, whites 8,744; showing an increase of negroes of 1,261 over the census of 1860, and a decrease of 598 in the white population—giving the negroes a majority of 1,741. In this posture of affairs the negroes had the popular vote of the city measurably in their hands, and did elect two colored men as representatives in the State Legislature. This was in 1869. In 1872 the city was represented, both in the House of Delegates and the Senate of the State Legislature, by colored men. Two or three of the wards of the city elected colored representatives in the City Council; and, with the aid of the white Republican vote, controlled the public offices of the city, and dictated the government of the Corporation. The municipal administration was in their hands. Nor was it till 1874 that a change was effected in the administration. During the negro rule, the conservative party became chafed and almost exasperated by reason of the fact that this latter party were the property-holders and tax-payers, and actually had to support an administration that was alleged to be reckless in expenditures. The city was rapidly verging on utter bankruptcy. Many of the wealthiest and best citizens sold out their property and left the city. Real estate depreciated in value; taxes were increased, and inevitable wreck and ruin were imminent. In 1873 the financial crash increased and aggravated the embarrassments of the situation. The funds at the command of the School Board were inadequate, in consequence of bank failures, in which deposits were held, to meet current demands, and the public schools were on the edge of positive suspension; and, but for the timely aid afforded by Rev. Barnas Sears, D.D., LL.D., agent for the management

and distribution of the Peabody Fund, the public schools would have been closed. The relief afforded met the exigency and warded off the impending calamity. The transfer of the administration to the hands of the conservative party was followed by a healthful reaction. A better state of feeling diffused itself in the community. The cordial support of the public schools by the new administration was a peace-measure —conciliatory to the negroes and promotive of a stronger bond of union between the two races.

The Legislature of 1873 authorized the City Council of Petersburg to issue bonds to the amount of $40,000 for the purpose of erecting public school buildings; and in the application of this fund no discrimination was made against the negroes. Buildings in every way as commodious and comfortable were erected for them as for the white population. Pending the change of administration, what is known as the Peabody School Building, for the use of the negroes, was under contract and in process of erection. The building was completed and furnished at an expense of something more than $18,000, and was inaugurated May 7, 1874, Dr. Sears, as a merited compliment, delivering the opening address on the occasion by the invitation of the School Board. It is not necessary to describe the Peabody Building further than to say that it is centrally located in an eligible part of the city; that it is a spacious and imposing structure, with ample accommodations for six or eight hundred scholars; and that in every respect it compares favorably with any public school building in Virginia.

Another school building for the negroes was erected out of the fund appropriated by the City Council, on Jones-street; and the four negro schools which were put in operation at the beginning—not including the large parochial school connected with St. Stephen's (colored) Episcopal Church—were merged into these two schools, the Peabody and the Jones-street schools, furnishing ample accommodation for the whole colored population of the city.

Omitting further detailed statements as to the history of the public schools in Petersburg, and restricting the line of remark exclusively to the negro schools, we reach 1875, at which time the school census taken for the city showed 3,402 whites between five and twenty-one years of age, and 4,015 colored.

The report of the School Board, however, exhibits a smaller percentage of colored than of white children enrolled for the year ending 1876; but of those enrolled it shows a larger percentage of attendance on the part of the colored than of the white scholars.

In 1874 the Peabody Fund ceased its appropriations for the benefit of the public schools in Petersburg, and left the support of the schools to the city, with such aid as the State could afford under the unsettled condition of public affairs prevailing in Virginia. But by the liberality of the City Council the schools have been kept in successful operation, and at present are not only on a solid footing, but are more firmly intrenched in public favor and confidence than at any previous stage of their history in Virginia. This is recorded with a knowledge of what has been said and written for and against public schools by some of the ablest men of the State; a controversy into which we do not propose to enter.

We pause just here, then, to note some of the results of the public-school system, so far as it relates directly to the colored population of Petersburg, and indirectly as it relates to the negro population of the South. And firstly, it has demonstrably settled the fact that the negro children are as apt in acquiring elementary knowledge as the whites, with this difference, perhaps, that they do not as tenaciously *retain* their acquisitions in letters as the whites. The rule, however, has its exceptions; for in many instances it must be admitted—and the examples are in this city—that they do not only make as rapid advances as the whites, but really acquire thorough scholarship in the different departments of learning, and carry off medals for proficiency in mathematics and in the languages that would be creditable to any one, of any race or color. It is idle, and only shows the inveteracy of our prejudice, to shut our eyes to the fact that the negroes of the coming generation are just as capable of scholarship and culture as the whites. The negroes, as a general thing, are less provident in forecast than the whites. During the summer season, when family expenses are comparatively light, and the different lines of industry create a demand for labor with fair wages, the colored population have ample means of support, and might lay by something for the coming winter; but they spend their money freely for

melons and fruits of all kinds, and are especially lavish in expenditures on *excursions*. While money is in hand it is spent without prudent forethought; and, as a consequence, the winter finds them poorly prepared for its rigors, in the way of comfortable clothing and a supply of fuel. Then they have a remarkable *penchant* for secret societies and for military companies, all of which cost money for fees, dues, and for a showy uniform or a fantastic regalia. Over and above these extravagant expenditures, disproportionate to their wages and income, they pay liberally toward the erection and support of their churches and church enterprises; the consequence is that when the factories are closed in the winter, and labor is not in demand, they are stinted for the means of support for themselves and families. There is, however, a manifest improvement from year to year in all these respects; and *experience*, that stern teacher, is gradually leading them to more considerate forethought, and to a less extravagant and wasteful expenditure of their summer earnings.

Hand and hand with the progress of education among the negro population of Petersburg there has been a corresponding progress in industry, thrift, morals, and manners of the race. Their ability to live at less expense than the poor whites has enabled the more provident of them to lay by a larger surplus from their earnings, and, as a result, they are buying lots and putting up comfortable, and in some instances tastefully constructed residences. The marriage relation is recognized by them as of more binding obligation than formerly, both in its civil and moral aspects. The family idea is in healthful growth. Self-respect and self-reliance are on the advance. Citizenship, with its franchises and responsibilities, is beginning to be more highly appreciated, and its duties more faithfully and independently discharged. With the growth of education, linked with the religious idea, there is a development of manliness which is less pliant in the hands of unscrupulous politicians than was the putty, plastic form of the negro at an earlier stage of his citizenship under the new State Constitution and the amended Constitution of the United States.

One must stultify himself not to see and acknowledge these happy results. Along with what has just been noted, there is a manifest development of a laudable ambition on the part

of those who are distinguishing themselves in scholarship to fit themselves for teachers and for the learned professions. Already there is a demand on the part of the colored population for a recognition of their rights to a fair and equitable representation in the "School Board," and the appointment of colored teachers in the colored schools. Public meetings have been held by the negroes on this behalf, and respectful but sharply pronounced resolutions adopted, requesting the Public School Board of the city to consider the obvious propriety and the justice of allowing suitably qualified negroes, male and female, an equal chance with the whites in the election of teachers for the colored schools. The demand is too reasonable to admit of controversy; nor, really, is there any indisposition on the part of the Board to grant the request as vacancies may occur in the colored schools. But there has been and still is an unwillingness to displace thoroughly competent white teachers, who have rendered invaluable service in the colored schools, and who, by reason of long experience, are pre-eminently qualified for the positions they hold, merely to gratify the demand, however respectfully presented, to put inexperienced colored teachers in their places. And yet the Board is ready and willing, when vacancies shall occur in the colored schools, to give colored applicants an equal chance with the whites to fill such vacancies. The time is in the near future, perhaps just now at hand, when this demand will be met without the displacement of white principals and teachers merely to create vacancies. It will come along in the current order of events quite as soon as equal competency and proficiency are found in the colored applicants to fill the vacancies as they may occur in the colored schools.

The present population of Petersburg may be put down in round numbers at 22,000—say, 10,000 whites and 12,000 colored—giving the negroes 2,000 majority in the whole population. At the ballot-box the negroes *can* poll a larger vote than the whites. But, with this predominance of negro population, we have the gratifying spectacle presented of one of the most quiet, orderly, and peaceable communities anywhere to be found in all these broad lands. There is, comparatively, but little litigation in the civil courts of the corporation; and the police record will compare favorably with that of any city of

the same population in the whole country. The mayor's court is often held without a case, even of misdemeanor. Felonies are unfrequent, and of those that do occur, which are sent up to higher tribunals, the parties are quite as often white as colored. Disturbances of the peace are not more common among the negroes than among the whites. Life, limb, and property are as secure and as well protected in Petersburg by day and by night as in any city of 22,000 population in the United States of America. This is no idle boasting. The appeal from any question of these facts is to our court records—police, civil, and criminal; and when it is remembered that there are 12,000 negroes and only 10,000 whites in the city, the record is as creditable as it is really wonderful. It is very much questioned whether a parallel can be found in all this country.

How much we are indebted to the public schools for this favorable state of things I will leave to others to decide; but, in my judgment, the wonder-working factor in footing up this result is to be found, in large part at least, in the religious element interwoven with the structure of negro society in Petersburg.

The First (colored) Baptist Church now has a large and tastefully constructed church edifice, with a seating capacity of 1,200. It has a high steeple, with other imposing external architectural features, fitted up in the interior with spacious galleries, comfortable pews, and other appointments correspondingly commodious and agreeable to the eye. Besides, it has a large lecture-room, neatly fitted up for Sunday-school purposes. This church reports a membership of 2,300 and 600 Sunday-school scholars, with well-assorted library and other appliances for Sunday-school purposes. In connection with this church there is a number of benevolent associations: such as "The Scattered Mission;" "Foreign Missionary Society;" "Relief Association," etc. At public worship the house is crowded, often beyond its capacity. The services orderly; behavior decorous; singing by the choir scientific, not to say artistic, with a superb female soprano and as fine a male tenor as is heard in Virginia.

The new Gilfield (colored) Baptist Church is a larger and finer building than the First Church just noticed. It is one hundred

feet by sixty, and is built with massive towers, heavy buttresses, mullioned windows filled with ornamented glass, and presents externally a cathedral-like appearance. The auditorium is fitted up in good style, and has, with its unusually deep and spacious galleries, a seating capacity of nearly 2,000. The pitch is high and airy, with slightly vaulted ceiling; the pews of handsome pattern, finished with heavy scrolls; the center aisle broad and richly carpeted; the pulpit an elegant piece of work, and the platform furnished with massive, ornamental chairs; the walls snowy white, and all set off at night in the brilliant light, dispensed by three circles of gas-jets in the upper ceiling, and with bracket lights under the galleries, softened by fine, figured glass shades. The singing by the choir in this church is exceedingly fine. The soprano is led by a cultivated male voice. The tenor voice is singularly clear, round, smooth, and as sweet as the notes of a silver trumpet. This Church reports 2,400 members, 650 Sunday-school scholars, and a number of auxiliary associations in different lines of Christian activity.

The worshipers in these two leading colored churches are, for the most part, well dressed—some of them even stylish in attire. They conduct themselves with great propriety of manners, and are exceedingly polite and respectful to white visitors. Besides these two churches there is the Third Baptist (colored) Church, with 440 members, and a Sunday-school of corresponding size. In addition to these Baptist churches, there is the "African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church," with 350 members, and 200 Sunday-school scholars; and the Union-street "Colored Methodist Episcopal Church," with a small membership and a good Sunday-school. Besides these, and it is a novelty in Petersburg, there is "St. Stephen's Episcopal Church," presided over by Rev. Giles B. Cook, with 250 communicants and 300 Sunday-school scholars. Under the supervision of Rev. Mr. Cook there is a large parochial colored day-school connected with this church. The church, with its school enterprises, has received liberal aid from time to time from friends in the Northern States. Indeed, nearly all these colored churches have been assisted in one way or another by the friends of negro education at the North.

In summing up the net results we are amazed at the figures,

and very much question whether any thing approximating a parallel can be found in the world! This sounds extravagant. Let us see. Out of a negro population, in the city of Petersburg, of something less than 12,000—men, women, and children—there are, according to recently revised reports, 5,500 church members; 2,000 Sunday-school scholars, including officers and teachers; and 1,500 scholars enrolled in the public and parochial schools. The church buildings are all large and commodious; the Sunday-schools are furnished with organs, libraries, and school apparatus; and, with only one or two exceptions, the houses of worship and the Sunday-school rooms are in no respect inferior to the church buildings occupied by the white congregations.

Then, in addition to all that has been enumerated, there are several lodges of F. and A. M., Knights of Pythias, and other secret associations. Over and above these there are literary societies, reading-rooms, temperance organizations, and various benevolent societies and orders for the relief of the poor, and for the purpose of defraying the funeral expenses of members who keep up their dues. And yet again, there are three volunteer military companies, and some of these companies, in public parade, make as fine a display as is ordinarily exhibited by the best white companies.

Not a few of the colored population attend worship, more or less frequently, at the churches for the whites, to whom there is always awarded comfortable accommodation in the galleries, where seats are set apart for their use. A well-behaved colored man or woman in Petersburg receives courteous, polite, and respectful consideration. *Social equality is not recognized*, nor is it expected or desired by either race. Citizenship, with all its immunities and without restriction, is cheerfully awarded. The negro is as fairly dealt by in the courts of justice, at the ballot-box, in contracts, and in the ordinary business affairs of life, as the white citizen. They are property owners, shopkeepers, manufacturers, contractors, master-builders, mechanics, and laborers, competing fairly, and without let or hinderance, with the whites. They are constantly improving in morals, in thrift and industry, and are rapidly advancing in civilization, refinement, and learning.

I have been a pastor in the leading towns and cities of North

Carolina and Virginia for the last forty-five years. I was reared up with slaves, and was a slave-owner. Before the war I preached to the negroes, holding for them special services on Sunday afternoons in the lecture-rooms of the churches of which I was pastor. I now have in my family valuable and highly-prized testimonials presented by the colored congregations as tokens of their kind appreciation of my pastoral services. I was surrounded by the slaves during the war, have been cognizant of all that has transpired affecting their condition since their emancipation, especially in Virginia, and yet more particularly in Richmond and Petersburg; and the record I have made in the foregoing paper is unbiased by prejudice on the one hand, or by over-statement on the other. But the negro problem has not yet been worked out to its final results in the Southern States. The record made in this paper is descriptive of the past history and of the present *status* of the colored population in Petersburg, Va., in this year of grace, 1882. Its application to other localities and communities holds good, no doubt, to a more or less qualified extent. Exceptional cases here and there may compare favorably with Petersburg. What is in process of growth in the womb of the future is beyond any prevision of ours to detect. We possess no "mystical lore" by which to forecast the horoscope of that which is yet to be born. In any attempt to solve the curious problem, a number of factors, patent to every thoughtful observer, must be taken into account. Let us pass in brief enumeration and review only a few of these qualities. Just now we are confronted with the fact that what may be called the *conservative* element among the negroes in the South is rapidly dying out and hastening to utter extinction. I allude to the surviving remnant of old, faithful family slaves that were in close and intimate association with the whites, and who still retain the sentiment of respect and affection for their former owners and their children. Such were the carriage-drivers, foremen, butlers, and body-servants among the men, and the "mammies," nurses, chamber-maids, and cooks, among the women. These, hitherto, have kept up the bond of union between the two races. The attachment has always been reciprocal. But these are passing away. Their influence is dwindling and must expire. Instead of these there is coming

on a new generation, born free, and reared up with less of deferential respect for the whites. There is more in *this*, so far as it relates to the future, than is seen at a glance by a casual observer. Then, again, our late census, contrary to expectation, shows a rapid and unprecedented growth of the negro population in the last decade. Add to the foregoing the fact that the "negro exodus," which promised rather than threatened to take off the excess of negro population in some of the Southern States, has proved a phantom. Then, again, superadd the fact that a very large proportion of those who are lured to the Northern cities and States by higher wages than can be obtained in the South, return after a season to their former homes among their own color. Once more, look at the fact that the colonization of negroes from the South in Africa is a pronounced failure. For the present there is no prospect of drainage in that direction. In the light of these facts—and others might be adduced—it is perfectly obvious that the negroes now in this country, and destined to be born and reared in what were formerly the slave-holding States, are measurably shut up to Southern soil and sunshine. *Here* they are invested with all the rights of citizenship. Social equality and intermarriage is a thing at present not "dreamed of." Now, then, with the growth of the negro population in the Southern States, and with but little, if any, prospect of depletion or outlet, who has the sagacity to forecast, or the gift of prophecy to foretell, what is to be the future *status* of the negro in the Southern States? Who can do but little more than guess, or doubtfully conjecture, what are to be the relations between the two races occupying the same territory, so far as these relations shall affect the civil, social, political, and commercial interests of the Southern States?

How far the education, industry, and ownership of property, together with the moral improvement of the negro population, on the one hand, and the conciliation, fair-dealing, and cheerful award of unmolested citizenship, on the part of the white population, on the other hand, conjoined with a liberal influx of Northern and foreign immigration to fill up and cultivate our sparsely settled lands—a thing so much to be desired—may serve to furnish a satisfactory solution of the questions raised, must be remitted to the silent future for an answer.

ART. VI.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1882. (Philadelphia.)—1. Methodism and its Methods; by J. G. S. 2. Count Joseph De Maistre; by A. J. Faust, A.M., Ph.D. 3. Westminster Abbey; by Arthur Featherstone Marshall, B.A. 4. Archbishop M'Hale; by John M'Carthy. 5. Protestant Isms and Catholicity in the United States; by Rev. T. J. Jenkins. 6. Galileo Galilei and the Copernican System; by Rt. Rev. P. N. Lynch, D.D. 7. Ireland's Opportunity—Will it be Lost? by John Boyle O'Reilly. 8. The Early Franciscan Mission in this Country; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 9. The Problem of Man's Destiny, How Much has Unrevealed Science Done Toward its Solution? by Rev. S. Fitzsimons. 10. The Supposed Fall of Honorius, and his Condemnation; by J. H. R.

BAPTIST REVIEW, January, February, March, 1882. (Cincinnati.)—1. Present Relation of Scientific Thought to Christianity; by Lemuel Moss, D.D. 2. Philo and the Therapeutæ. Translated, with Notes, from the German of Prof. Dr. A. Hilgenfeld, at Jena, by Alfred G. Langley. 3. Theories of the Atonement; by E. Nisbet, D.D. 4. The Resurection of our Lord; by Wayland Hoyt, D.D. 5. The Story of Jephthah's Daughter; by Rev. Charles W. Currier. 6. A Hundred Years of Kant; by Prof. E. Benjamin Andrews.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1882. (Columbia, Mo.)—1. Introduction; by the Editor. 2. Traces of Development in New Testament Thought; by Elder G. W. Longan. 3. Creation or Evolution? by Geo. C. Swallow, M.D., LL.D. 4. The Revised Version of the New Testament; by Elder Robert T. Matthews, A.M. 5. The Education of Preachers; by John W. M'Garvey, A.M. 6. Ingersoll in the North American Review; by the Editor, E. W. Herndon, A.M., M.D. 7. The Educated Man; by J. W. Ellis, A.M. 8. Were the Bible and its Religion Plagiarized from other Religions and their Sacred Books, Legends, and Myths? by Clark Braden. 9. The Fellowship of His Sufferings; by Elder J. W. Mountjoy, A.M.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, January, 1882. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Religion of Evolution as Against the Religion of Jesus; by Prof. W. H. Wynn, Ph.D. 2. Baptismal Book of the Ethiopic Church. Translated by Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph.D. 3. The Revised English New Testament; by M. Valentine, D.D. 4. Ten Years of the Civil Service; by Prof. John A. Himes, A.M. 5. The Young and the German Luther; by John G. Morris, D.D., LL.D. 6. Evolution of the Scriptures; by Rev. John A. Earnest, A.M. 7. The Irrepressible Power of Christianity; by S. Sprecher, D.D., LL.D.

NEW ENGLANDER, March, 1882. (New Haven.)—1. The New England Family; by N. Allen, M.D. 2. Historians of Early Rome since Niebuhr; by Prof. A. G. Hopkins. 3. What is Unitarianism? by Rev. E. A. Lawrence, D.D. 4. The Sacrificial Aspect of Christ's Death, and its Place in the Work of Redemption; by Rev. H. B. Elliott. 5. Science and Phenomenalism; by J. P. Gordy. 6. Sister Augustine: An Old Catholic; by Miss Kate E. Tyler. 7. Address at the Funeral of Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D.; by Prof. Timothy Dwight. 8. Leonard Bacon: Pastor of the First Church of New Haven; by Rev. G. L. Walker.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, January, 1882. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of Rear-Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher, U.S.N.; by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N. 2. Thacher's Record of Marriages at Milton; by Edward D. Harris, Esq. 3. Early History of Groton; by Hon. Samuel A. Green, M.D. 4. Montressor's Journal of an Expedition on Snow-shoes in 1760 from Quebec; by G. D. Scull, Esq. 5. Rev. Thomas Welde's Letter, 1643; by William

B. Trask, Esq. 6. The Dover Settlement and the Hiltons; by John T. Hassam, A.M. 7. Braintree Records; by Samuel A. Bates, Esq. 8. Sabin Family; by Rev. Anson Titus, Jr. 9. Marriages in West Springfield; by Mr. Lyman H. Bagg. 10. Rev. Thomas Welde's Innocency Cleared; by G. D. Scull, Esq. 11. Deed of Gov. Bellingham; by William B. Trask, Esq. 12. Capt. John Gerrish's Account Book; by Frank W. Hackett, A.M. 13. Longmeadow Families; by Willard S. Allen, A.M. 14. Letter of Roger Williams; by Wm. B. Trask, Esq.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, January, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Comparative Certainty of Physics and Metaphysics; by Prof. William G. T. Shedd, D.D., LL.D. 2. The Argument from Law; by Gilbert M. Tucker. 3. The Doctrine of the Covenants Considered as the Central Principle of Theology; by the late Prof. A. B. Van Zandt, D.D. 4. The Presbyterian Cultus; by Prof. Samuel M. Hopkins, D.D. 5. The Presbyterial Care of Students; by Prof. James Eells, D.D. 6. Sacramental Wine; by Rev. Dunlop Moore, D.D. 7. Prof. W. Robertson Smith on the Pentateuch; by Prof. William Henry Green, D.D., LL.D.

PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1882. (New York.)—1. Future Paper Money in this Country; by Prof. Lyman H. Atwater. 2. The Moral and Religious Training of Children; by G. Stanley Hall, Ph.D. 3. The Concord School of Philosophy; by Pres. James M'Cosh. 4. The Architect and his Art; by John F. Weir, N.A. 5. Anti-National Phases of State Government; by Eugene Smith. 6. The Place of Philosophy in the Theological Curriculum; by Francis L. Patton, D.D., LL.D.

March.—1. The Private Ownership of Land; by J. M. Sturtevant, D.D., LL.D. 2. Modern Æstheticism; by Prof. Theodore W. Hunt, Ph.D. 3. The Collapse of Faith; by President Noah Porter. 4. Patronage Monopoly and the Pendleton Bill; by Dorman B. Eaton, LL.D. 5. Philosophy and its Specific Problems; by George S. Morris, Ph.D. 6. Evolution in Education; by Principal Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1882. (Boston.)—1. The Demonology of Jesus; by Rev. D. M. Hodge. 2. The Eschatology of St. Paul; by Rev. S. S. Hebberd. 3. Theories of Skepticism: Necessity in Philosophy—Fatalism in Science; by William Tucker, D.D. 4. The Sin Against the Holy Ghost; by T. J. Sawyer, D.D. 5. The Atomic Theory: The Psychical Basis of Physics; by G. H. Emerson, D.D. 6. Science and Religion; by Orello Cone, D.D. 7. A Prophet; by Rev. I. C. Knowlton.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, January, 1882. (Nashville.)—1. Polemics. 2. Sir Walter Scott. 3. Our China Mission. 4. Inspiration of the Scriptures. 5. Methodistic Philosophy. 6. Forms of Prayer. 7. Fraternity—Another View. 8. McClintock & Strong's Cyclopædia. 9. John B. Wardlaw, Jr., A.M. 10. Blair's Grave.

The article "Fraternity—Another View" is a courteous, but bold and firm, reply to Dr. Miller's article in the last Southern Quarterly, which repeated the old, old history, showing how the South has always been exactly right and the other side always exactly wrong. Dr. Miller's article, as we remarked, was (like a local currency) good within its own section alone, and current there for only a fast-vanishing period. The days of "provincialism" have passed, and emerging into harmony and fellowship with Christendom the history of the period of isolation loses its charm, and falls dead, even on the Southern ear, as a thrice-told tale. Not young in years,

Dr. Kelley is young in heart, and speaks for the young South with a freshness and freedom worthy of Dr. Haygood himself. In his view, as in ours, Dr. Miller's "intensity betrays him into unconscious narrowness." Dr. Kelley well touches upon his absurd assumptions, especially the assuming that in the Cape May Conference we "no longer approve such statements of history as mark the 'Great Secession' by Dr. Elliott."

But Dr. Kelley finds the regular reading of the history, as given by Dr. Miller, to be not only monotonous, but in vital points untenable. He declares "that slavery has come to be recognized so universally as a great moral wrong that the effort to relegate it to the state as a purely civil institution can only be regarded now as a temporary parallax in the vision of good men under trial." And that, coming from the source it does, is a great sentence. It cuts the ties of a miserable "consistency" with the past, it breaks the fetters of that Southern "provincialism" against which the bravest spirits of the South are rebelling. The surrender by Southern Methodism of the right to protest against "a great moral wrong" was, he truly asserts, "temporary" and "under great trial." Now, forty years long we were personally in position to fight that great "moral wrong," and we did it. Were we in the wrong for that forty years for so doing? During our editorial office within those years, we ever denied the Church's right to surrender her responsibilities for "a great moral wrong" to the state, but we ever admitted the palliation that it was done "under great trial." We can give large quotation of our words during the heat of the fight, making full concession of this principle; but we did demand that we, who could from our position denounce the "moral wrong," should not be required to keep silence and so leave the South in irrecoverable subjection to the power that produced the "trial." That single sentence in the fullness of its meaning would settle all controversy between Dr. Kelley and us, and leave us nothing to quarrel about. And the following sentence confirms the covenant: "So far from continuing to hold the doctrine that the Church must abstain from all teaching on civil questions, [on the *moral element* in civil questions, we would say,] the true doctrine is, that wherever a moral question has been acted upon

adversely by the state, the necessity for fearless, outspoken truth becomes more urgent upon the part of the Church. And that doctrine at once restores to our beloved sister Church of the South her dignity and her rights, as well as her obligations as the sacred reprover of "great moral wrong," and maintainer of moral rectitude in politics and in legislation as in all departments of responsible life. The true duty of the Church is to be the public conscience.

The cordial yet discriminative feeling of catholic Methodism is thus admirably stated:

> The Southern writer who supposes for one moment that the Christian heart and mind of the world, or of that great Methodism which recently took us by the hand in fraternity, in City-road Chapel, proposes thereby to indorse the position that slavery was a question on which the Church might for all time be silent, is blind to the most brilliant light of the historic present. Most of our brethren from without seek to forget that we were silent; others kindly remember our labor of love for the slave; the rest look at it as a large stretch of Christian charity to take us by the hand with the thought that "the times of this ignorance God winked at."—P. 96.

The struggle now going on in the Church South against this abdication of the moral rights of the Church well appears in the following trenchant paragraph:

> It [the abdication] dissevers us from some of the mightiest moral movements of the age, if we are to be *consistent* with the position that, as slavery had a civil side, it therefore "lay within the domain of the State—the Church . . . . had no jurisdiction of matters belonging to the State." We find in this category the liquor question, the Sunday-law question, gambling in its protean forms, and other ever-recurring matters of vital interest to the Church and the world, all of which have both a civil and a moral side, but from the consideration of which consistency shuts us out. In visiting Conferences for the two past years, it has been a matter of deep interest to watch the efforts to put this new wine in the old bottles. In every case we have witnessed, but one, the attempt to restrain temperance resolutions by applying the old rule, that this belongs to the State, and must not be meddled with by the Church; the wine has burst the bottles, and the old leaders have found their old appeal to history fall on dead ears. This is peculiarly so in the most active Conferences where progress in every Church interest is most marked. Resolutions of the same general type as those which flooded the Methodist Episcopal Conferences forty years ago, in

regard to the abolition of slavery, are passed by large majorities in our Conferences in regard to prohibition and Sunday-laws. This tide cannot be turned back; propelled by the most powerful pulses of the Christian heart, it will know no arrest, no defeat. The time has come when the men who expect to meet the demands of the present, and measure up to the hopes of the future, must be prepared to say fearlessly, We had rather be right than consistent.—Pp. 102, 103.

After all this Dr. Kelley seems to imagine that an excuse must be made out for declining a reunion of the two Churches. The discussion of reunion we think entirely unnecessary. Certainly our Church pushes no such measure; and the separation is justifiable on grounds of Christian expediency so long as such grounds exist. There is still uttered in the South a distrust of us as ambitious to "absorb" and to control with despotic power, based upon no facts which are not misunderstood, and maintained only by mistaken repetition. We may appeal to the history of our dealings with our sister non-episcopal Methodisms, after the first years of the strife of their secession or expulsion were over, to decide whether our whole course has not been unassuming, equalizing, cordial, and fraternal. And as partisan feeling subsides, and a friendly survey can be mutually taken of our past, there are not a few misunderstandings of our action which will disappear. Even good Dr. Summers will, we trust, discover that our General Conference of 1848 did not treat the venerable Dr. Pierce with discourtesy, and *did not question the validity of the churchdom of the Church South.* He will not, we are sure, repeat the statement that the General Conference of 1844 deposed Bishop Andrew; or perhaps, even, that it divided the Church; or that the so-called "Plan of Separation" did any thing more than agree that, if our Southern brethren found it necessary to leave our General Conference and establish a new one over certain territories, we would keep the peace and work only North of said territories. It authorized no "separation," but provided for our own action and the common peace in case of a separation, for which those who erected a new Church should (so it was agreed) assume the responsibility. If Dr. Summers was a judge, and in no sense a party, he would, upon calm survey, so decide. We cast these glances over the past with the hope that the removal of misunderstandings is progress toward peace.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, January, 1882. (Andover.)—1. Unintelligent Treatment of Romanism; by Rev. Charles C. Starbuck. 2. A Field of Knowledge Strangely Abandoned; by Rev. George Mooar, D.D. 3. The Practical Determination of Species; by the late Prof. Leonard Marsh, M.D. 4. Specimens of Ethiopic Literature: by Rev. Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph.D. 5. The Language of Isaiah xl–lxvi; by Rev. Wm. Henry Cobb. 6. Professor W. Robertson Smith and his Theories of Old Testament Criticism; by Rev. Charles F. Thwing. 7. The Article in the Revised Version; by Rev. Wm. S. Tyler, D.D., LL.D. 8. Theological Education.

The ninth Article urges the importance of a professorship of natural science in our theological seminaries. It is ably written by a co-editor, Rev. G. F. Wright, a scientist as well as theologian, who has furnished in this Quarterly an excellent exposition and defense of the most pronounced genetic evolution. The difficulty in the proposed professorship would seem to be that a corps of professorships in science would be about equally required, so that we must have a double institution in one, a scientifico-theological seminary. It is important, indeed, that there should be a class of men, like the elder Silliman, Hitchcock, Dawson, Winchell, and Mr. Wright himself, in whose brain both science and theology dwell together.

The following two paragraphs regarding late geological researches are from Mr. Wright's pen:

Dr. Abbott's fame is likely to rest chiefly upon his discovery of Palæolithic implements in the post-glacial terraces of Trenton, New Jersey, an account of which occupies the last two chapters of the volume. From the engravings, any one familiar with the subjects can see that the rough stone implements of man in America differ widely from ordinary Indian arrowheads and hatchets, and indeed that they closely resemble the Palæoliths found in the terrace gravels of northern France and southern England. Their antiquity is further established by a study of the gravel deposits of Trenton where the implements are found. Professor Lewis, of Philadelphia, had, independently of Dr. Abbott, decided, after careful investigation, that the Trenton gravel in which these implements lie stratified is as old as the close of the glacial period; and some of the implements were found sixteen feet below the surface, beneath large boulders.

The study of the river formations which were laid down at that period has but just commenced in this country. It is only a few years since the terminal moraine of the continental glacier was first detected. The work of mapping it is now, however, going rapidly forward, and as the rivers which emerge from the glaciated region into the non-glaciated are studied much light may be expected soon from that quarter upon the absorbing question of man's antiquity in America. Trenton is about seventy

miles south of the extreme southern extension of the ice during ing the glacial period.

If Professor Whitney's conclusions as to the extreme antiquity of the human remains discovered by him in California be accepted, some interesting questions are in store for the evolutionists; for the earliest implements described by him belong to smooth stone type, and the Calaveras skull, which he regards as of the Tertiary age, is large enough and well enough formed to be that of a philosopher. There has not been progress, but degradation, of man since his first known appearance upon the Pacific coast. The more that period is extended into the past, the less easily are the phenomena to be explained upon the theory of evolution. Professor Putnam, however, thinks the long chronology a relief in explaining the diversities which have arisen among the various tribes of America, together with the wide dispersion of common characteristics. The Esquimo carries with him still some of the physical characteristics and arts of ancient California.—Pp. 207, 208.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, February, 1882. (New York.)—1. Do the Spoils Belong to the Victor? by Andrew D. White. 2. A Remedy for Railway Abuses; by Isaac L. Rice. 3. Repudiation in Virginia; by John W. Johnston. 4. The Lancet and the Law; by Henry Bergh. 5. The Christian Religion. Part III; by Prof. George P. Fisher.

March.—1. The Conduct of the Guiteau Trial; by George F. Edmunds. 2. The Progress of the French Republic; by Edward F. Noyes. 3. Trial by Jury; by Edward A. Thomas. 4. The True Lesson of Protestantism; by John Fiske. 5. Law for the Indians; by William Justin Harsha. 6. The Fallacies of Homœopathy; by Prof. A. B. Palmer. 7. Results of Prohibitory Legislation; by Neal Dow.

Dr. Fisher's defensive survey of the Old and New Testament is a condensed and remarkably able statement. We give two brief, significant, incidental passages.

The first touches on eschatology, thus: "Perhaps the day will come when controversy on this subject will be less heated, and when a more chastened curiosity will exist respecting the statistics of the future world in its far remote eons."—P. 209.

The second glances toward Robertson Smith, thus: "Scholarly criticism tends to the conclusion that there was a growth in Hebrew institutions and laws; that the codes were kept open, the original rubrics being retained; that legislation was added, from time to time, under the guidance of prophets, to suit changing circumstances, new ordinances being looked on as Mosaic for the reason that they were conceived in the spirit, and were considered a legitimate development, of the primitive enactments."—P. 212.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1882. (London.)—1. Evangelical Theology, Living and Progressive; by Prof. J. Laidlaw, D.D. 2. Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century; by Rev. J. Fordyce, M.A. 3. A Bible Reviser of the Fourth Century; by Rev. Robert Henderson, M.A. 4. How is Sin to End? By a Purgatory? by Rev. A. Macleod Symington, D.D. 5. The Spirit of the Father Glorifying the Son. 6. The Latest Outcome of Free Thought in Those who Still Cling to the Name of Christian; by Rev. David Brown, D.D. 7. Note on Luke ii, 49; by W. Lindsay Alexander, D.D. 8. Some Difficulties of Modern Materialism; by Borden P. Bowne. 9. A Sober View of Abstinence; by Rev. Daniel Merriman.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1882. (London.)—1. Father Curci. 2. Fiji. 3. Daniel Defoe. 4. The Latest Development of Darwinism. 5. Americanisms. 6. The British Association Jubilee. 7. Philippi on the Last Things.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1882. London.—1. Literary Clubs of Paris. 2. A Sketch of Individual Development. 3. The Culdees, and their Later History. 4. The Industrial Resources of Ireland. 5. Count Campello. 6. Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament. 7. Richard Cobden.

The following remarkable passage in the article on Cobden is a frank and honorable statement of the change of the position of this Quarterly on the subject of

OUR AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

No periodical in England, not even the London "Times," was during the war more bitter toward the North than this Quarterly, then under the editorship of the late Dr. Vaughan. What rendered that action all the more strange was the fact that this religious Quarterly had from a most lofty ethical elevation always rebuked American slavery, denounced our country for that (as the editor viewed it) enormous crime, and painted the slaveholders in colors of very deep nigritude. It will be seen by this quotation how manfully the Review rejects that vicious "consistency" which would tie it to a mistaken past position, and at once recognizes the truth in regard to that contest as time has revealed and as history will record it. Speaking of a treaty once formed with France, the Reviewer says:

> The great lesson to be derived from the conduct of negotiations in relation to the French treaty is that *a feudal aristocracy cannot be the fit rulers of a great industrial commonwealth.* Cobden had already pointed this out in a speech delivered in 1845—
>
> I say, without being revolutionary, or boasting of being more democratic than others, that the sooner the power in this country is transferred from the landed oligarchy, which has so misused it, and is placed absolutely—mind, I say absolutely—in the hands of the intelligent, middle, and industrious classes, the better for the condition and destinies of this country.

The great *question between oligarchy and an industrial democracy* was at this time to be fought out on a magnificent scale in the New World. Shortly after the formation of the French treaty, the great civil war began in the United States. Instantly parties began to divide on this issue in England, according to invariable custom. The aristocracy, who had always professed to loathe American slavery, gravitated by a sure instinct to the side of the South, followed by large numbers of middle-class sycophants, and by those who either misunderstood the question or felt envious of the growing power of the American republic, and were not sorry to see it rent asunder. Silly people began to prattle about a "broken bubble," and ignorant persons supposed that the republic must immediately collapse. It is melancholy to think of the nonsense talked in England at that time, still more melancholy to think that great and wise men helped to swell the volume of imbecility. On the other hand, the attitude of the larger section of the working classes, especially the artisans of Lancashire, and of a number of those who represented the best aspects of English culture, will forever reflect honor on England. We must confess to some feeling of disappointment that Cobden himself at first wavered, not understanding the true issues at stake. Mr. Morley gives us the reasons which made him hesitate as to his proper course—

> One of them was that he could not for a time bear to face the prospect that the community which had hitherto been the realization on so great a scale of his pacific ideals should, after all, plunge into war just as a monarchy or an oligarchy might have done. The North, by refusing to allow the South to secede, seemed to him at first to be the author of the strife. Another reason why his sympathies wavered was that, though the Southerners were slave-holders, their interest made them free-traders.

These reasons are of course all worth discussion, but they weigh light as the dust compared with the future of *a mighty union of republics, consecrated to freedom and humanity.* Respecting the third reason, in particular, we may feel sorry that Cobden should have attached supreme importance to free trade. "An economic principle," Mr. Morley very happily says, "by itself, as all sensible men have now learnt, can never be decisive of anything in the mixed and complex sphere of practice." Besides, Cobden should have remembered that, viewed simply from the commercial standpoint, [internal] free trade was already established throughout the vast regions which own allegiance to the government of the Union; whereas if the South had established a separate empire, an artificial boundary would have been erected, along whose immense length would have been placed custom-houses and military stations. Happily Cobden had by him a sagacious friend, whose judgment is rarely at fault when questions of humanity are concerned.

> He who had converted so many thousands of people was in this instance himself converted by Mr. Bright, whose sagacity, sharpened by religious hatred of slavery, at once perceived that a break-up of the American Union would be a damaging blow to the cause of freedom all over the world.

The two friends met the illustrious historian Motley at breakfast when the war was just beginning. Cobden attacked something which Motley had been writing in the papers in favor of the Northern cause.

> As they walked away down Piccadilly together, Mr. Bright remonstrated with Cobden on the symptoms of a leaning toward the South. The argument was continued and renewed as other arguments had been between them. The time came for Cobden to address his constituents at Rochdale. "Now," said Mr. Bright, with a final push of insistance, "this is the moment for you to speak with a clear voice."

Cobden was aroused, and began to view the question in its true light, and was henceforth recognized as a friend of the North. So clearly did he grasp the issues involved, that it may be doubted whether even Mr. Bright himself put the case more cogently than did Cobden in a speech delivered at Rochdale in November, 1863—

> I cannot, if I speak of such a contest as that, say that it is a struggle for empire on the one side, and for independence on the other. I say it is an aristocratic rebellion against a democratic government. That is the title I would give it; and in all history, when you have the aristocracy pitted against the people, in a hand-to-hand contest, the aristocracy have always gone down under the heavy blows of the democracy.

As early, too, as December, 1861, he writes to his friend, Colonel Fitzmayer: "Nothing is more clear to me than that the world is underrating in this struggle the power of the North. . . . As for the slave States, I look upon them doomed in any case to decay and almost barbarism." And on October 25, 1862, writing to M. Chevalier on the subject of blockades, he sums up the case in behalf of the North in such a way as to present the whole subject in the space of two or three lines: "I am by no means so sure as Gladstone that the South will ever be a nation. It depends on the 'Great West.' If Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota sustain the President's anti-slavery proclamation, there will be no peace which will leave the mouth of the Mississippi in the hands of an independent power." Writing in January, 1864, to Mr. Sumner, respecting the chances of Lincoln's re-election, Cobden says, "I hope you will re-elect Mr. Lincoln. He is rising in reputation in Europe, apart from the success of the North." And in a letter to Mr. Sumner, written in August of the same year, he says, "I still look forward with unabated confidence to the triumph of the North." Cobden lived scarcely long enough to witness the surrender of the Confederacy, but before his own death he knew full well that the death-knell of the oligarchy had been rung in the Western world, and that the republic was safe.—Pp. 175–177.

Cobden died just at the close of the period of oligarchic rule in England. Six months after his own decease came the death of Palmerston, and then followed the short rule of the "last of the Whig prime-ministers," to be succeeded by a new era. The beneficent and humane forces of this new era are now beginning to operate in England and throughout the world. The dawn of

a new day is commencing to light up the earth. Slavery is overthrown in America, France has established a seemingly durable republic, Italy has attained both physical and moral unity, the German states have combined to form a new empire, and the blood-stained rule of the Turk is passing away from the face of Europe. At the same time the emancipation of the working classes has taken place in England; and all these mighty births of time have illustrated the annals of only a few brief years. Cobden was not permitted to fully behold these things, but he saw them afar off, and was persuaded of them, and embraced them; and of him it may surely be said that no other statesman perceived so clearly the nature of the new arrangements of society; no other worked with such upright integrity, such "enthusiasm of humanity," to render visible the new political forces to the minds of his fellow-men.—Pp. 178, 179.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1882. (Calcutta.)—1. Santal Kherwarism in the Santal Pergunnas, and Chutia Nagpore; by Rev. A. Campbell. 2. The Great Commission; by Rev. J. Hay. 3. Missionary Pessimism; by Rev. J. E. Scott. 4. Patna, Gaya, and Benares—Buddhism and Hinduism. 5. Hindu Gods and their Incarnations; by John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S. 6. Relief for Native Christians who were Married in Childhood; by Rev. R. A. Hume. 7. Government Abkari, and the Rapid Increase of Drunkenness in Northern India; by Rev. Thomas Evans.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1882. Second number. *Essays:* 1. USTERI, Zwingli's Doctrine of Baptism. 2. WESER, The Various Conceptions of the Devil in the New Testament. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. KÖSTLIN, On the Words of Jesus—"He that is not with me is against me." 2. KAWERAU, An Episode from the Conflict Between the Followers of Flacius and those of Melanchthon. *Review:* Historical Preliminaries of Pietism. *Miscellanea:* 1. Programme of the Teyler Theological Society of Haarlem for the Year 1882. 2. Programme of the Theological Society of the Hague for the Year 1882.

There seems just now to be in Germany a revival of interest in the study and nature of Pietism, which has for some years been the goal of a great deal of ill-merited abuse and contempt. This feeling is evidently a reaction against the fierce and unbridled religious liberalism of the day, which is fast leading men into the fathomless abyss of Unbelief. Hence the timeliness of the article on the antecedent history of this phase of Christian belief and activity. And quite a host of writers contribute to early researches on this subject, which form the

basis of this acceptable and interesting article. Among others we may quote Heppe on the History of Pietism in the Netherlands, Ritschl on the same in the Reformed Church of Germany, and several other distinguished Dutch and German authorities. These two nationalities seem to cling more closely to the subject than the others, some of whom wander off to the Puritans of England and the Baptists of Germany. The same change that has taken place in the few last decades regarding the history of the Reformation may now be observed in that of Pietism. Investigators seem inclined to go further back for the sources of history, not stopping, as of yore, with Spener and Franke, and regarding them as the foundation-layers and leaders of the movement, and Zinzendorf as the offshoot. Now we are taken back in Germany to the era of the Thirty Years' War and the persecutions of the heretics, and in England to the seventeenth century, with its "inner life" and its significance for the continental development of this conviction. Thus the Puritans, the Independents, the Baptists, and even the Quakers receive their share of responsibility and praise for their influence on this great continental movement. In the Netherlands especially new threads are found that clearly bind one generation with another; and in Switzerland the conception of the history of the Reformation becomes modified the more the investigators study the contrast between the German spirit of Zwingli and the French spirit of Calvin. The period seems now to have arrived when the results of these individual studies may have a broader application and become the common property of the great religious public.

One worker seems to rise on the shoulders of the other in raising the common edifice. Without the loving investigations of Neander concerning the most various religious individualities; without the capital biography of Spener by Hossbach; without the rich memories and anecdotes of Tholuck, the comprehensive works in which Gass, Dorner, and Franke draw the pietistic phase of theology would have found no firm foundation. It is pleasant to see that these noble workers wrought in a harmony that they knew not of, and that the edifice raised by their common labors may now become a retreat for earnest Christians, in whose shelter they can point back to the fathers as the authors of their faith.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. BRIEGER. Vol. V, No. 2. *Essays:* 1. JACOBI, History of the Hymns of the Greek Church. 2. BARTELS, Contributions to the History of Pietism in East Friesland and the Neighboring Provinces. *Critical Review:* History of French Protestantism, Literature of the Years 1870–1880. Second Paper. *Analecta:* 1. BOOR, Manuscript Document of the Church History of Euagrius. 2. KOLDE, The Oldest Account of the So-called Prophets of Zwickau. 3. KOLDE, Contemporaneous Accounts of the Troubles in Wittenberg in the Years 1521 and 1522. 4. BERNHARD, On the History of the Proposed Conference in Pforzheim in 1558, being likewise a Supplement to the Correspondence between Melanchthon and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 5. Miscellanies by BOOR, HARNACK, and KAWERAU.

The "Journal for Church History" also touches the popular subject of Pietism, confining itself to that phase found in the quaint province of East Friesland, as conservative in its religious ways and convictions as in its mediæval costumes. We prefer, however, to call attention to a leading criticism on the various works recently published in the interest of the history of French Protestantism. The Germans seem quite as effective now in treating their French antagonists with the pen as of late with the sword. Let us hope that they will continue to wield the mightier weapon, in the terms of the aphorism. The history of French literature in this field, from 1870 to 1880, comprises four leading works—one on the Protestant fugitives in Switzerland, another on the Protestant banker in France in the seventeenth century, controller of the finances, Barthélemy Herwarth; a third on the general history of Languedoc, with fresh additions by new pens; and finally the fall of the Protestant party of France and the Duke de Rohan. This, it will be understood, is simply the literature of four years, which shows how great is the activity in that line of thought and labor.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. drew the eyes of all Protestant Europe to the unfortunate condition of the French Reformers, and made still wider the gap between the persecuted and the persecutors. And since that period this eventful deed has been an enticing subject for Christian historians, and even yet has its attractions. Germany has ever regarded it with interest because, if for no other reason, so many of these poor exiles found a refuge in various parts of that land. They were welcomed in Protestant Germany because of their religion, their industrial skill, and steady and laborious habits. They settled in Saxony, the Palatinate, Würtemburg, Hesse, and Brandenburg, and established soon,

in all these places, their peculiar industries, and thus attached the Germans to their fortunes, who followed them very closely, and wrote exhaustive histories of the various colonies. In Berlin they were awarded a special quarter of the city, which became known as the French quarter, and where they built a church, still bearing the cognomen of the French Church. Their exile from their native land impoverished it as much as did their industry enrich that to which they fled. Their descendants preserved the language and the skill of their fathers, but became so much attached to the land of their adoption that they were ready to fight its battles even against invading France; and in the last great struggle between France and Germany some of the prominent officers at the head of the German soldiers bore French patronymics. These were the descendants of the Huguenots avenging the injustice done to their fathers. They enjoyed the supreme pleasure of helping to break the chains that were forged for their ancestors, and their brothers in the Reformed faith have now become the dearer to them because of their long separation and sad history. As a result, the Germans are studying with more interest than ever the history of French Protestantism, which has now virtually become an ally in breaking a power that so long kept its iron heel on the German neck. Nothing of interest now appears in France in regard to the history of the Protestantism that has so long lived and heroically suffered within its borders that is not immediately made the subject of study, criticism, and perhaps enlargement from the sources that the Germans possess in large measure from the French colonies that took refuge among them to escape the persecution of their own nationality because of their religious convictions. And hence this very learned article on a subject that is quite as much discussed in Germany as in France.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) November, 1881.—1. ROERICH, Positivism and its Founder, Auguste Comte. 2. DARTIGUE, A Vision of Saint Paul, or the Evangelization of France. 3. The Law of Labor, E. W. 4. LICHTENBERGER, German Chronicle. Literary Notices by ALONE, and Monthly Review by PRESSENSÉ.

December, 1881.—1. PRESSENSÉ, To our Readers. 2. BERSIER, The Supernatural in the Life of Christ. 3. STAPFER, Five Unpublished Letters of Benjamin Constant. 4. ROERICH, Positivism and its Founder, Auguste Comte. 5. BRIDEL, Philosophical Chronicle, Literary Notices. Monthly Review by PRESSENSÉ.

January, 1882.—1. PRESSENSÉ, Of the Origin of Religion. 2. ROBERTY, The Apostle Paul According to Prof. Sabatier. 3. STAPFER, Unpublished Letters of Voltaire. Literary Chronicle by SABATIER, English Chronicle by E. W., and Monthly Review by the Editor.

Dartigue, on the "Evangelization of France," in the November number of this bright and crisp Review, calls attention to the greatest danger and trouble of religious reformers at the present excited period, namely, that of political barnacles that will insist on clinging to their vessel. It was on this rock that Père Hyacinthe split in Geneva—it was virtually impossible for him to form a liberal religious body of any kind without the undesirable adhesion of great numbers who came to him, not because he had any thing in the line of pure religion, but rather because his opposition to a state or conservative religion helped them in their political opposition to the state.

The French Protestants, in their revived life, see the same troubles ahead, and are calling the attention of their people to them in such terms as these from Dartigue: "To-day the dominant passion is politics; it touches every thing, and it is very difficult absolutely to abstain from it. After a *régime* of despotism or precarious tolerance we are at last enjoying an almost unlimited liberty, for which we are thankful to the government. From this to politics there is but one step, as we see by the warm reception given to all political allusions. Free-thinkers, notorious unbelievers, municipal councils both antichristian and irreligious, place at our disposition all their localities, and come and applaud us with excess. And why? Is this from conviction, or from sympathy with the truths that we announce? Not at all! It is simply because they find in us aids to their political aims, with which they would not be sorry to see us associated. But let us beware when we, ministers of a positive and revealed religion, are applauded by free-

thinkers. Let us open our eyes to this strange and abnormal fact, and repel this factitious and deceitful support that they would give us. As disciples of the eternal Gospel, let us remain faithful to the wholly religious mission confided to us by our divine Chief. Let us not lower the word of God into the noisy arena of political parties, to espouse their quarrels and share their vicissitudes. Christianity, like its founder, is eternal, and adapts itself with marvelous facility to all forms of government. For the pitiful pleasure of applause let us not lower the Gospel to that which is terrestrial, transitory, and unworthy of it."

And in this same significant article Dartigue touches another kindred trouble that faces these Christians in their Church organizations: there are signs of large access to their membership from those who have no knowledge of their belief, and in reality no sympathy for it, but who would simply use the Protestant Church as a sort of livery of heaven for themselves and their families on breaking away from their connection with the Catholic Church. Dartigue does not believe in immediately inviting these persons to become members of their churches and to embrace Protestantism. He would welcome all who come spontaneously, and with serious motives, seeking God with some comprehension of the consequences of their determination; but he would reject those who come by excitement, caprice, or interest, or in a fit of anger at a religion that they would no longer serve. And he therefore warns the leading Protestant speakers, in their popular addresses to the masses, to remember that the essential object is not so much to obtain an adhesion to some fixed ecclesiastical form as to enlighten and edify inquiring souls. In Jesus Christ he would find neither Catholics nor Protestants, but simply believers.

The article on the "Law of Labor" in the same number is essentially democratic, and heralds a new departure in the social theories of France. The author is especially severe on that class that have become suddenly rich through successful trade, and are now inclined to shirk the burdens of state. This *bourgeoisie* has never been renowned for a character of self-sacrifice, and it is now becoming so numerous that its defection is a matter of alarm to all patriots: "Many a millionaire whose name alone is now a power commenced his career with no

other capital than his intelligence and an ardent desire to succeed. And, nevertheless, this man, who owes all he has to labor, has brought up his son in habits of idleness, and made of him one of the most useless members of society. The swells and fops of the day, the so-called *jeunesse dorée*, are for the most part sons of these wealthy *bourgeois*, who by their foolish extravagance and forced luxury are trying to make the world forget that all they possess comes from the toilsome life of their parents. These contemners of labor who have sprung up like mushrooms in the last thirty years, and are the most miserable and useless members of society, have every-where left behind them germs of death and putrefaction. France owes to them a goodly portion of her shame in defeat. When they were wanted in her hour of trial many of them had fled to foreign lands, and those who were forced into the field in the mobilized corps were the first to flee at the sight of the enemy, and thus paralyze the heroic efforts of their chiefs and comrades.

There is a marked revival of Pauline study in France, as may be seen in the *critique* in the January number of the Review, by Roberty, on the recent work on St. Paul by Sabatier, of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris. In their new-born liberty the Protestants of France are seized with a desire to regard and represent the apostles as living beings; and of these St. Paul is the one whom they would study as an example for the great work before them. And for those who are curious to know the various phases of the faith of Paul, the learned and engaging work of Sabatier responds fully to their desires, for his pre-eminent aim is to sketch the *history* of the thought of the great apostle. Sabatier grandly describes the progressive element in Paul, and shows the connection which closely unites his various phases of thought to the great periods of his Christian life: the first, that of missionary activity, corresponds to the missionary discourses of the Book of Acts and the Epistles to the Thessalonians; the second, that of the fierce struggles against the Judaizers; and the third, the epoch of the first appearance of gnostic asceticism, giving birth to the Epistle to Philemon, to the Colossians, to the Ephesians, and the Philippians. The end of the Book of Acts corresponds to this last period. The picture of Paul, as drawn by Sabatier, is complex and striking, bringing out every phase of

his decided character, and thus making him a splendid model for an apostle armed for the conflict with the modern world in France, where the flood of materialism threatens a second deluge which can only be stayed by the man within the ark.

ART. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

THIS seems just now to be the ruling question among the Protestant communities of France, Italy, and Switzerland. And in the latter country an incident has just occurred in connection with it that has brought out the discussion into bold relief. The *National* Church in the canton of Vaud has been guilty of seconding very extreme measures on the part of the State Council of the canton against a devoted and prominent pastor at Orbe, mainly because of liberal opinions expressed in his journal, *Evangile et Liberté*, in regard to the organization and success of the *Eglise Libres*, or "Free Churches." The only overt act of which they could accuse him was his co-operation with the Sabbath-schools of the Free Churches, most probably because he found none within the pale of the national Churches. The Synodal Commission of the Church would have condemned him to a censure, but the State authorities went a step further and suspended him from the exercise of his pulpit duties for two months, which virtually means cutting him off from the Church, because it is not at all probable that he will change his opinions or his works because of this cryingly unjust verdict. Narbal's case is now being made a test question among the Latin Protestant Churches, and the question is being quite significantly asked as to whether alliance with the Church is to gag a man from any expression of sympathy with those who think just as he does, but prefer, in the exercise of their religious convictions, to be free from State control. This very unwise measure on the part of the Cantonal Council will certainly be condemned openly by that fraction of the State Church that is not wedded to such chains. They may prefer the system of national religion to that of independence, but they can scarcely choose to make a yoke of it under which they must bend at the risk of excommunication. This is certainly the surest way to bring their Church into discredit. With brotherly feeling on each side it will not be at all difficult to bring both branches of the Protestant Churches in the Latin countries together.

At the Synodal Union of the Free Churches of France, recently held in Paris, there was great generosity expressed touching questions of doctrinal diversities, and the constitution of these Churches preserves them from like conflicts, because, while guaranteeing the unity of the faith for essential things, it allows much liberty to theological thought. And this Union of the Free Churches looks quite calmly at the fact of no increase within the last few years for the very simple reason that a section

of the official Church is making visible progress toward a realization of the very principles that called the Free Churches into being. At this Union meeting the delegate from the official Synod—fraternal delegate—openly acknowledged this tendency of his wing of the Church, and under the pressure of events predicted the early triumph of the principles of Vinet, of which he declares himself a disciple. The synod applauded these words, and also those of their own president, who declared that the most ardent desire of the Free Churches was to disappear as soon as possible in order to rally to the grand Evangelical Reformed Church of the day as soon as the official bonds, which are now becoming heavy, should fall.

A great many of the Liberals in France and Italy fear to break the connection between the Church and the State, lest the removal of the restraint that the *Concordat* clearly exercises might give rein to an unbridled violence on the part of the Church where it is strong enough to assume it. This view of the case has just been admirably treated in Italy by Signor Minghetti, a statesman who has long enjoyed the highest political and civil honors, in an excellent little work that has just been translated into French. The author is a man of very large experience, a colleague and co-laborer of Cavour. He meets those who warn the nation against Cavour's motto—"*Chiesa libera in Stato libero,*" (A free Church in a free State,) and bids it beware lest there arise from it a "*Chiesa armata in Stato disarmato,*" (An armed Church in a disarmed State.) Minghetti devotes his book to resolving this question, the only one of much import now against the separation. He shows with great skill all the evil that the old system brings into the religious field, even under the milder form of the *Concordat.* He regards it a violence to compel those of other convictions to support creeds that they do not believe, and declares that the union between Church and State, as it exists to-day, is highly irrational. But his most valuable thoughts are those devoted to the measures of transition and legislation necessary to the security of the State and the liberty of the Churches. He does not believe that factious ultramontanism would find its account in the bond thus broken; he argues that it would be forced by this to yield to necessary reforms. And to these it would soon have resort if the civil power should demand that all the owners of ecclesiastic property should be elected by the congregations, and be laymen, with the privilege of mortmain abolished. To the great body of believers of the various Churches who express fears as to the destiny of religion left to itself, he replies by the most noble words on the unextinguishable thirst for the divine which consumes the human soul, and which appears with renewed intensity in those who feel that they have been deceived. Minghetti, though an Italian statesman, shows that he has wisely studied the burning thoughts of Vinet, and the translator Laveleye, a Belgian Liberal, in his beautiful preface, warns the French Republic to beware of the faults of its fathers in 1792, and reminds it that the only revolutions that are successful are those that reach the conscience and rely on religious renovation.

THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

The unsettled state of affairs in the principalities of the Danube and the regions bordering the Adriatic and Egean seas, has caused a long season of excitement and uncertainty to the Oriental Churches. This has been especially the case among the populations belonging to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In the national Church of Servia, whose center is at Karlowitz, a new patriarch was to be elected in the place of one deceased. The Servian Convention elected two Bishops that belong to the national Servian party, and who for that reason were unacceptable to the Hungarian government; the result was that the latter finally appointed one, and the Convention accepted him. The Russian influence on the clergy of Servia and of the Servians in Hungary is still very strong, and makes them difficult subjects for the Austrians. While an Austrian ministry was in power, the Metropolitan of Belgrade, who was friendly to Russia and would not yield to Austria, was deposed. In Bosnia and Herzegovina there is much dissatisfaction among the adherents of the Eastern Church at the favoritism shown the Catholic propaganda by the new episcopal seat at Serayewo. On the contrary, the Greek Oriental Church of Roumanian nationality in Hungary and Transylvania is greatly on the increase under the head of the Metropolitan of Hermanstadt; it now numbers over five and a half million souls. To the district of this ecclesiastical prince there have been added two Episcopal dioceses that are now to receive an increase of two more. Temeswar will be the new episcopal residence, where there are already a Roman Catholic and a Servian bishopric. It is a mystery why the Austrian government does not unite the Roumanians and the Servians under one Church authority. The difference of national spirit between these two nationalities would afford the best protection against political combinations which are dangerous to the State. But it has ever been the doctrine of the Catholic Church in Austria to separate its antagonists into as many parties as possible, so that it could conquer by dividing them.

One gratifying feature now growing among the Oriental Churches is the desire for a better training of the clergy, in consequence of which steps have been taken to enlarge existing theological schools and erect new ones. Thus the school of Rizarios at Athens, that has existed for a generation without any advance, is now to be thoroughly rebuilt and enlarged. The renovated school will open in the spring with a greatly extended curriculum. The Theological Seminary of the orthodox Churches of Turkey, on an island in the Sea of Marmora, has also been much enlarged. In Roumania, where hitherto there have been but two schools of inferior rank, the government is occupied with a plan to establish a theological school of higher grade in Bucharest. Similar institutions are very much desired by the Bulgarian clergy, which at present counts but very few cultured men. A Bulgarian Episcopal Synod lately met in Sofia under the presidency of the exarch, but for the nonce it has so much to do in the arrangement of the hierarchy under the new

order of things, that the question of a better training of the clergy was put off till a more convenient period. Three episcopal chairs are to be established in Bulgaria, and the clergy are to be paid out of the State fund. The question is as to how much the young principality can grant for this measure when the military power of the country needs so much of the *nervus rerum* to put it on a respectable basis. And then, in Bulgaria and among the Greeks, there is a great lack of educated clergy, so that there is great embarrassment in Greece in filling seventeen episcopal chairs now vacant, and for each one of which there must be three candidates from whom to choose. This is also increased by the fact that several bishops have lately been convicted of simony, and judicially removed from their chairs. The acquisition of a large part of Thessaly and a section of Epirus forces the Greek Church in these districts to undertake a thorough reorganization of the Church, whereby a veritable Augean stable needs cleansing.

It would seem that the cloisters also need a good deal of purification. Some of those in Thessaly have for a half century been in active cooperation with a class of brigands! These establishments are on the summit of inaccessible precipices, seemingly floating in the air, and their intercourse with the outer world is by means of ropes that raise and lower the inmates and visitors. Those are magnificent retreats for robbers, but this romantic collusion between monks and brigands must now cease under the rule of the Greek government. The entire question of cloisters in these regions is likely to be investigated pretty severely before long. Turkey recently claimed the right for Mount Athos to several filials of this kind in Roumania, and asked the German government to help it in the acquisition of some of this property within the Roumanian borders. But the German Foreign Office gave a very discouraging reply, and hinted that the other great Powers would do the same. The French embassador in Constantinople would do nothing in the matter because, years ago, he recommended a secularization of the cloisters in Roumania. The Turkish claimants tried certain judicial proceedings, and had the mortification of a bill of costs to settle. It will hardly be possible to deny to Roumania the right to secularize its cloisters when this same right is now being largely exercised by all the Powers which have such within their limits. Russia and Greece, especially, long exercised this right, and are inclined to continue the work.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Germans are doing a great deal of systematic work in the missionary line, and are taking the best means to put it on record as they go along. The well-known Grundemann has just completed a very important work which he modestly calls a "Minor Missionary Library," (*Kleine Missions-Bibliothek,*) in four volumes, published by Velhagen &

Klasing, Leipsic. But, in the first place, with its four stately volumes it is not so very small, and the distinguished missionary author has worked at it with skill and diligence for eight whole years. And that we may know the fullness of the contents that fill these pages we will give a hasty sketch of them. The first volume treats of America in three divisions: the Esquimaux in Greenland and Labrador; the Indians in North and South America; and the Negroes in North and South America. The second volume comprises Africa, again in three principal divisions: The freed and the free Negroes in West Africa; the various tribes of Southern Africa: the continent and the islands of Eastern Africa. The third volume treats of Asia, Hither India and Farther India, China and Japan. The fourth volume takes the Indian Archipelago; Polynesia; New Zealand and Micronesia; Melanesia and Australia. Dry as these divisions may seem, they nevertheless show how far the author takes his readers around in the world, while he every-where shows them something. And his information bears the impress of being solid and from reliable sources, so that he makes his readers acquainted with the lands and their inhabitants. And he does not stop simply with the mission story, but treats of the geography, ethnology, religious history, and linguistics of the regions described. In this work we find, therefore, a sort of Universal History of heathen lands and nations, which is in itself a striking proof of the intimacy between the mission work and general culture. He well shows the significance of missionary effort in the advancement of science, commerce, and civilization. Indeed, in this work the annals of missions and civilization are interwoven, and Christianity is shown to be the secret of the power of civilized nations. Missionary success has made it clear that Christianity is fitted to be a universal religion; for it is practically taught to all nations, and is adapted to all needs; it penetrates all conditions of life and regenerates all nations where it takes root, not only religiously, but also morally, socially, and politically. Grundemann clearly proves these positions by the record, and makes out a peculiarly strong case against the enemies of Christian Missions. His work is thus of great value, and the Germans claim that it has no compeer in any literature. It will, doubtless, be read far and wide, notwithstanding its four bulky and weighty volumes, and the price, which is a little heavy for the German purse—seven dollars and fifty cents in Leipsic, and about ten dollars here.

The famous publishing firm of Hachette & Co., of Paris, has just gained new honor among savants through a beautiful work on the History of Art in Antiquity. It will finally contain six volumes in royal octavo, treating of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, Etruria, and Rome. Parrot and Chipiez are the authors of the first volume, on Egypt, which has just appeared, and is very welcome just now when the French are making such strenuous efforts to gain political, and we may say social, control of that land. The volumes begin with Egypt because the authors claim that this land is the mother of civilized nations of antiquity. As soon as one undertakes to group and present the

great nations of old according to their development, and to seek to determine which part of the work belongs to each one of them, and to develop the progress made in successive efforts down to the advent of Christianity and the formation of the modern world, one feels constrained to commence with Egypt. The first impressions that remain in the memory of humanity are of Egypt. There we find the most ancient monuments on which thought is fixed and has been transmitted by writing or some expressive form which has nobleness or beauty. It is, therefore, in Egypt that the historian of Art meets the first monuments on which he would fix his researches, and with Egypt that the two eminent historians have commenced the issue of this work on Art in Antiquity. In order to show the care which presides over the preparation of this work, it will suffice for us to give the names of their collaborators: they are Mariette Bey, recently deceased; Maspero, the learned professor of the College de France, and now director of the Museum of Boulak in place of Mariette; Pierret, the eminent savant of the Louvre; Rhone, and Desjardins. Gerome opened to them his cartoons, and Leroux his albums of travel. Among the engravings on zinc and steel are some by the first artists of France. *L' Egypte* contains plates in color and in black engraved apart, and about five hundred engravings set in the text. The whole work is a veritable monument of art.

The *Revue Chretienne* begins the new year with renewed vigor and large promise. It proposes in the future to deal less in ecclesiastical controversy, because the causes of division in the Reformed Church of France are rapidly disappearing. What needs to be rescued to-day, more than any thing else, is religious liberty, which now runs great risk of being despoiled by authoritative democracy in contradistinction to liberal democracy in the form that it has now assumed. The defense of religious liberty the *Revue* now considers to be the primordial duty, and claims that this can scarcely be effected otherwise than by the separation of Church and State; this therefore is the platform of this organ of the Church in future, and to this object the *Revue* will devote all its strength, without neglecting the movements of affairs and ideas. The new Press Law in France gives to thinkers all their liberty for the discussion of every matter pertaining to political, social, and religious questions. That this work will be well done in the columns of this live *Revue* is clear from the co-workers in this cause. The editorial columns will still be under the control of Pressensé, who will also furnish the "Monthly Review." Lichtenberger, Dean of the Theological Faculty of the Protestant school in Paris, will be a frequent general contributor, and will also regularly supply the "German Chronicle," for which he is admirably fitted from his long residence in Strasburg, and thorough acquaintance with the German language and German governmental and ecclesiastical policy. Among the contributors we notice Sabatier, Bridel, Bersier, Naville, Astié, Bonnet-Maury, Roberty, and other very noted names among the French Protestant scholars. A new era of successful activity is evidently before these gifted men and this sacred cause.

The French Protestant publisher of Paris—Fischbacher, 33 Rue de Seine—is kept quite busy now in issuing the numerous works that come from the pens of the leaders of the Reformed Church. We notice some of the most recent and attractive ones: *Meditations pour Chaque Jour de l'Année*, by Lichtenberger, Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris. *La Royauté de Jesus-Christ*, by Eugene Bersier. *Le Regne de Dieu*, by Pastor Mouchon. *Lettres de Alexandre Vinet*, by Secretan and Rambert. The death of the lamented Pastor Bost, founder of the famous Asylums of Laforce, has induced a beautiful biographical sketch of him by Bouvier-Monod, a life-long friend. Then we have studies on the French writers of the Reformation, such as Favel, Calvin, Vinet, and D'Aubigné, and a History of the Reformed Churches by Lamarche, to say nothing of many minor though interesting works.

A very valuable German Review, published by Brockhaus, of Leipsic, bears the name of *Unsere Zeit*—(Our Times, a Review of the Present.) Its aim is to give a comprehensive view of all the great questions of the hour in all their shades of intelligent thought, and thus form a species of companion-piece to the great English and French reviews. It is a monthly of ten royal octavo sheets, and is crowded with interesting and useful matter. It has been published for many years; but two years ago it was reorganized, and appeared with a greatly enlarged programme, which has given it a more important position. It now offers the most widely varied essays on the current period and its events, and gives a connected presentation of the latest developments in every field of culture. An interesting specialty is made up of the biography or "Portraits," that is "pen-portraits," of prominent individuals. In addition to this there is a department for *Belles-Lettres*, political and æsthetic essays, sketches of travel, and questions of natural science, etc. It is on the whole a most comprehensive and solid publication, and holds a unique place among German Reviews, and receives a generous patronage, which it richly deserves.

With the continued excitement in regard to the Jews, both in Germany and Russia, it is not wonderful that Semitic literature is still in demand. Several new work sare announced from the Leipsic press, among which we notice: "The Jews in Historical Presentation, and the Modern Jewish Question," by Dr. Herman; Andree's "Popular Delineation of the Jews," with a map of their expansion over Central Europe; Hommel, "The Semitics," and their significance in the history of civilization, with maps showing their present position and status. The first of these above-named works bears the closest relation to the Jewish question of the present hour. It begins by affirming that the Jews and their history stand in the closest connection with the highest and most important problems of the world's history. It presents the formation of the character of the Jews under the influence of the Talmud, and finds the chief source of the present antipathy against them in the exclusion of their mode of life from other nationalities; and the principal cause to

be the present influence of the Jews in the development of modern political thought, and their influence in the exchange of modern times, together with a weakening of the bonds of Protestantism.

A pleasant fact in the announcements of the German Universities during the present winter semester, is the very large attendance of theological students. Leipsic is said to have nearly five hundred in theological studies. This will give heavy work to the noted teachers of that institution. And this affords us an opportunity to correct an error in our last number in this department, in naming Friedrich Delitzsch as the veteran teacher in this school. Franz Delitzsch is the well-known teacher and author. Friedrich, the Assyriologist, is the worthy son of a worthy sire.

ART. IX.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

A Compendium of Christian Theology. Being Analytical Outlines of a Course of Theological Study, Biblical, Dogmatic, Historical. By WM. BURT POPE, D.D., Theological Tutor Didsbury College, Manchester. 8vo, Vol. I, pp. 456; Vol. II, pp. 451; Vol. III, pp. 493. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880. Price per vol., cloth, $3.25; sheep, $10.50; per set, $30.

The adoption of Dr. Pope's Theology as a text-book before it was received in this country or read in full was doubtless a great compliment to that distinguished theologian. A first edition in a single volume, and less extensive in its discussions, had, indeed, been examined by a few, but all beyond that was indorsed by anticipative faith. It was, therefore, a gentle surprise to the Church, and we were generally obliged to wait and study for ourselves to know what we are expected to accept by this dispensation. We do not indorse the complaint that, as we had in Dr. Raymond's work a very able theology from an American pen, patriotism required the adoption of that as our standard. There is no proper sectional or national division in theology. We want the *best* from whatever quarter. Excepting upon a single point, however, we do hold Dr. Raymond's work as representing our Wesleyan theology more accurately than Dr. Pope's. Indeed, our American theological history, the theological opponents we have had to meet, and whom we have met with very victorious result, has given us a training, in theodicy especially, unknown to our English brethren. Hence, Fisk and Raymond are in this department clearer, and, we may add, more Wesleyan, than Watson or Pope.

Dr. Pope's translation of Stier's *Words of Jesus* early revealed his rich theological scholarship. Among his publications are *Sermons, Addresses, and Charges*, delivered during the year of his presidency of the British Conference; *The Prayers of St. Paul;* and *The Person of Christ*, a stately piece of schoolman's theology. His translation of Winer's work, with his notes, noticed in a former QUARTERLY, is one of the best, if not the best, concise presentations of comparative Christian theology extant. His great theological work now before us is the result of his professorial lectures at the Wesleyan Theological Institution at Didsbury. It will take an eminent and prominent rank among the systematic statements of Christian doctrine. It lacks the majestic fullness and power of Watson; and does not roll out the luminous oratorical periods and paragraphs of Raymond. It wants somewhat the energetic rush of thought and style demanded by modern intensity. But it is generally lucid and flowing, making the subject understood, not so much by concise, incisive, and strait-lined statements, as by repetitive clauses and brief additional touches. It is admirably divided and titled for a text-book; its history of theological dogmas is very valuable to the student; its clear demarcation of our Wesleyan-Arminian variations of doctrine from the old pure Hollandic Arminianism is wisely introduced; and the student not only knows the doctrine, but knows where it stands on the theological map. Had he added a few occasional sections of bibliographical hints, guiding the student to the best authors for theological reading, the value of the work would have been enhanced. On the whole, the work has advantages for a student's recitation-book not found in any other publication.

It is usually said that Methodist doctrine is every-where one. And in regard to its great structure and outlines this is true. Yet this is not a mere machine identity. In fixed and ascertained mathematical and mechanical science our minds are so constructed for wise reasons that we ultimately see exactly alike. But for equally wise reasons, in moral and theological science, there is room for play of variations amid our best agreement. Our varying individualities look even at the same acknowledged theological truth as with a different pair of spectacles. So the different writers in the New Testament give us the same truth with variations. Between Wesley and Clarke there were some differences. There are some variations between Wesley and Watson; and between Wesley and Pope; and between Pope and Watson. And if we mistake not, some different shades and phases exist

between British and American Methodism, not only in Church organization but in theological doctrine; and in both the American is the more Wesleyan. It is the modern exegete that loves to trace the comparative individualities of the four gospels; our latest Methodist scholars will, perhaps, begin to scrutinize the individualism of our own theological standards.

The most marked of Dr. Pope's peculiarities, in which, we would trust, he stands entirely alone, is his persistent statement that *the whole Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church* are the standard of our Methodist faith. He first made that statement in his translation of Winer, and we then recorded our "firm fraternal protest against" it. See our QUARTERLY for October, 1873, p. 680. As Winer was a work for theological scholars generally, Dr. Pope was able to set the echoes flying through English theology, proclaiming our allegiance to the Thirty-nine. But as Dr. Schaff esteemed our protest of sufficient importance to be inserted in his great work *The Creeds of Christendom*, (Vol. I, p. 893,) our declaration of independence had a somewhat similar general circulation. It seems amazing, in view of the fact that Wesley deliberately struck out fifteen of those Thirty-nine Articles, and struck out important words and sentences from the remainder, that one of our standard theologians should assure the world that the whole were somehow standard for us. And in this present work a peculiar force is given to this assurance by Dr. Pope's defining our doctrine of the effect of original sin by quoting the entire ninth article of the Thirty-nine, the most pointed part of which was struck out by Wesley; and this he does, prefacing it with the words "Methodism accepts the article of the English Church." That is, "Methodism accepts" the very doctrine which Wesley rejected! The Wesleyan doctrine of depravity is defined in terms that Wesley abolished! We give the article entire with the rejected part in italics, and two special clauses in capitals:

"Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk;) but it is the FAULT and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, [Wesley here closes with *and that continually.*] *so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit; and therefore* IN EVERY PERSON BORN INTO THIS WORLD IT DESERVETH GOD'S WRATH AND DAMNATION. *And this infection of nature doth remain,* YEA, IN THEM THAT ARE REGENERATED; *whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek φρόνημα σαρκός, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire, of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.*"

Both for the clumsiness of its form and the heresy of its doctrine we think that every American Methodist could be thankful to Wesley for our deliverance from this article, and no way thankful for its reinstatement by any authority. Wesley doubtless struck out this large portion mainly in view of the three capitalized passages. The former two plainly affirmed the false dogma of *personal desert of damnation*, even in the infant, our *personal* GUILT, for original sin. The latter seems to deny the doctrine of entire sanctification. It is the former with which we deal at present, and we remark:

1. Wesley rejects the doctrine of our personal desert of damnation here affirmed, for the very good reason that it contradicts our intuitive sense of right and justice. That rejection removes a contradiction to the moral sense and to common sense from theology. Great were Wesley's logical powers; greater his administrative powers; but greatest of all his intuitive powers. His primitive intuitive perceptions might for the time being be overborne by hereditary prejudices, or clamor of dogmas, or the temporary exigencies of argument; but when he hushed all these hinderances down, his intuitive faculties spoke with an almost infallible clearness. And undoubtedly the moment when he prepared these Twenty-four Articles was, if any moment of his life, the crisis when he looked at pure, absolute truth. Those articles were to be for all Methodism *standard;* and if ever, in sermon, essay, treatise, or commentary, he has expressed a different view, that different view is cancelled before this one monumental record. Wesley himself would then have to be overruled by his own Twenty-four Articles by us accepted "of faith."

And we make this last remark in some degree in reference to Dr. Pope's unqualified indorsement of Wesley's treatise on *Original Sin.* That is a valuable work, but written early in his life, in an earnest antagonism against the socinian Taylor, under strong, one-sided influence from the reading of Jennings and Watts, extracts from whose writings form a considerable part of his volume, and at a period long before his final formulation of faith for the Methodist body. There are some passages in it, especially the illustration of original sin from the English law of attainder—a law so fundamentally unjust that our own national Constitution has an article expressly forbidding it in America—which must be read under modification of our twenty-four articles.

2. Wesley clearly saw that this clause lay at the foundation of the Genevan theology from which it came. If all are born under desert of damnation, then all mankind may be justly damned for original sin. They are in fact born damned. And that is infant damnation, a dogma unquestioned in old Geneva. And then, if all are in birth-damnation, justly and from *desert*, Geneva could triumphantly maintain that it was "glorious grace" for God to pick out a few, no better than the rest, and "for nothing in them moving him thereto," and give them to Christ for salvation. Grant the premise expressed in this clause, and the Genevan deduction is irresistible. And so granting, our mouths are stopped as against Calvinian reprobation. The whole scheme is at once legitimated.

How outsiders understand us is indicated by their statements. In a survey of the progress of religious denominations during our national century closing in 1876, Professor Diman, a Baptist, in an article in the *North American Review*, said that a great source of our success in America was our "protest" against the "theological doctrine of hereditary merit and demerit," a protest in accordance with the Republican spirit of our time.

Dr. Schaff, after a thorough study of our standards, thus states our doctrine in his *Creeds of Christendom:* "Wesley, Fletcher, and Watson, describe this natural corruption in consequence of Adam's fall in the darkest colors, almost surpassing the descriptions of Augustine, Luther, and Calvin; but they deny the personal responsibility of Adam's posterity for his fall, or the doctrine of *original guilt*," (Vol. I, p. 897.)

And precisely that we suppose to be the view presented by our best American theological writers, in precise accordance with Wesley's rejection, in our Articles, of the desert of damnation for original sin. The most eminent, thus far, of our American theological thinkers, Dr. Wilbur Fisk, (quoted in our note on Rom. v, 18,) says: "Guilt is not imputed until, by a voluntary rejection of the Gospel, man makes the depravity of his nature the object of his own choice. Hence, although, abstractly considered, this depravity is destructive to its possessors, yet through the grace of the Gospel all are born free from condemnation." That truly avoids the doctrine of desert of damnation for Adam's sin. By that view man's corrupt nature is guiltless until by a free act of sin he has appropriated that nature and made himself responsible for it. It is then not a "hereditary guilt," but a hereditary

nature personally made guilty. Similar views to those of Dr. Fisk have been expressed by Bledsoe, Raymond, Miley, Summers, and Bishop Merrill. Dr. Miley's view was given in his able article on Pope's theology in a late number of our Quarterly and in his valuable book on the Atonement placed in the "Course of Study" by our Bishops. Our own views are exhibited in our notes on Rom. v, 12–21, and Eph. ii, 3. Adam, by sin, fell into a lower moral plane, into the level of mere nature, and became thereby liable to death. His posterity generatively inherited that nature, but *irresponsibly*. Yet, as "potential sinners," and nearly certain, sooner or later, amid the constancies of temptation, to fall into responsible sin and incur eternal death, they could not wisely have been brought into existence but for the provision of grace. It was out of the nature of things that they could have been *guilty*, that is, under "desert of God's wrath and damnation" for being "born" of fallen Adam. They were *sinwardly* disposed; and so their intrinsic nature was diverse from the divine nature; intrinsically bad; but not RESPONSIBLY bad until their own free appropriative choice made them responsibly bad, and subjected them to such "desert."

Wesley did indeed leave in the Second Article the clause "a sacrifice not only for *original guilt*, but also for the actual sins of men." And the phrase "original guilt" did mean, unquestionably, as it came from the pen of its Calvinistic authors, "hereditary guilt;" but not in Wesley's theology. Had he so construed its unchangeable meaning he would have erased it as he did the equivalent phrases in the Ninth Article. He doubtless retained it because a true meaning could be read into it. Such a meaning is furnished in the words of Fisk already quoted. By our first appropriating act of sin we are doubly guilty; guilty for that as for an act of sin, and guilty for our existing evil nature so made responsibly our own. And in that evil nature so made our own is the "original guilt" from which all our subsequent guiltinesses proceed. It is original guilt both as originated at the commencement of our individual responsibility, and as the originating fountain for all our future condemnations. So with our whole race that falls into sin. We need "a sacrifice," not only for our actual (or actional) sins, but for the antecedent guilt of the corruption from which they flow.

In apparently diametrical opposition to Dr. Fisk's statement is Dr. Pope's view in Vol. II, p. 84: "The true doctrine is opposed also to every account of sin which insists that it cannot be reck-

oned such by a righteous God save where the will actively consents; and that none can be held responsible for any state of soul or action of life which is not the result of the will at the time. There is an offending character behind the offending will." But if that previous "offending character" has not been superinduced by previous free act of will, if it be necessitatedly inherited from Adam, it bears (according to Wesley) no "desert of wrath and damnation." As we understand Dr. Pope, he does restore Wesley's rejected *thesis*, and, in declaring his allegiance to the Thirty-nine, is at variance with the Twenty-four, Articles.

Dr. Pope has a chapter on "HEREDITARY GUILT," and one on Hereditary Depravity. Now, Hereditary Depravity we know; but "Hereditary Guilt" we do not know. He defines *guilt* as "the personal consciousness of being responsible for the wrong." But surely the guilt and the "consciousness" of the guilt are two things. The *guilt* is hardly more than the having intentionally performed the wicked action. When a jury finds a man guilty of murder they simply mean that he has performed the intentional act defined as murder. Hence, guilt is a personal thing, and is neither inheritable nor transferable. Upon the guilt follows desert of penalty; and that is neither inheritable (as Wesley decides) nor transferable. Again, our author says: "Guilt has another meaning. It is the sure obligation to punishment." But the "obligation to punishment" (if such a phrase is allowable) is not so much the "guilt" as the "desert" that follows the guilt. There is the being guilty of the act, and that is one thing; and there is a desert of punishment consequent upon, and inseparable from, the guilt, and that is another thing. And as guilt is uninheritable and untransferable, and desert is uninheritable and untransferable, so punishment is uninheritable and untransferable. So, also, there can be no so-called imputed guilt unless imputed to the actual transgressor. The very phrase "imputed guilt" upon an innocent person confesses his innocence and so falsifies itself and declares itself a calumny. The phrase "imputed righteousness" also implies that the righteousness imputed does not truly exist; and the phrase is merely a gracious one, implying forgiveness. The former would be an injustice, and cannot exist; the latter is a graciousness that, at least verbally, may exist.

Further topics in these volumes we may discuss in a notice or two in future Quarterlies.

The Orthodox Theology of To-day. By NEWMAN SMYTH, Author of "The Religious Feeling," and "Old Faiths in a New Light." 16mo, pp. 189. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1881.

Mr. Newman Smyth is making a decided impression in this country, and is not unknown in England, as a spirited leader of what is called "the New Orthodoxy." If this "new orthodoxy" happens to coincide in important points with old heterodoxy, and would be heterodox if coming from the "Universalist Quarterly," why is it not heterodox in Mr. Smyth and his co-workers? The reason seems to be this. These gentlemen are themselves primordially, axiomatically, and hereditarily orthodox; orthodoxy is, in fee simple, their own property; and shall not a man do what he pleases with his own? When they fling out old orthodox dogmas and fling in a few blocks from Arminianism, Rationalism, and Universalism, so forming a new platform, very much unlike old Saybrook's, it is simply orthodoxy reconstructing itself from within itself. Mr. Smyth is owner in fee of orthodoxy; therefore nothing he can say is heterodox. It is "orthodoxy," only "new; not, indeed, very "new" in itself, but decidedly "new" as "orthodoxy." We are frank to say that to some of this "new orthodoxy" we are decidedly heretic. We say this not denying that every generation of thinkers is likely to claim the right to revise the conclusions of its predecessors.

Mr. Smyth in some respects reminds us of Maurice. There are the same struggle, against his hereditary creed, and vague grasping after something he can like better; the same absence of definite outline of his thoughts; the same clothing of his conceptions in gorgeous folds of cloudiness where doubtful meanings, half meanings, and no meanings are obscurely evolved. But, as nearly as we can grasp his aurora borealis, it is about as follows: He is rather Arminian than Calvinist in his theodicy; his doctrine of Inspiration is Coleridgean; his atonement is Bushnellian; his eschatology is restorationism. We should say that his theology and that of Dr. Thomas were nearly the same. Only the amiable Dr. Thomas had a nervous way of putting his issues that looked like attack, and Mr. Smyth gives his innovations in the form of defensive and conservative improvements. We are disposed to ratify his Arminianism, to be liberal to his inspirationism, to demur to his atonement, but to donate his restorationism to our Universalist friends, where it belongs. He is master of a rich, luxuriant style.

P.S.—The above was written before the announcement of Mr. Smyth's candidacy for a chair at Andover.

The Hereafter of Sin: What it Will be; with Answers to certain Questions and Objections. By Rev. JOHN W. HALEY, A.M., author of "Alleged Discrepancies of the Bible." 16mo, pp. 152. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1881.

Unlike Newman Smyth, though of the same communion, Mr. Haley firmly maintains the stern old Protestant eschatology, not indeed indorsing the Edwardean hell of literal fire, or clearly affirming corporeal infliction, but maintaining the endless duration and increasing intensity of the suffering of the soul. That suffering consists in the depths of shame, the horrors of remorse, hopelessness, rage of unholy passions, diabolical society, curse of divine displeasure, and permanence of sin perpetuated by the fixing power of habit.

Mr. Haley conclusively shows that the adjective, *aionios*, being used as the strongest term to qualify the duration of heaven and of God himself, must possess the same meaning when applied, as in Matt. xxv, 46, to final penalty. Less conclusive is he upon the word *kolasis, punishment*, in that verse. In spite of quoted authorities, the admitted sense of that word, as derived from a verb signifying *to prune*, may plausibly be interpreted of a corrective punishment. We have, or they used to have in our boyhood, a use of the verb *to trim* in a similar sense, as when a severe threatener would say to an urchin, "I will give you a *trimming*." The metaphor meant that he would with smart strokes lop off the urchin's wild exuberances of behavior. But even then the Scripture word could be used to give plausibility only to the idea that the pruning would merely produce a perpetual naturalistic improvement, but not salvation or attainment of the visions of God in which heaven consists. And this would bring us to the view of St. Thomas Aquinas, the great doctor approved by the present Pope as oracle of Catholic Theology. St. Thomas taught that all outside "the vision of God" will be hell; and yet for virtuous and cultured sinners like John Stuart Mill and Ralph Waldo Emerson there will be abodes of naturalistic felicity in that vast outside.

There is one argument drawn from the belief of the synagogue in endless fire which it seems that Mr. Haley would be obliged to retrench, and even, perhaps, reverse. He assumes that the Jews of our Saviour's time were believers in an eternal infliction upon all the finally impenitent, and insists that if such was not the meaning of his own language Jesus was bound to correct them. If, however, Professor Harman, in our present "Quarterly" rightly represents Becker, and Becker rightly represents the synagogue, it taught, in the main, annihilation of

the great mass of the finally wicked. And we doubt whether his argument to disprove that annihilation can be properly called *eternal* punishment is quite valid. Inasmuch as it deprives its subject of an endless existence it is privative punishment; and as the eternal exclusion of all re-existence it is eternal punishment. The subject of the punishment is indeed transient; but the punishment itself is strictly endless.

An ingenious modification of the doctrine of annihilationism, as maintained by the late Dr. True and others, evaded much of the orthodox objections, and hardly varied from the mildly orthodox view. This modification suggested that in the ultimate result consciousness will become worn out, while the soul itself remains forever in existence. And as the death of the body consists not in annihilation but in the absolute cessation of its functions; so the death of the soul, final spiritual death, eternal death, consists in the absolute and eternal cessation of the functions of the soul. The dead soul itself remains, then, as Mr. Haley would have the living damned soul, an eternal monument of the evil of sin, and a warning to all living natures against its commission. It seems not validly replied that the extinction of thought and consciousness is the extinction of soul itself. Thought is an act; soul is a substance, an entity, a being. To identify the soul with thought itself is the materialism of Hume; as it is maintaining that there exist only two factors, matter and thought. It must be firmly maintained that soul as well as body is an agent; and that as motion is the action of the body, so thought is the action of the soul. Sir William Hamilton fancied that he had proved that even in sleep the soul always thinks; he certainly could have proved that even in sleep the body always moves. But neither of his proofs shows that a body may not become movelessly dead, or that a soul may not become, by unconsciousness, dead, and yet both body and soul be still existent. Even if it could be proved, as it cannot, and as is improbable, that the soul always thinks in sleep, it cannot be made plausible by any possible experiment that it thinks in a swoon or under a strong dose of chloroform.

The great difficulty of Dr. True's modification is that the Christian consciousness of the Church has never at any time held it; that though neither the Roman nor Anglican Church has ever made eternal conscious punishment an article of faith, yet it has ever been spontaneously the predominant belief in both. One may well pause in reverence before such an authority.

The Newer Criticism and the Analogy of Faith. A Reply to Lectures by W. ROBERTSON SMITH, M.A., on the Old Testament in the Jewish Church. By ROBERT WATTS, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the General Assembly's College, Belfast. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, [Scribner's imported edition.] Price, $2 50.

There are three replies to Professor Smith's "Criticism" accessible to readers in this country. The first is by Professor Green, of Princeton, in the last "Presbyterian Quarterly Review;" then this production by Professor Watts; and third, the book by Dr. Stebbins next to be noticed. The article by Dr. Green will be read with high respect for the learning and ability of the writer, and it will be found to be very concise and conclusive against the "new" invention. Professor Green has perhaps but one sarcasm in his critique, and that is when he says that it is impossible to bring Smith's theory to a *reductio ad absurdum*, for it is an *absurdum* at start.

Professor Watts' book is a broadside on the field of battle. Hence, while never discourteous, it is direct and personal. In its argument it goes to the marrow of the matter, and is a complete and successful overthrow of the fragile fabric borrowed by its present proprietor from a rationalistic constructor. The charges of superficiality and discourtesy brought against Dr. Watts are entirely unsustainable. His volume is a brave, courteous, spirited, and effective defense of the Old Testament against the latest form of skeptical assault.

A Study of the Pentateuch. For Popular Reading. Being an Inquiry into the Age of the so-called Books of Moses, with an Introductory Examination of Recent Dutch Theories, as represented by Dr. Kuenen's "Religion of Israel." By RUFUS P. STEBBINS, D.D., formerly President, Lecturer on Hebrew Literature, and Professor of Theology in the Meadville Theological School. 12mo, pp. 233. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. 1881. Price, $1 25.

This "study" is peculiarly effective as an argument, not only for the learning, ability, and critical keenness, but from the author's peculiar position. He cannot be charged with any prepossession arising from official station or from creed. He examines the subject purely as a literary question respecting the authenticity of certain ancient documents. Their truth he is not bound to affirm; in fact, he is ready in certain parts to deny. He is not criticising Professor Smith, but Professor Smith's master, Kuenen. Smith's performance is simply "Dutch Theories" transformed into Scotch theories. The present "study" was written before Smith's book appeared, and its appearance is referred to in a few quiet notes treating it as an unimportant production.

Dr. Stebbins' work is divided into two parts: an Introduction, in which he applies keen criticism to Kuenen's assumptions and reasonings against the Pentateuch, and a Study, in which he masses the positive argument for the authenticity of the Pentateuch.

Kuenen's work assumes two bases: first, that the supernaturalism in all narrative is false; and second, that all religions are evolved from primitive fetichism. Consequently all history is to be judged and explained by these axioms, and all that transgresses them is false. Applied to Hebrew history he assumes that the pre-Abrahamic is fetichism; the Abrahamic is polytheism, until the Captivity; then monotheism. Evolution this in biblicism. Facts are governed by apriorisms. His methods are, therefore, easily shown to be arbitrary and absurd.

Dr. Stebbins, then, in the Second Part, traces Hebrew literature upward from the New Testament times to Moses, showing therein a dense volume of references to the Pentateuch, of the most unequivocal character, demonstrating its production in the Mosaic era with a force unknown in regard to any other document of anywhere near an equal antiquity. In periods from Christ to Malachi, from Malachi to the Captivity, from the Captivity to David, including the prophets and poets of Israel, he finds a large body of quotations and allusions identifying the Law, the Law of Moses, the Covenant, etc., which cannot possibly be referred to any other than the Mosaic writings. Some interpolations there doubtless are; some editorial annotations, some overstatements of facts. And Dr. Stebbins makes concessions to the non-miraculous which no believer in the incarnation and life of Jesus needs make. He denies most emphatically that there is "a particle of reliable evidence that a single law recorded in the Pentateuch" was added after Moses' time. And this more than counterbalances, we humbly think, the very unwise dictum of Professor G. P. Fisher, quoted in our notice of the "North American Review."

It is claimed to be a brave exploit in Prof. Robertson Smith to have made biblical science popular to the general audience. We think that Dr. Stebbins' book is altogether the more piquant, conclusive, and readable of the two, and we heartily recommend it to the perusal of our young ministry and every layman doubtful of the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. His capitalized conclusion is immovable, namely: "The Pentateuch is substantially of the Mosaic age, and largely, either directly or indirectly, of Mosaic authorship."

Aspects of Christian Experience. By S. M. MERRILL, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo, pp. 297. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

In this volume there is happy blending of religious theory and practice. Dr. Merrill teaches his readers the application of theology to real life. He takes the great topics of the Bible, of the schoolman, of the preacher, and shows their bearings on the inner and outer life. Among his topics are depravity, repentance, faith, faith imputed, justification, regeneration, the witness of the Spirit, and sanctification. All these book terms are translated into common intuitive sense, and made to appear, as they are, realities in the concrete.

The style is clear and strong; the spirit candid and independent; the doctrines are clearly and strongly Wesleyan. They are not Wesleyan according to the whole Thirty-nine Articles, but according to the Twenty-five. Thus, on the doctrine of depravity, he holds no "hereditary guilt," no born desert of damnation. Of Adam's sin he says: "We are not personally responsible for that sin." "On the other hand, an extreme theory, which, with some tinges of truth, combines radical error. It is affirmed that Adam was the federal head and representative of the race in such a way as to involve all of human nature in the guilt of sin; that, in him, the whole human family passed a probation and fell; that the penalty was executed in full measure upon him and his offspring; that the condition of the race in this world is strictly penal; and that all are born, not only corrupt, but under condemnation, and personally liable to eternal death on account of Adam's sin."—P. 16. "We do not deem it proper to say that we are born sinners. . . . We are not sinners by nature, but *sinful.* By this we mean that our nature is perverted by sin, and *tends to sin.*" By the word *sinful*, then, he means *tends to sin.* Now, we want a more unambiguous word than *sinful* for that meaning, and the word *sinward* nearly supplies the want. Depravity is tendency to sin, *sinwardness.* But an inherited *sinwardness* is not responsible or guilty until by free voluntary act we make it responsibly our own. And excellent, on pp. 56–75, are his remarks on imputed sin and guilt. "All God's imputations are according to truth. He never imputes actions, good or bad, to any except to the persons who performed them." On this subject Wesley made adventurous verbal concessions "for peace," and Watson "went to the verge of contradiction." All that we indorse, and rejoice that Bishop Merrill affirms it just at this time.

Commentary on the Old Testament. Vol. V. The Book of Psalms. By Rev. F. G. HIBBARD, D.D., author of "Psalms Chronologically Arranged." D. D. WHEDON, LL.D., Editor. 12mo, pp. 448. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882. Price, $2 50.

Lo! a ψαλτήριον, a psalter, a psalm-book. No modern mimicry of the ancient psalmist done into verse, but an authorized version of the original psalmist, accompanied with notes and illustrated with cuts and map. By a slight change in the order of Old Testament books, productive of no inconvenience, and entirely unnoticed unless specified, we have so arranged as to bring the Book of Psalms into a single portable volume. It is, therefore, a single study, a ready manual for biblical instruction and devotional reading. We trust it will become the means of an additional interest in these blessed records of ancient piety.

Years ago Dr. Hibbard published a volume, connecting these sacred lyrics, as far as possible, with the history of the times of their production. This indicated his fitness to prepare the Psalms in course of our Book-Room series. His researches, brought down to the present time, enrich the present volume. It is preceded by an Introduction, in which are discussed the Title of the whole collection and the Specific Titles of particular psalms; the Divisions of the collection; the Authors; the principal Psalmodic Periods; and The Ethical Teaching.

There are fuller dissertations on more important topics: the Future Life, as revealed in the volume; Messianic Prophecy, in which good use is made of Bishop Alexander's work; and the Imprecatory Psalms. The notes will be found clear, concisely complete, and with the numerous object-pictures very illustrative of the text. We cannot but believe that this will be a favorite volume with all our Bible readers and students.

The volume on the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, by Professors Bannister and Hemenway, of Evanston, is now in the hands of the printer, and will be the next in order of publication.

The Epistle of Paul, the Apostle to the Romans, in the Authorized Version. With a New Translation and Commentary. By T. O. SUMMERS, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 275. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1881.

This is one of a series of commentaries on the New Testament written by Dr. Summers, and issued by the Southern Book Rooms. It is by no means a mere compilation, but a product of individual and original thought, yet drawing legitimately help from the works of preceding commentators. The translation is

prefixed to the work, and followed by the Authorized Version with notes thereon, and not on the new translation. The new translation will be to many readers almost a commentary. The author therein avails himself of the most modern scholarship, and prefers a clear expression of the apostle's thought to elegant English idiom. On the controversial battle-fields in the Epistle the annotator is clearly and stanchly Wesleyan-Arminian. This, like Beet's Romans, noticed in a former Quarterly, makes a clear addition to our too limited Arminian commentaries on Romans, and may well be consulted as a standard by both scholars and popular readers.

Dr. Summers seems to be no maintainer of "hereditary guilt." On page 62 he quotes Bloomfield as saying of infants: "They are treated as sinners, are considered *guilty* in the sight of God." And he replies: "It is nowhere said that infants are guilty in the sight of God; they belong to a guilty race, but they are not punished for Adam's sin." Dr. Summers, therefore, does not restore the clause, rejected by Wesley from our articles, maintaining that original sin "on every person born into the world deserveth God's wrath and damnation."

Dott. Whedon. Il pensiero di San Paolo commento all'epistola ai Romani. Libera versione dall'inglese del Dott. ENRICO CAPORALI. 12mo, pp. 192. Roma dalla tipografia Romana Piazza S. Silvestro, 71. 1882.

Who is this Dott. Whedon? Same, we believe, as "Whedon sahib" in the translation of his gospels by Dr. Scott into Hindoostanee, as this is a translation by Dr. Caporali of his Romans into Italian. Though a "free translation," with a few notes of his own, Dr. Caporali has faithfully transferred our trenchant anti-Augustinianism to the Italian. The discussion of ages exists in Rome also. And he fully appreciates the evangelical liberalism of the Arminian interpretation as coming worthily from a son of the "grande Republica" of modern times, with whom a broad comprehensivism in Church and State, embracing our wide humanity, is spontaneous and natural. And the language suggests how truly it may be the fitting and congenial mission of the young republic to offer this free gospel to the modern Roman who hopes to reach a better republicanism in his country than pagan Rome ever attained.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation. By Rev. JAMES M'COSH, President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, and GEORGE DICKIE, A.M., M.D., Professor in Queen's University, Ireland. 8vo, pp. 539. New York: Carter and Brothers. 1881.

As our Quarterly is limited by no law to the notice of "recent publications," we are induced by the present phase of public thinking to present a brief review of a work issued some years ago by Dr. M'Cosh. It is a noble product of thought, and as written when a younger man than he is now, it exhibits a more attractive finish of style than he has been careful to preserve in later years. It is intended to be a contribution to what is called, scarce properly, "natural theology," that is, theism as evidenced by the tokens of design in the creation. The work is a large review of creation as a whole, and the tokens of design are recognized in two great phases; in the ORDER with which the great whole is constructed, where every department and individuality has its fitting place, and in the ADAPTATION of classes and individuals to their special work as related to surrounding nature. Dr. M'Cosh then goes through an elaborate survey of the successive apartments of the great structure of creation, and in parallel chapters upon each apartment, portrays the structural character of each, and analyzes the wonderful special adaptations to be found in each. Creation is great in its greatness, and great in its littleness. It is wonderful as a whole, and full of surprises in all its parts. But it is one great structure on one great Plan, and is an expression of one great complex Design, in which, even where certain specialties seem to have no immediate use, their real use may be found in their exhibiting a conformation to the whole unitary Plan.

It is, of course, in the system of living nature that the Order and Adaptation are most conspicuously exhibited. The vertebrate animals are all constructed upon one basal type, and of that type an engraved outline is given. This engraved figure of the basal type of the vertebrate forms, on which all the realm of higher life is constructed, looks like the unclothed frame of a ship in process of building. That type being assumed as central, all the divergences serve to show the combination of unity and adaptive variation. Uniformity keeps the variety in order, adaptation gives variety to the uniformity, and thus a system of nature is built up. Though Darwin had not

published, when this book was written, his "Origin of Species," yet St. Hilaire had suggested that even the orders below the vertebrates, the Mollusks, contained the prophetic elements of the four orders, and thus a doctrine of development completes the idea of unity and order. This Dr. M'Cosh here declines, perhaps not wisely, to admit. We may safely suspect that the vertebrate provision, ideally at least, lay in the primordial specimens of animal life, and that the idea is first visibly betokened in the Lancelet, though Brunton maintains that the Lancelet is, in fact, but a sort of elongation of his predecessor, the Ascidian. We may, therefore, perhaps concede that the Ascidian and the Lancelet are probably in the line of ideal ascent from the first vital specimen to Man. Indeed, Dr. M'Cosh recognizes that the "abdominal nervous cord in Insects, etc., is homologous with the spinal cord of *Vertebrata*, the essential difference being greater condensation of parts in the latter than in the former." And, also, "We find in the nervous system of the *Vertebrata* certain parts which are homologous with the whole of that of *Invertebrata*." This connective view seems, indeed, necessary in order to complete the doctrine of Order, and especially to complete the conception, expressed by both Agassiz and Owen, that Man is the attainment toward which all animal nature has aimed, though this conception is restricted by them to the vertebrates.* This restriction may be physically and visibly nearly right, but perhaps not ideally. The recognition of Man as the final summation of the living system is a key-thought worthy a conspicuous prominence in this discussion. It presents a striking community between science and theology. By it we see how the life-system is a one conception, a pre-destinated Unit, in the divine Mind, and that indeed whether the successive genera in living nature are uniformly produced by a generative process, or by a series of epochal formative Originations. Such serial formations could not be "special creations," nor "fiat creations," but æonic originations according to Plan, and subordinate to Law. Law is, indeed, laid *upon* objective nature, but it lies originally *in* the divine

*Says Agassiz: "Man is the end toward which all the animal creation has tended from the first appearance of the first Palæozoic fishes." The language of Owen is equally explicit: "The recognition of an ideal exemplar in the vertebrated animals proves that the knowledge of such a being as man must have existed before man appeared; for the divine Mind which planned the archetype also foreknew all its modifications. The archetype idea was manifested in the flesh long prior to the existence of those animal species that actually exemplify it." Similarly Dr. Winchell, as quoted in a succeeding notice.

Mind, and is imposed upon nature by the divine Will acting in eternal consistency with itself. So says the celebrated Hooker: "Of Law nothing less can be said than that her residence is the bosom of God, and her voice the harmony of the Universe." If formative originations do take place, independently of the generative process, as the records of Geology seem to demonstrate, then those originations are as truly accordant with Law as any generative process whatever.

This Plan in nature suggests its parallel in human art. "In civil architecture there are four principles, it is said, to be attended to: 1. Convenience; 2. Symmetry; 3. Eurythma, or such a balance and disposition of parts as evidence design; and 4. Ornament. It is pleasant to notice that not one of these is wanting in the architecture of nature. The presence of any one of them might be sufficient to prove design; the presence and concurrence of them all furnishes the most overwhelming evidence."

But as the system of life-architecture is in process of building through long ranges of time, the earlier parts must be constructed in express view of the future parts, and must truly predict their future appearance; and this gives us what naturalists have called "prophetic types." And correspondently some traces of elements of earlier animal forms are found in later, in fact remnants of old species in the new, which have survived their original use and are apparently otiose in the present except as reminders of conformity to Plan. Dr. M'Cosh, indeed, queries whether we are not too hasty in pronouncing any part of any animal form useless. The hump of the camel was once thought useless, but further observation has shown that it is a heap of reserve aliment to be expended in sustaining the exhaustions of long starvation. Yet, doubtless, animal parts that have survived their uses are found; and Haeckel has grounded his atheistic argument on these facts of "Purposelessness." But the eminent botanist, De Candolle, has fully solved this problem on the principle of structural Plan. He says: "In innumerable instances there appear forms similar to those which are connected with a definite function, but which do not fulfill that function; and nature, in these instances, as in the animal kingdom, seems to produce forms which are completely useless, merely for the sake of a harmonious and symmetrical structure." Yet these useless survivals may sometimes be viewed, if one chooses, as, like monstrosities, being natural defects, incident to a Plan in which the

infinite Cause works under conditions of finite causations, subject to finite contingencies. However wonderful many of the peremptory exactitudes of the system, especially in astronomical adjustments, minor inexactitudes, infinite in number, are found in the kingdoms of life; in fact, defects and incompletenesses are left in nature for man to repair and perfect by art, rendering creation a school for the development of the highest earthly intellect.

Dr. M'Cosh devotes his closing section to bringing out the happy thought of his book, the analogy between the Typology of Creation and of Revelation. Thereby the kingdom of nature is shown to be the type of the kingdom of grace. In both, long lines of correspondence run from the origin of the world tc its consummation. This is manifoldly presented by our author. But perhaps he omits to fasten his hand firmly upon the real clew by which the unity of each Plan, and the analogy between the two, are most clearly exhibited. That clew lies in the antitypic Man as the consummation in which all the types converge, as authenticated by Agassiz, Owen, and Winchell. All the types of creation are conterminous in Man; all the types of revelation are conterminous in the Son of Man. But in the Son of Man, as antitype, are included his work and his Church, of which he is the embodiment.

The entire volume is well worth the study of every student of nature and every student in theology.

The Doctrine of Evolution: Its Data, its Principles, its Speculations, and its Theistic Bearings. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D. Small 12mo, pp. 148. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D., author of "Pre-Adamites," etc., etc., and Professor of Geology and Palæontology in the University of Michigan. 12mo, pp. 400. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1881. Price, $2 00.

When Dr. Stillingfleet, the celebrated English theologian, was promoted to the bishopric, he was reported to have renounced his early volume "The Irenicum," in which he maintained the validity of presbyterial ordination; and thereupon the presbyterial party responded, "It is easier for Dr. Stillingfleet to renounce than refute his own argument." And so Dr. Winchell, who published the first of the above books when he was nearly a decade younger than he is now, as he has advanced in wisdom if not in stature, has renounced the conclusions of its argument. He has thereby, as even the "Tribune" in its notice of the second and last work confesses, "won a place among scientists." But upon

carefully, and, we trust, candidly, comparing the two books, we have come to the conclusion, at least for the present, that among all his brilliant successes he has not succeeded in refuting himself.

In this first volume Dr. Winchell compares, with judicial impartiality, the two proposed evolutions, the evolution by generation and the "evolution of ideas," and decides for the latter. Without, probably, having read Dr. M'Cosh, he frames in his own style a brief but clear statement of the doctrine of types aggregated into a divine intellective Plan; and finds in that Plan the concordant solution of all the phenomena. This Plan, culminating (as Owen and Agassiz more pointedly express it) in man, is repeatedly expressed, and quite fully, as follows:

> When the vertebrate structure first appeared in the skeleton of the fish, in that remote period when life had not yet been able to take possession of land and atmosphere, that skeleton, simple and unpromising as it was, embodied all the conceptions which have since been evoked into reality in the vertebrate sub-kingdom. Reptile, bird, mammal, and man *existed potentially* in the primitive fish. Modifications of certain bony elements have wrought out each type in an admirable succession, and in the order of progressive derivation from the ichthyic type. The pectoral fin of the fish became the fore leg of the saurian, the wing of the pterodactyl and then of the bird, the fore leg of the fleet deer, the climbing squirrel, the digging mole, the paddling whale, the prehenso-locomotive arm of the monkey, and then the instrument to execute the behests of the intellect of man. Similar relationships of plan are seen running through the whole history of articulates, mollusks, and radiates.—Pp. 33, 34.

By this ideal Plan are explained the *prophetic* type by which, in a lower species, some element is found dimly present which, subsequently, reappears in its fullness in a higher species. So, selecting our own instance, the humble lancelet presents a glimpse of a vertebra which not until æons after is fully realized in the world-wide creation of fishes. The lancelet predicts the shark. And so, too, there are *retrospective* types, by which, in conformity to Plan, a glimpse of previous species reappears in a subsequent and higher, of no use to the higher species, and serving only as a mark of plan conformity. And in this Plan appear also *synthetic* types; generic forms where the constituent forms are so combined together as to be solved and separated into several future diverging species. By these three assumed typologies, the *predictive*, the *retrospective*, and the *synthetic* types, the mystery of the creative Plan is unfolded, and geneticism is shown to be not only incumbered with difficulties, but unnecessary for a solution of the mundane problem. And yet, in his second volume, *mirabile dictu*, he quotes the anticipative, retrospective, and synthetic facts as proofs of generative development without noticing his previous typic solutions, and so failing, we humbly think, to

refute himself. His new logic may be good, but we think his "old" (or rather *young*) "is better."

Of the second and last publication above, those who decline the "Geologist's" conclusions will readily admit the varied attractions of style and thought. His monographs are classified under the heads, æsthetic, chronological, climatic, historical, and philosophical; and he appears a master in all. In his ascent of Mount Blanc we have magnificent descriptions of scenery, and thrilling narratives of hair-breadth escapes, and appalling disasters from which no escape was possible. Then come surveys of the gigantic chronologies of geology, in one of which he rescues his beloved Lemuria from the ruthless grasp of James C. Southall. In the "genealogy of ships" he traces the evolution of ideas exhibited in the advancing vehicles of navigation, displaying a humorous yet logical mastery of the argument in favor of non-genetic Plan, derived from ideal evolutions of human inventions. As there is a mind-created series of water-carriages, namely, canoe, skiff, sail-ship and steamer, so there may be a mind-created, non-genetic series of animal species. Most of the analogies he considers good and valid; but there is one, namely, the existence of useless remnants inherited by higher species from the lower, which he pronounces a failure. No "row-lock" of a skiff ever appears surviving in a steamer. No predictive steam-pipe ever glimmers in the skiff. But this failure is, we think, solved by the fact that it is not one mind which forms the one whole evolution of ships, synoptically, as it is one Mind that evolves the creative Plan. When men have built their skiff they suppose that they have attained a finality, and dream of no steam-pipes. When God has made a fish he has an eye to man. Nor need the steamer to contain any trace of the skiff as memorial of Plan. And these intentional tokens of Plan in the sum of creation are no more surprising than thousands of intellective *adaptations* appearing in the details. The Plan explains the detailed facts; the adaptive facts prove the intellective Plan. Passing this "genealogy of ships," we have a chapter showing that Mr. Huxley's American lectures failed to "demonstrate" geneticism, and then our author proceeds to work out the "demonstration" himself. But that "demonstration," we venture to think, is negatively forestalled in a great degree by the unrefuted solutions of his earlier book.

What Dr. Winchell styles "fiat creation," others "special creation," but which we call *originative creation according to Plan and under law*, is compulsorily admitted by all theistic geneticists.

Even Darwin admits that "fiat creation," divine origination, takes place at the very start of the system. Nay, if we consider the system as one great unit, a single stupendous animal, it underlies the whole. The whole system is one organism, produced by "special creation." Stick a pin there. Our geneticist finds this origination to be authentic. And once admitting its legitimacy, he logically legitimates it as admissible at any new commencement, if such new commencement anywhere phenomenally appears. He cannot argue that we know generation by experience, but we know no creation. And now that such new commencements do appear, that there are blank spots and new inaugurations in the great series of mundane life, seems a fixed certainty, for we have the sure and final word of science for it.

And in these new inaugurations we may note three things: 1. The blank interval preceding the new commencement is large and clear, not to be explained by the plea of "imperfect record," or the expectation of any new discovery. 2. The newly inaugurated forms and system appear *suddenly*, without admissible conformed predecessors, and breaking upon us *like* an immediate and very "*special* creation." 3. The new forms are stupendous in number, indeed, rightly often called *world-wide*. A new animal world, as well as a higher stage in the scale of progressive being, spreads itself before our eyes. So clear is this, that Prof. Leconte, a professed evolutionist, declares that this can be explained only by what he is pleased to style "paroxysmal evolution." "Paroxysmal" indeed! A universal fit of contortion seizes the animals half the world over, and they suddenly change by millions of millions into a new species! Or, as Dr. Winchell prefers evolution by retarded or accelerated gestation, a sudden fit of colic seizes a world-wide species and they fling up by spasmodic parturition a higher order of animal creation! Was ever science so romantic? All this to avoid the action of that very creative Origination which is *admitted to have first inaugurated the whole!* Where and what became of the parents of this marvelous new birth? Were they all killed, reversing the myth of Saturn, by their own ungrateful progeny? Did they all give up their whole being to the new parturition, and so beget themselves in a new and higher form, being their own parents and own children, leaving a blank space behind them? How much more natural than all this is the assumption that the comprehensive Power which founded the whole Plan, and inaugurated by immediate formative energy the commencement of life, here in due order of law, repeats its

first act; and that in due series with future similar acts, so that the whole series is a one regular serial process, with nothing truly "special," or "fiat," or violative of law, about it. That formative energy Dr. Winchell theistically believes shapes by serial process the form of every generated being. That belief he holds to be both theistic and scientific, and we see not how the serial process of originative evolution is any less so. And under this rational view we behold Moses and science beautifully harmonized.

Of the several intervals in the life series so wonderfully revealed by paleontology we will present but three. The *first* is the blank in the strata of the Silurian, as described and demonstrated with overwhelming power by the great Bohemian paleontologist, Barrande, which Dr. Winchell amply quotes in his first book with conclusive effect, and does not attempt to obviate in his last. Examining the brachiopods, cephalopods, and trilobites of fourteen Silurian formations he found no species continued with modifications; and of species without ancestry, but visibly originated as *new*, he found sixty-five. With so vast a blank Barrande feels justified in pronouncing geneticisms to be "poetic flourishes of the imagination," and recognizing species as the product of "the sovereign action of one and the same creative cause. (See our Quarterly, vol. xxxiii, p. 161.) The *second* is the blank that precedes the introduction of a new species, the fishes, constituting, it is most important to observe, a new order, the VERTEBRATES. The newness, the inauguration of the back-bone plan, the suddenness, a springing up all at once, and the world-wide extension, all laugh to scorn the dismal subterfuges of "paroxysm" and uterine miscarriage. Our *third*, is the appearance of Man, the being in whom all the types converge, the microcosm in whom the macrocosm is impersonated; a microcosm which is truly the macrocosm, being greateo than all creation besides himself. He is at once animal and spiritual; as animal, crowning the visible forms of animal ranks with his own finite perfection; and as spiritual, basing the invisible orders of supernal life. And now the most ancient specimen of man exhumed by science is man in his full corporeal perfection, at a measureless distance from the highest animal below him. And even science affirms that he is not derived from that corporeally highest form below him, the ape; but from some still earlier stock, of which ape and man are diverging branches! What ranks and rows of intermediate anthropoids ought to be presented before our eyes between man and that far earlier

stock to justify geneticism. Not one! Years pass on; the spade of the noble scientists is every-where at work; car-loads of fossils are wheeled into cabinets; not a specimen of intermediacy appears; and the negative argument has already grown solid by time. Thanks to our scientific brethren for, at any rate, their true zeal for truth; thanks, especially, for the truth their labors demonstrate, that man is not a genetic derivation from brute, and that Mosaic evolution is compulsorily confirmed by science. Thanks for the firm platform of both theistic and biblical truth on which their labors entitle us to stand. Would that they all realized the richness of their own benefactions.

But it is the "embryological evidence" that Dr. Winchell finally emphasizes as completing "the conviction that the derivative origin of species is a fact." We cheerfully agree to this; but the question is whether the "derivative origin" is the Mosaic, as typical and immediately originative from the plastic power, or whether it is Darwinian, genetic, and mediated between forms by an interposed bi-sexual process. In either case this succession of embryonic forms is shaped very wonderfully as a small model of the great Plan. It is optically plain, we think, that in the production of each succeeding embryonic form from its antecedent form there is no bi-sexual process between the two forms, and therefore it is the Mosaic non-genetic Plan that is pictured, and not the genetic—the very point in question. Dr. Winchell expends a paragraph in overcoming this distinction, which, not being sure we understand, we lay before our readers with numerically marked annotations corresponding with the numerals in the quoted extract.

It would appear, at first view, that the nature of the derivation must be fundamentally different in the two cases, [the ideal and the genetic;] but even this does not impair the meaning of the fact that, in both cases, we should have a *material continuity from form to form;* and this is all which evolution requires.[1] On reflection, however, the mode of the continuity in the case of the embryo appears substantially identical with the assumed mode of continuity in the succession of geological types. Ordinary embryonic development proceeds through the multiplication and specialization of cells stimulated by the nutritive plasma in which they are bathed.[2] Generative or genealogical development begins in the multiplication and specialization of a cell stimulated by contact with a cell specialized spermatically in the same individual or in an individual sexually different.[3] Propagation, moreover, may be viewed as simply a mode of *perpetuating or renewing an individual* which is bisexual, either monœciously, as in lower animals and most plants, or dicœciously, as in most animals and certain plants.[4] The progress noted in the succession of extinct forms is assumed to have resulted from some influence exerted upon embryos in the progress of their development. The development accelerated or prolonged would end in an organism more advanced.[5] This would be a new specific form appearing as a stage of embryonic history; and though many generations may have intervened while the embryo was arriving at this new specific type, we may view these generations as simply nature's expedient to

continue the being in existence in spite of the wastes of physical life. So what seems at first a mere analogy resolves itself into a profound biological identity.' —Pp. 346, 347.

1. This is all that is required for a model of *non-genetic* "derivation," but not for a genetic. The very *differentia*, the bi-sexual process between forms, is non-existent, and leaves us non-genetic transformations only. 2. But what "nutritive plasma" bathes the embryonic antecedent in the formation of the consequent shape? The second form is simply an unfolding growth on proper nutritions no longer spermatic or sexual. 3. But what *spermatic stimulation* is there interpolated between any two successive embryonic forms? Does not the succeeding embryonic form arise simply under control of the plastic power? Certainly it is not a bi-sexual or spermatic process that appears *between forms* in the embryonic model, and therefore it is not such a process that can appear in the paleontological succession of new originations. 4. Propagation seems to be merely nature's method of continuing an *originated* form, not of originating a new series. 5. But how does this advancement through accelerated embryonic process meet the case of the appearance of the vertebrate fishes with absolute world-wide suddenness? Was there a million of unknown semi-piscatory parents scattered in all the seas of earth undergoing simultaneously accelerated gestations? And what has become of those myriads of parental fractional fishes, and all the intermediate forms down, if you please, to the lancelet or the ascidian? 6. But does Dr. Winchell deny that between the process of sexual generation and mere nutrimental growth there is an intrinsic, we might almost say an infinite, difference? To say nothing of the different forms of the process, the different movements of the molecules, in the two cases, there must certainly be in the human sexual spermata a psychical element, the *principium* of a human soul, found nowhere else in nature. No combination of matter, no chemical compound, no nutrimental element, contains it, or is able to go through its processes or achieve its final human product. Otherwise spontaneous generation might be accomplished. There is the inauguration of a new personality. And it is that primal psychical element in the sperma which at start decides the rank of the final product in the scale of being. The primal vesicle, similar as it seems to all other primal vesicles, contains the secret differentiating cause that determines whether the embryo shall stop at fish, or dog, or emerge into immortal man. For the parent determines the child. To identify generation with growth is so a fatal fallacy. On the

whole, Dr. Winchell does not make clear to our unscientific ignorance how a non-genetic series of forms can picture a specifically genetic series of species. We see in that series a picture of our present view of the Mosaic evolution, but not of the Darwinian or the Copeian.

But, if Dr. Winchell is sometimes tinged with a naturalism when we would have preferred distinctive theism, the closing chapter, being a modification of his article in the "North American," noticed by us in a former "Quarterly," presents a theistic argument of no ordinary power. Dr. M'Cosh, in his volume above noticed, indorses Chalmers' concession that Deity is proved not by the origination of matter but by its collocations; but Dr. Winchell shows that Deity is proved by both. And herein the layman is a clearer theist than the theologians. And this essay, as well as the able theistic articles which Dr. Winchell has published in our "Quarterly," entitle us to expect that his forthcoming volume on Theism will be a work of eminent value.

Atlantis: The Antediluvian World. By IGNATIUS DONNELLY. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 480. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The most striking revelation made by the explorations of the sea by the *Dolphin*, *Challenger*, and other national ships, is the great ocean ridges, extending irregularly from near France south-westward to South America, thence south-easterly by Ascension and St. Helena islands. West of the Straits of Gibraltar the ridge spreads into a broad extent which shoots up its peaks above the surface, there appearing as the Azores. These islands are the tips of a stupendous mountain based on the ocean bottom; a mountain large enough to be a young continent. That it once may have spread its high plateau above the surface is quite possible, and from volcanic appearances probable. And these facts furnish a clearer solution of the wonderful resemblances found to exist in natural products, as well as in archæology, between Southern America and the Mediterranean countries and nations.

And these discoveries have revived attention to the myths and legends in the records of antiquity in regard to lands beyond the western waves. They have no place in sober history, but appear as verbal tradition and mythic lore. Yet the explorations corroborate their testimony, so far as to indicate that island stages anciently existed by which the Atlantic could be crossed, and that some sort of intercourse and exchange existed between the two continents by that route. There were many discoveries

of America before Columbus. From Siberia across Behring's Straits the northern Asiatic immigrated to northern America; skipping along the Pacific isles the adventurous seamen found the south-western American coast; and now it seems clear that the Mediterranean nations could find stepping-stones across the deep to Mexico and adjoining lands. This is found fully confirmed in Mr. Donnelly's chapters entitled the Testimony of the Sea; of the Fauna and Flora; and the Identity of the Civilizations of the Old and New Worlds. The engraved illustrations add greatly to the understanding of the facts and arguments.

The various traditional surmises floating among the Mediterranean nations of a people over the western sea Plato has expanded into a rich fancy-picture given at length in several pages of the present volume. Plato makes Socrates say that the Athenian lawgiver, Solon, some generations back, paid a visit to Egypt, and heard the story from a priest of Sais. The story was that there was a great island in the western ocean, by name Atlantis, the seat of a powerful nation, abounding in luxuriant natural beauties, heightened by the most elaborate art: So powerful did the nation become, about nine thousand years before Solon, that it invaded the eastern continent and spread itself as a powerful empire until it was successfully resisted by the city of Athens. That this picture is a work of imagination, a mere poem founded upon the scattered scraps of tradition, is clear from the fact that it finds no place, or even allusion, on the pages of the great historians of antiquity. No traces of its existence are found in the Egyptological records. Herodotus, the real topic of whose great history is the triumph of Greece, and especially Athens, over Persia and the great East, knows nothing of this similar triumph in earlier ages of the same Athens over Atlantis and the great West. Thucydides, who opens his later history with a survey of the archæology of Greece, has nothing to say of this splendid passage in the story of Athens. Neither the Chaldean tablets nor the Hebrew papyri know any thing of this great Atlantean Empire over the Mediterranean. So that, reducing the luxuriance of the Platonic picture, cutting off especially the glorification of Athens, we have a firm basis only in the plain fact that the eastern continent had anciently some knowledge of the western, and that the Atlantean plateau, and perhaps many other islands, furnished the media of exchange.

Thus far Mr. Donnelly's book is rational and instructive; but

when he proceeds to identify the submersion of Atlantis by volcanic explosion with the Noachic flood, and finds in the plateau, as painted by Plato, the Garden of Eden, and makes the island the locality where man emerged from ape, or sub-ape, into ruddy-faced humanity, we have a preposterous structure of fiction three stories high. The Chaldean and Abrahamic flood is a deluge of rain, with, doubtless, wind, thunder, and water-spout; with not a word of fire, explosion, lava, or cinders; and in this every fragment of tradition in all parts of the world agrees. And that is no Atlantean convulsion. Besides, there is not one particle of historical, chronological, or geographical record that identifies the flood with Atlantis. And this is equally true with regard to the Garden of Eden and the creation of man. Not a syllable of record can be found placing these events in this locality. Our author, in this attempt to transfer the scenes of this primeval history from its native home in the Orient, contradicting all the existing records, has undertaken a job of which he seems not duly to have taken the dimensions. And then his finding the origin of the Phenician alphabet in that of South America is performed by the same process as we use in finding whales and wheelbarrows in the clouds. He has whole chapters drawing imaginary colonies into the various regions of the East from his imaginary Atlantis Empire, all consisting of "the stuff that dreams are made of." While, however, we hold his theories to be manufactured from first-class moonshine, we can at any rate admire the style of sleek and fluent blarney in which they are expressed, and of which Mr. Donnelly's very name is redolent.

Locke. By THOMAS FOWLER, Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford. 16mo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

There is something tranquilizing and elevating in contemplating the history, character, and philosophy of such a man as Locke. His history shows him a man of true loyalty to human freedom, ready to undergo the persecution which it was wisdom to evade. Before his greatness was revealed to the world in his publications it was transparently clear to all his associates, in spite, or rather largely in consequence, of his unassuming simplicity and candor. He, first of all men, framed a well-rounded system of Psychology, drawn from his own independent reflection, yet aided by all the light derivable from his predecessors in philosophy. His unaffected piety shed a glow over his life and so illumined its close that we might suppose that even a philosopher

would be so inspired by its example as to wish to die "the death of the righteous."

Mr. Fowler writes narrative well; but pity on him when, at the close of the biography, he essays to philosophize, and slavers over the system of Locke. Of course he believes in his own sub-monkey ancestry, and thinks that Locke's problems may be best solved by—*heredity!* Intuitive ideas have grown, forsooth, by a long line of generative descent, drawn down to man from the ascidian and beyond. But Mr. Huxley himself owns that the oldest known geologic man has a head worthy a philosopher; so that the problem was the same in his brain as in the head of Locke! And Professor Whitney says that same of the fossil man which he stoutly maintains he has found belonging to several æons earlier. But even grant this wonderful "heredity," how does it solve the problem of the origin and validity of our intuitive thought? We are no more, no less, certain as to their nature, whether they are drawn through a line of ancestry or not. The long line of brains through which they are drawn are thus virtually one time-long brain; and the problem is just where it was.

Hume. By Professor HUXLEY. 16mo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

This little volume, a member of the Morley series, is interesting, not only as a clear and popular exposition of Hume's philosophy, but as a frank presentation by a distinguished scientist of his own position as a philosopher. The work is done in Mr. Huxley's own fresh, clear, and animated style, now and then enlivened with touches of wit and flashes of sarcasm. Occasionally taking subordinate issues, as becomes an independent critic, he is, on all the leading points of philosophy and theology, the very special ditto of David Hume.

He enumerates and avows six distinctive articles of the Hume faith, or rather unfaith, as follows: 1. *Of necessary truth*, as distinguished from other truths derived from experience, he denies the existence. Here he goes further than Hume, and with very inconsequent logic maintains that even the truths of geometry take rank with mere facts of repeated observation. 2. *The order of nature*, he proposes to show, excludes the credibility of miracles. 3. *The soul*, as being simply a series of thoughts, has no substantive reality; and as being but product of the brain, implies the cessation of thought with the disintegration of the brain, and so

excludes *immortality*. 4. *As to Theism*, we have no valid proof of the existence of God. 5. *Volitions* are necessarily controlled by motive forces, so that the so-called *freedom of the will* is an inconceivability. Edwards, he thinks, has furnished "a demonstration of the necessarian thesis which has never been equaled in power, and certainly has never been refuted." So that Hume and Edwards are with him the two great masters of his philosophy. 6. *Of morals* the sole basis is utility. The result is that this exposition of Mr. Huxley's faith shows him a sensualistic, fatalistic, atheistic philosopher of the most unequivocal type.

Seneca and Kant; or, an Exposition of Stoic and Rationalistic Ethics, with a Comparison and Criticism of the Two Systems. By Rev. W. T. Jackson, Ph.D., late Professor of Modern Languages in Indiana University. 12mo, pp. 109. Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House. 1881.

Mr. Jackson is a young metaphysician, graduated from the University of Michigan, trained under such masters as Cocker, Frieze, and Morris, and to them this elegant *brochure* is gratefully dedicated. The work is characterized by rich scholarship, metaphysical acumen, and a fine command of clear, terse English. It presents a vivid view of the cold yet lofty spirit of the stoical and Kantian ethical philosophies, as well as their clear inferiority to Christianity by their deep unapplicability to the needs of our humanity. The divine truth of our religion becomes strikingly evinced by this bold comparison with the highest efforts of ancient and modern minds. Let us hear from Mr. Jackson again.

Metaphysics. A Study in First Principles. By Borden P. Bowne, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University, and author of "Studies in Theism." 8vo, pp. 534. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

We have but room barely to announce Professor Bowne's volume to our philosophically inclined readers, with the expectation of full notice and review in a future Quarterly.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Life of Edmund S. Janes, D.D., LL.D., late senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Henry B. Ridgaway, D.D. 12mo, pp. 428. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stone. 1882. Price $1.50.

Dr. Ridgaway has furnished one of the most interesting of American Methodist biographies. The character of Bishop Janes has left a pre-eminently pleasing impression upon the memory of the

Church, and this fitting record has given us occasion for a retrospective glance over the scenes and characters of our Church history during the period in which Edmund S. Janes was a prominent figure.

The first time we ever heard his name pronounced was long years agone, on a visit to Washington, about the time when he was Agent for Dickinson College. And he was then named as hero of an incident in the commencement of his agency. He went to the chief city of his mission, Philadelphia, and called the preachers to an interview. When they came, his youthful look, feminine voice, diffident demeanor, and slight, sickly figure, induced them to conclude that he was rather a feeble specimen. Generously concluding, however, to made the best of a poor case, they agreed to appoint a public meeting, and proceeded to divide the speech-making among themselves, when at length Janes interposed: "If brethren will be good enough to let me speak for myself I think I can represent the whole case." That sentence was so like him that we seem to remember hearing him utter it. Brethren looked each other in the eye, and tacitly concluded to let him make attempt. Well, he did; he did speak for himself; and he did "represent the whole case;" and brethren never after proposed to do his speaking for him.

In the memorable General Conference of 1844 Janes was elected Bishop mainly by the votes of the departing Southern delegates, and it was hinted, doubtless untruly, that they intended it as a "*put* upon the North;" at any rate they left few better things behind them. Jefferson, who hated the United States Supreme Court, in filling a vacancy looked for a man whose incompetency would disgrace it, and selected one Joseph Story, the man who in due time showed himself the judicial second to John Marshall alone.

Elected at the early age of thirty-seven, he grew, in the course of years, into very much of a practical model Bishop. Naturally his mind was not that of a schoolman. He was never meant for a metaphysician. We never rated him highly as a theologian or a logician; but he was, in spite of physical disadvantages, an orator; and he was a masterly executive administrator, a practical Christian statesman. His piety was not, like that of another eminent Bishop, obtrusive, but ingrained, giving a spontaneous amenity to his whole manner, and shaping him to that character of purity, gentleness, and firmness which has recorded upon our memory a sweeter picture than either of the engravings of this volume.

Elected to the Episcopate in the great separative convulsion produced by slavery, his whole career ran through the trying scenes of that long war. The set of Bishops of whom he was a junior member, discharged with quite abundant faithfulness their office as conservators of the unity of the Church, but lost for themselves, and in some degree for the Church, the laurels that belong to the champions of right and freedom. In the division of the Church, a strip of slave-holding territory, technically called "the Border," adhered to the North. That strip was, in more respects than one, dear to the heart of our Church. It was the scene of some of our sweetest historic memories. It retained with faithful sincerity a scrap of genuine antislaveryism, inherited from Asbury. It fought with dashing chivalry for freedom in the fore front of the battle of '44. And there was an attractive gallantry in her representative men. Cookman, and Sargent, and Slicer, and John A. Collins, and young Thomas Sewall, were brilliant magnets. Great then was the triumph that "Old Baltimore" should adhere to the North. But it was a costly adherence. Beyond her own little hereditary antislavery badge, the Border tolerated no opposition to slavery. In due time she came unconsciously to think that her office was to rule down all antislavery utterance in the North. We must ask the Border what we might say. At length it became clear to the younger men of the Church that the Border was simply the slave-holders' overseer over their Northern plantation. While those remarkably able leaders of slavery in the South were pushing their aggressions onward to a complete subjection of us all to their baton, it was the office of the Border to require our silence and submission. They were to hold the patient fast while the surgeon performed the operation. As they lay down in quietude, so we must lie down in profound submission and allow the chivalry to ride over us "booted and spurred by the grace of God." After the Dred Scott decision but one more turn of the judicial screw was necessary to restore bondage over the free States, and make us all one great slave empire. That court had only next to decide that slaves were just as any other property, and that all laws forbidding property to be carried into any State or Territory were unconstitutional and void, and the work was done. That court was capable of just that decision. And the "democracy," then the majority, would have sustained it. For the rest of us, nothing was necessary but *silence* to secure that consummation; and upon that fatal *silence* did the Border insist; and we are sorry to add that

that silence our then Episcopacy ratified. In this fatal silence Bishop Janes fully concurred. It would not be right to call him or his colleagues "proslavery," for not one of them but would have greatly preferred the non-existence of that system. But so far as practically co-operating with the great pro-slavery leaders was concerned, by maintaining silence and submission while the movement was in progress, their policy was completely pro-slavery. Had the Church coincided with that policy, and the people of the North with the Church, slavery would by this time have reigned in the North as South, and the slave-gang would at pleasure have marched up Broadway to the slave-market and slave-pen at Harlem.

The General Conference of 1856 was our crisis. The Church, led by her ministry, had become, in spite of authority, aggressively and irresistibly antislavery, and the Conference was its true representative. The Bishops at start committed themselves, by their Episcopal Address, to the opposition. They stood firmly face to face at issue with the Church and with the Conference fresh from its constituency. The majority was not sufficiently large to expel slavery from the Church, but it was able to put most of our periodicals under the editorship of progressive men. Watson at Chicago, Kingsley at Cincinnati, Brooks at St. Louis, Floy over the Magazine, and Wise over Sunday-school department, were faithful sentinels of the Church. And as for our Quarterly, to which the present editor was then first appointed, even Oliver Johnson pronounced him "a true antislavery man." We early announced that our Quarterly was standing on the basis of the Discipline, an "antislavery organ of an antislavery Church." Many a letter from the Border came to our office reprehending our "radical course." The import of our replies usually was, "Brethren, if you must lie down under the ring of the slave-holders' menace, you can do so; but do not ask us to lie down with you. If we stand firm you will finally rise; but if we succumb we will both lie there forever." When our Book Committee met, endowed with full power to remove us, we were arraigned before its bar, and Dr. Tippet, supported by Dr. George Peck and Dr. McClintock, called us to account for "shaking the Discipline at the Baltimore Conference." We promptly replied that we took our stand on that Discipline, and that stand we should maintain, and would hold ourself amenable to the next General Conference. Dr. Wise was similarly arraigned, squarely refused to change his course, and appealed to the Gen-

eral Conference. Their majesties did not dare to meet that issue. One great point was gained: our denominational press was henceforth free. Neither Border, nor Bishops, nor Book Committee, attempted further inquisition.

Of the Episcopal Address of 1856 it appears from the biography Bishop Janes was the writer. Its authorship is not a historical laurel. The biographer, but for the duty of truth, might well have flung it into the shade. We read the paragraphs copiously given from his letters with sober sadness. He has no other solicitude than lest the Border should leave. It seems to us that at that crisis no intelligent man could fail to see the doom of perpetuated slavery hanging over us, sure as destiny, unless we did our fearless duty. As we read we have no doubt that he wrote in earnest accordance with his conscience, but not quite with our conscience. But the gun of Sumter in due time rung the knell of slavery, united all hearts, and solved the fearful problem. It is now clear that it was right well that the Border did not leave us. With Dr. Haygood, we recognize that Hand that solved the problem. Whether our Episcopate of 1856 did rightly or not, a gracious Providence slowly worked out the right result.

Like the Bishop himself the biography has a slight Southern aspect. Thus, Dr. Ridgaway tells us (p. 82) that in 1844 our General Conference, by a certain vote, "virtually divided the Church." We believe few sensible men of our Church would say so false a thing. The Conference, in truth, simply passed a vote, in resentment at which Southern Methodism divided from the Church. To lay the responsibility of dividing the Church on the Conference is like the old "Union savers" telling the antislavery men, "If you don't let the subject of slavery alone *you* will divide the Union." That was putting the fool's cap on the wrong head. The true meaning was that, if you do right somebody else will do wrong. And the antislavery men replied by comparing their accusers to the Yankee justice of the peace who fined Tim Jinkins one dollar "because he made Colonel Winthrop swear so." Of course Tim "virtually" did all the swearing. Of about the same caliber is the quoting the decision of the Supreme Court (p. 83) as settling the historical question that the majority did divide the Church. That, like the Dred Scott decision, was simply a politico-judicial movement, having the temporary compulsory force of law, but utterly unauthoritative as a decision of a point of history. Yet no Northern Methodist now regrets the division of the property.

Proceedings of the Œcumenical Methodist Conference, held in City Road Chapel, London, September, 1881. Introduction by Rev. WILLIAM ARTHUR, M.A. 8vo, pp. 632. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Says the "Daily Telegraph" (London): "The idea of a Wesleyan Ecumenical Council originated in that natural source of vast designs—the United States." And we may add that our English brethren were at first cold and timid toward the project, fearing lest a "respectable" show could not be made. There had been an insular spell upon their feelings that prevented their contemplating the grandeur of their wide-spread Wesleyan heritage. But when the enterprise was pressed upon them by our western enthusiasm they began to kindle. For, vast as our world-wide Methodism has become, it looks with a unanimous filial eye to that illustrious ocean-isle whose career is one of the marvels and glories of human history, and to that one spot that is reckoned the spring of our Methodist history. With what unity did we come to that ancestral home, not, indeed, as subjects of Great Britain, but as natives of that "Greater Britain" that speaks the tongue of Wesley! Cherish, O noble Englanders, a little more genially, that feeling—"sentiment" and "gush" though it be. It is worth more than golden millions. It is an element near akin to the spirit of our Christianity; it may soften the asperity of our politics, Christianize our diplomacy, and prevent the horrors of future war.

Among the varied personal groups that served to justify the term Ecumenical, a special interest invested the presence of our "brothers in black." They spoke our English tongue with a music and oratorical power that showed they were "in their place." It was a great symbol of the future when an Afric-American Bishop presided over the representative body of universal Methodism. It was a great upward step taken, not only for the Hamite race, but for the human race. But as we look over the various record of names our eye discovers a solemn blank. Here are the descendants of Africa; where are the aboriginal sons of America? Why does not the majestic form of our western forester, an American-Indian Bishop, take in turn the Presidential chair? After centuries of our joint occupancy of soil and of our missionary effort among their tribes, what is the result? A vacuity and our shame! Then, again, we have here many an American African; where is the African African? Why no dark-faced Bishop from the "dark continent" in the chair? Let our Afric-American brethren listen to that question.

It may be time that they should begin to think of the spiritual welfare of their fatherland. Let our "brothers in black" consider the enterprise as their coming specialty of forming in body for the evangelization of Africa. And let them make haste, for we need a genuine African Bishop of true ebon luster for our next Ecumenical. And what will be the date of that future Ecumenical at which the Asiatic Indian and American Indian shall shake the fraternal hand? So may our great assemblages measure our advances in gathering the races and colorings into the fold of Christ.

The unity of spirit in this body verifies our claim that universal Methodism is one. There were various forms of organization, yet no one claimed a prescriptive right for his own form or played off haughty airs upon the other forms. Doubtless there were varying views of our doctrines that could be put into words, but no one could call the other a heretic. Here is true Church unity, needing no pope to impersonate and without any full creed to formulate. The assemblage was left to "the unity of the spirit," and they had only to discuss great spiritual interests and evangelical measures. They had nothing to do but plan enterprises for making the world better. And that is a mighty and glorious thing to do. Home missions, and church extension, education, including Sunday-schools and theological seminaries, intemperance and all the vices of our modern civilization, the press, perils from papacy and infidelity, the Sabbath, and other kindred topics formed a group of interests as important as Parliament or Congress ever discussed.

It is delightful to count over the different performers in the proceedings, especially where some principal part or some salient stroke appears. The eloquent pen of William Arthur opens with a prefatory statement. Matthew Simpson, not merely as our senior Bishop, but as our prince of preachers, our American Chrysostom, delivered the initial sermon. Venerable Dr. Osborne, the memorable President of our first Ecumenical, gave in eloquent but informal words the welcome, responded to by the piquant Bishop M'Tyeire and our youthful Warren. But space fails us to catalogue the names we would honor and the doings we would register. The various discussions that followed are so full of rich suggestions that the volume has an eminent value, not only as the monumental record of our first Ecumenical, but as a repository of golden thoughts.

Memoirs of Prince Metternich, 1830-1835. Edited by PRINCE RICHARD METTERNICH. The papers classified and arranged by M. A. De Klinkowström. Translated by GERARD W. SMITH. Vol. 3; 12mo, pp. xii, 343. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume discloses Metternich struggling to counteract the consequences of the Revolution which drove Charles X. from the throne of France in July, 1830. The ideas which were the soul of that popular movement spread rapidly over the greater part of Europe, begat strong cravings for constitutional liberty in the citizens of many nations, and caused Imperialism to tremble with apprehension. There was insurrection in the Netherlands. Revolutions disturbed the peace of Poland and of Italy. Belgium set up for itself. Greece was in a ferment. The States of the German Confederation were disturbed by mutual jealousies. With all these events Metternich, as the great master-spirit of Imperialism, was called upon to deal. And his confidential letters to the embassadors of Austria at the various courts of Europe, contained in this volume, show how he sought to direct the course of events. They also reveal the haughty contempt with which he regarded liberal political theories, and his proud confidence in the power of Imperialism to resist them would it only unite and put forth its strength. It is amusing to note how he denies the charge that his system was one of repression, by declaring that "we simply follow a system of *prevention* in order that we may not be compelled to follow one of *repression*"—that is, he would strangle the aspirations of the people for representative government before they were strong enough to produce overt acts requiring repression. Events, as we now know, revealed the folly of his proud conception, since the Austria he practically governed was even then brooding over the ideas he despised, and preparing itself to successfully demand concessions which included the sudden and unceremonious dismissal of this advocate of Imperialism from the councils of his monarch.

Besides the political letters of Metternich, this volume gives us copious extracts from the diary of the Princess Melanie, his third wife. These extracts give a peculiar charm to the book. They portray the great statesman in the undress of his domestic life, where he is far more attractive than in his chair of office. They also give glimpses of Austrian court-life, its heart-burnings, its petty intrigues, its anxieties, its hopes, and its fears. The princess herself impresses one as a delightful character. She idolized her husband, was tenderly attached to her children, and

was so intellectually strong and cultured as to be qualified to share the great minister's thoughts, and to be his companion, not only in his moments of repose, but in his grave and serious hours and occupations. Her diary is gossipy; but the light it sheds on the events of her times gives it a measure of historical importance.

Nez Perce Joseph. An Account of his Ancestors, his Lands, his Confederates, his Enemies, his Wars, his Pursuit, and Capture. By O. O. HOWARD, Brig.-Gen. U.S.A. 12mo, pp. 274. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1881.

General Howard, in this interesting volume, evidently without design, shows himself to be a humane soldier and a generous foe. Though a brave and successful soldier, he does not love war, but regards it as one of the sad necessities of national life, to be accepted for none but patriotic and just ends. Hence we find him, in this story of his campaign against the recalcitrant portion of the Nez Perces, admitting and regretting the injustice which has characterized many of our treaty arrangements with the Indians, and much of our management of their affairs on their reservations. Nevertheless he perceives that the advance of our civilization toward the shores the Pacific, when opposed with the rifle and tomahawk of the Indian, must be maintained even at the price of bloodshed on the field of battle. The General strikes the knot of the Indian question when he shows that, while our government concedes an undefined right of occupancy by Indians to large sections of the country, the Indians themselves set up an absolute title to the lands, and to absolute and independent sovereignty. These are irreconcilable principles, and until the Indians are civilized and prepared for citizenship by means of schools and missions, and are dealt with by our government, not as nations, but as individuals, to whom limited grants of land shall be given in fee simple, wars will come. The General has strong faith, founded on his knowledge of accomplished facts, in the power of schools and missionaries to civilize the Indian tribes.

Whoever wishes to gain a clear and correct conception of the nature and difficulties of Indian warfare in our vast Western Territories, and to learn why it is that disciplined white troops find Indian fighting to be something more serious than military pastime, will find interesting and valuable matter in this volume. He may also learn to respect the ability, shrewdness, and energy occasionally apparent in an Indian chief. These qualities were eminently displayed by Joseph, the leader of the Nez Perces, whom Howard fought, and whom he chased over thirteen hun-

dred miles, from Oregon to the Missouri River. The military instincts and strategic skill of that resolute chief were such as even a white soldier might envy. The story of this long, wearisome, exciting pursuit is told in this volume, not in the style of one more accustomed to the pen than the sword, but in a plain, straightforward, sometimes abrupt manner, which never fails to hold the reader's attention. It ought to stimulate the government to provide liberally for the education of the Indians, and the Churches to push missionary work among them with judicious zeal.

The Correspondence of Prince Talleyrand and King Louis XVIII., during the Congress of Vienna, (hitherto unpublished.) From the manuscripts preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Public Affairs at Paris. With a Preface, Observations, and Notes. By M. G. PALLAIN. New York: Harper Brothers. 1881. 12mo, pp. 312.

Prince Talleyrand, says Carlyle, was "a man living in falsehood; yet not what you call a false man." Thus, in enigmatical phrase, Carlyle sums up his estimate of the most enigmatical character of modern times. It would seem, however, that he who lives in falsehood must himself be false. And this, certainly, is the reputation which is generally associated with Talleyrand's name. Perhaps his Memoirs, shortly to be published, will modify this severe judgment of his character. Perhaps not. In the work before us he does not look as bad as he is painted elsewhere. Here his diplomacy is open, straightforward, firm, bold, persistent, and pre-eminently sagacious. When he appeared at the Congress of Vienna as the representative of King Louis, France, exhausted by the wars of Napoleon, was lying at the feet of the Allied Powers. Russia and Prussia were bent on enlarging themselves by wholly absorbing some of the lesser powers, and by diminishing the territorial limits of France. To checkmate this purpose Talleyrand insisted, from the beginning of the Congress, that the Powers were bound to maintain the principle of legitimacy, because it was on that principle all their thrones reposed. They were therefore all bound to respect it in dealing with France. The correspondence in this volume shows with what marvelous skill, courage, and tenacity Talleyrand pressed this principle; and how he thereby secured for France the recognition of her right to retain possession of what was indisputably hers in 1789. Whether Talleyrand, who, during the Revolution, had been a pronounced Republican, believed in the principle, or whether he only used it as a weapon with which to fight against the spolia-

tion of his native land, cannot be known. Most assuredly he pressed it with all the earnestness of a genuine patriotism, and made it do essential service for his royal master. The correspondence is profoundly interesting, throwing open, as it does, by its transparent clearness and fullness, the methods of European diplomacy, when, sitting in solemn conclave, it decided grave questions of peace or war, the fate of monarchs, and the destinies of nations. If these letters are not history, they are at least very valuable materials for future historians.

Four Centuries of English Letters. Selections from the Correspondence of One Hundred and Fifty Writers, from the period of the Paston Letters to the Present Day. Edited and arranged by W. Baptiste Scoones. 12mo, pp. xix, 573. New York: Harper Brothers.

In offering this volume to the public the compiler no doubt recognized the fact that one's interest in old letters depends as much on the eminence of their writers as on their intrinsic value. Boswell, the prince of biographers, put this point well to Dr. Johnson one day, when that much-admired man, objecting to the fashion of publishing letters, said that to avoid the publication of his own letters he put as little into them as he could. To which Boswell replied, with his accustomed flattery, "Do what you will, sir, you cannot avoid it. Should you even write as ill as you can, your letters would be published as curiosities.

> "'Behold a miracle! instead of wit,
> See two dull lines by Stanhope's pencil writ.'"

But in compiling this volume Mr. Scoones has not made his selections exclusively on the ground that the writers were eminent in Church or State, in the social or literary world; but, as he tells us, with the higher design of making his work "rich with some of the best and brightest flowers of epistolary literature." As was inevitable, notwithstanding his purpose not to include letters which were below a fair standard of "literary excellence," they are of unequal interest and value. Some of them, though not many, perhaps, a rigid critic would reject as unimportant or in bad taste. Yet, taken as a whole, they fairly fill the compiler's ideal of "a collection of English letters suitable alike for the purposes of instruction and recreation." The volume is certainly very entertaining in that it brings the intelligent reader face to face and into pleasing familiarity with a multitude of distinguished minds whose names and deeds he is accustomed to associate, favorably or otherwise, with the literature and history

of England during the last four hundred years. If he be well read in English history it may not add much to his knowledge, but it will refresh his mind and revive his interest in many of his favorite historical characters. If he be a novice in the history and literature of the period it covers, it will instruct as well as amuse him, especially by means of the compact historical and biographical notes prefixed to the letters. These notes are fine examples of condensation, giving much pertinent information in few words. They add materially to the value of the book.

People's Cyclopedia of Universal Knowledge. With numerous Appendixes invaluable for Reference in all Departments of Industrial Life. The whole brought down to the year 1882. With the Pronunciation and Orthography conformed to Webster's Unabridged Dictionary. Illustrated with numerous colored maps and over Three Thousand Engravings. By W. H. De Puy, A.M., D.D., for fifteen years Associate Editor of "The Christian Advocate" at New York; author of "Compendium of Popular Information," etc. Large 8vo, vol. 1, pp. 1022; vol. 2, pp. 1058. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

These two fine cyclopedic octavos are intended to fit into a popular demand. They are based on the great works of Chambers and the Britannica, but, compressed in size and reduced in price, become suitable for popular use and general circulation. Valuable original contributions are furnished by such writers as Judge Fancher, Bishops Hurst, Harris, and Andrews, by Drs. Warren, Curry, Fowler, Buckley, Winchell, and Haygood. The engraved illustrations are very numerous, and they do illustrate and exemplify. The maps are abundant and excellent. Dr. De Puy has accomplished a noble work worthy a wide acceptance.

Miscellaneous.

The New Testament in the Original Greek. The text revised by Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., Canon of Peterborough and Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge and Fenton, John Anthony Hort, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Introduction and Appendix by the Editors. With appendix, pp. 188. 12mo, pp. 324. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Westcott and Hort Greek Testament was issued before this by the Harpers, and noticed in our last Quarterly. This volume is their "Introduction" to it, consisting of a very exhaustive treatment of textual science.

The Making of England. By John Richard Green, M.A., LL.D., author of "History of the English People," "Short History of the English People," "Stray Studies from England and Italy," etc. 4to, pp. 64. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Making of England. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., LL.D., Honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, author of "History of the English People," "Short History of the English People," etc. With Maps. 8vo, pp. 434. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Revelation of the Risen Lord. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, Canon of Peterborough, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. 12mo, pp. 199. London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1881.

The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version, (A.D. 1611,) with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation. By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter, late preacher at Lincoln's Inn, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. New Testament, Vol. IV, Hebrews, The Revelation of St. John. 8vo, pp. 844. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Principles of Church Polity, Illustrated by an Analysis of modern Congregationalism and applied to certain important practical questions in the Government of Christian Churches. Southworth Lectures, delivered at Andover Theological Seminary in the years 1879–81. By GEORGE T. LADD, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Yale College. 12mo, pp. 433. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Ecce Spiritus. A Statement of the Spiritual Principle of Jesus as the Law of Life. 8vo, pp. 238. Boston: George H. Ellis. 1881.

Studies in the Gospel according to St. Matthew. By Rev. J. CYNDDYLAN JONES, author of "Studies in the Acts." Second Edition. 12mo, pp. 320. Toronto: William Briggs.

Sixty-Third Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1881. January, 1882. 8vo, pp. 333. New York: Printed for the Society, 805 Broadway.

Proceedings of the New England Methodist Historical Society at the Second Annual Meeting, January 16, 1882. 8vo, pp. 32. Boston: Society's Rooms, 36 Brom. field-street. 1882.

The World's Foundations; or, Geology for Beginners. By AGNES GIBERNE, author of "Sun, Moon, and Stars," etc. 12mo, pp. 322. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1882.

The Guiding Hand; or, Providential Direction. Illustrated by authentic instances, recorded and collected. By H. L. HASTINGS, Editor of "The Christian." 12mo, pp. 382. Boston: Scriptural Tract Repository, H. L. Hastings. 1881.

Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of Peter and Jude. By Joh. Ed. HUTHER, Th.D., pastor at Wittenförden, Schwerin. 8vo, pp. 440. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. The Pastoral Epistles by Dr. J. E. HUTHER. 8vo, pp. 379. New York: Scribner & Welford.

A History of Christian Doctrines. By the late Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, Professor of Theology at Basel. Translated from the fifth and last German edition, with additions from other sources. With an Introduction by E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, Examining Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Vol. III. 8vo, pp. 446. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The Chautauquan, March, 1882. A Monthly Magazine devoted to the Promotion of True Culture, Organ of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. THEODORE L. FLOOD, D.D., Editor. 8vo. Meadville, Pa.: The Chautauqua Press. Price 20 cents.

Love the Debt. A Novel. By BASIL. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Hesperothen: Notes from the West. A Record of a Ramble in the United States and Canada in the Spring and Summer of 1881. By WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL, LL.D. 8vo. pp. 62. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Among the Ruins, and Other Stories. By MARY CECIL HAY, author of "Old Middleton's Money," "The Squire's Legacy," "Reaping the Whirlwind," "Victor and Vanquished," etc. 8vo, pp. 34. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Constitutional History of England from 1760–1860. By CHARLES DUKE YONGE, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Queen's College, Belfast, author of the "Life of Marie Antoinette," and editor of "Yonge's English Greek Lexicon," etc. 8vo, pp. 116. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Civil Service in Great Britain. A History of Abuses and Reforms, and their Bearing upon American Politics. By DORMAN B. EATON. 8vo, pp. 82. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Chautauqua Library of English History and Literature. Vol. III. The Wars of the Roses. 8vo, pp. 140. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1881.

An Introduction to the History of Educational Theories. By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A., Senior Fellow and Lecturer of King's College, Cambridge, and sometime Assistant-Master at Eton College. 12mo, pp. 199. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

French History for English Children. By SARAH BROOKS. Revised and Edited by GEORGE CARY EGGLESTON. With Illustrations and Maps. 12mo, pp. 327. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Heroes of Holland. The Founders and Defenders of the Dutch Republic. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D., author of "Elements of Logic," "John Winthrop and the Great Colony," "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," etc. 12mo, pp. 281. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Old Greek Education. By J. P. MAHAFFY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor in Trinity College, Dublin, Knight of the Order of the Saviour, Author of "Social Life in Greece," "A History of Greek Literature," "A Primer of Greek Antiquities," etc. 12mo, pp. 144. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The International Revision Commentary on the New Testament. Based upon the Revised Version of 1881. By English and American scholars and members of the Revised Committee. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Sacred Literature in the Union Theological Seminary of New York, President of the American Committee on Revision. Vol. II. The Gospel According to Mark. 12mo, pp. 243. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1881.

The Mendelssohn Family, (1729–1847.) From Letters and Journals. By SEBASTIAN HENSEL. With eight portraits from drawings by Wilhelm Hensel. Second revised edition. Translated by CARL KLINGEMANN and an American Collaborator. With a notice by George Grove, Esq., D.C.L. Vol. I, 8vo, pp. 340. Vol. II, pp. 359. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Great Movements and Those who Achieved Them. By HENRY J. NICOLL, author of "Great Orators," "Life of Carlyle," etc. With thirteen portraits. 12mo, pp. 487. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

De Quincey. By DAVID MASSON. 12mo, pp. 198. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Shakspeare's Comedy of the Merry Wives of Windsor. Edited, with notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., formerly Head Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass., with engravings. 12mo, pp. 173. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Four Macnicols. By WILLIAM BLACK, author of "White Wings," "Macleod of Dare," "A Princess of Thule," "Sunrise," "A Daughter of Heth," "Madcap Violet," etc. With Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 117. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Geo F Seney

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1882.

ART. I.—NEW JAPAN.

THE title of this article is neither an anachronism nor an exaggeration. The radical transformation through which the nation has voluntarily passed during the past few years fully authorizes the use of the designation, "New Japan," which we have applied to it. A simple reference to the more prominent changes that have transpired is sufficient to establish this point. Among these events we may allude to the abandonment of its policy of seclusion and isolation; the formation of treaties with the leading nations of the world; the restoration to the Mikado of the authority which both *de jure* and according to primitive usage belonged to him; the establishment of what is at least approximately a constitutional form of government; the initiation of a national parliament; the utter destruction of the feudal system; the neutralization of its laws against Christianity; the introduction of a new system of coinage adapted to the demands of modern commerce; the adoption of the most improved methods for mining; the construction of railways and telegraphs, and the organization of lines of steamers both for domestic and foreign trade; the development of an advanced system of education; the acceptance and promulgation of the "Code Napoleon" as the laws of the empire; the reconstruction of its judicial administration in accordance with this code, under the supervision of eminent

jurists invited from Western nations; and, lastly, the proclamation just issued by the Mikado fixing the year 1890 as the time for introducing the completed form of representative government originally promised by him in 1868, and now in active process of preparation.

The foregoing condensed statement amply indicates the propriety of our using the title placed at the head of the present article, and ought to be sufficient, one would think, to convince all parties both of the sincerity of the Japanese Government in its progressive movement, and also of its ability to perform the task in hand. Bearing in mind that the existing period of reform in Japan was not preceded by a time of adequate preparation; that the movement commenced somewhat suddenly; and that, from the outset, it has been retarded by unavoidable complications and embarrassments arising from foreign as well as native sources, the success already achieved is certainly creditable to Japan, and, at the same time, highly gratifying and assuring to her friends in all countries. The character and ability of reformers are frequently indicated quite as much by what they do not as by what they do attempt. Judged by this test, the leaders of the progressive movement in Japan are entitled to high praise. It is noteworthy, in reviewing the course of events in that country during the past twenty-seven years, to see how few, comparatively, are the mistakes or injudicious measures into which the authorities of the government have been betrayed. Avoiding, to a great extent, undue interference with the local customs, social regulations, and religious convictions of the people, and directing its attention almost exclusively to matters germane and absolutely essential to the work in hand, the Government of Japan has steadily advanced in its great enterprise of reform without serious disaster, and, as far at least as the general lines of its policy are concerned, almost without failure. The brief summary of changes we have already presented, admirable alike from what it omits and from what it contains, constitutes the entire programme of the government with regard to this subject; and it is satisfactory to observe that every measure included in the programme has been carried forward to substantial and apparently permanent success.

A glance at the conditions under which this work has been performed will enable us to appreciate the value of the success already achieved. It is one of the striking features of the great political movement which has produced the recent changes in Japan, that it is not so much the product of a pre-concerted plan, as the outgrowth of events and forces, some of which were not in existence at the time of the inception of the movement, and which were at the first unknown to and, as far as we can judge, unanticipated by its originators and promoters. Among the difficulties confronting the leaders in Japan's *renaissance*, a prominent place must be assigned to the feudal system. With the territory of the empire divided into petty principalities, each governed by its own feudal lord, who, aside from a general allegiance to the supreme head of the government, was the ultimate and irresponsible source and factor of authority within his own domain, it were impossible to effect and idle to anticipate the accomplishment of a grand enterprise like the one going forward so successfully in Japan at the present time. And yet, while it was easy enough to apprehend and, in a measure, appreciate the difficulty presented by this system, it was not an easy matter to provide a practicable method for its removal. The system had originated with the nation; and, with the exception of about four hundred years, had, under slight modifications, co-existed with it. It had contributed to the formation of Japanese character, and had inspired, while furnishing the models of, the national heroism. It had dictated the laws of the realm, had given its own impress to the literature and art of the nation, and was interwoven indeed with the entire structure of Japanese society. It would seem that a system so impregnably intrenched could only pass away with the existence of the nation itself. It appears almost incredible that within the brief period of about seventeen years, reckoning from the time (1854) when Commodore Perry, on behalf of the United States Government, negotiated a treaty with the Government of Japan, the entire system collapsed and was relegated to its place among the effete institutions of a past age; and our estimate of the remarkable character of the event is heightened when we learn that the collapse of the system was due to the voluntary action of the feudal lords themselves. The influences which operated

to produce this surprising result will become apparent as we proceed with this article.

Another difficulty to be grappled with was the traditionary and dominant family or clan influence which had always been a controlling element in Japanese history. The Mikado, or Emperor, it is true, has always been recognized and deferred to as the supreme head of the empire. Regarded by his subjects as the lineal descendant of the great Sun-goddess, his person has been held sacred, his authority as of divine origin, and his will the unchallenged law of the land. But it was not to be expected that a being so exalted would descend to the multifarious and frequently distracting duties of an earthly sovereign: indeed, the very logic which enthroned him with the gods demonstrated to the Japanese mind his unfitness for terrestrial associations. It is only in the extremely simple and primitive condition of society which characterizes the first centuries in the history of Japan that we find indications of what we may call the direct or personal administration of the Mikado. From the eighth century of the Christian era the emperor was consigned to seclusion and comparative imbecility, while the administration of the empire passed successively into the hands of several of the powerful families or clans. It may be said indeed that the history of these dominant families is the history of the nation. The celebrated families of Fujiwara, Taira, Minamoto, and Hōjō, wielded the power of the government from the eighth century till about the middle of the fourteenth. From about the middle of the fourteenth century to the close of the sixteenth the executive power was in the hands of the Ashikaga line of Shoguns, supplemented by the successive personal administrations of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Tokugawa clan obtained control of the government and exercised it until 1868, when the Mikado became the *de facto* as well as the *de jure* sovereign of the empire. This dual form of government, notwithstanding its irregularity, noticed indeed by the more thoughtful minds, had existed so long that it had come to pass unchallenged among the great body of the people, and was accepted and acquiesced in by them with implicit obedience. The Tokugawa clan, which, in the person of its chief, wielded the

power of the government when Commodore Perry approached the coast of Japan, was, to all appearance, firmly established in its position, and held its authority with a grasp as vigorous as that of any of its predecessors. It was not for a moment to be supposed that it would yield its high position without a fierce struggle. Introduced to power by Iyeyasu, one of the most distinguished characters in Japanese history, the clan, during a period of about two hundred and fifty years, had administered the affairs of the government with eminent success. The period of its administration had been a time of profound peace. Its great founder, Iyeyasu, had, by his enactments, perfected the dual form of government, and given completeness and the highest efficiency to feudalism. He had made Yedo his capital, and he and his successors had held their courts there with a pomp and dignity unsurpassed in the history of the country. It is true that the long period of rest and prosperity with which the nation had been favored did not develop in the more remote successors of Iyeyasu a high order of executive ability or statesmanship; and that the Shogun, or chief of the clan, who held office at the time now referred to, was not distinguished for his administrative capacity. It may be said, however, on the other hand, that the prestige of the clan was high, its title to authority unquestioned, its mandates every-where obeyed; and that every thing seemed to indicate the perpetuity of its power. It was evident, even to a superficial observer of the situation, that any serious attempt to overthrow the existing Shogun, or to destroy the dual form of government which had continued through so many centuries, could not be bloodless, and that the struggle could only be terminated by the arbitrament of the sword.

The last difficulty confronting the Japanese reformers to which we shall refer in this connection was the dread of Romanism which, during a period of about two hundred and fifty years, had dominated and overshadowed the thought of the Japanese. It is phenomenal and almost paradoxical that a system of religion so elevated in its morality, so intensely spiritual in its teachings, and so pre-eminently benevolent in its aims and methods as Christianity is, should have been regarded by the Japanese as the sum of all villainies, a system

utterly corrupt and corrupting. During a period of about ninety years the Roman Catholic missionaries prosecuted their labors in Japan. The missionaries were men of ability, and may certainly be regarded as fair representatives of the system with which they were connected. The Japanese received them with respect; and in large numbers accepted the new doctrines with at least apparent sincerity and enthusiasm. Every thing conspired to present an inviting field to the missionaries; and the brilliant success with which their efforts were rewarded shows that they both appreciated and improved the golden opportunity. Surely, under such conditions, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the impressions made upon the minds of the Japanese by the lives and the instructions of the missionaries will be a truthful indication of the system they represent. What impressions then, we may inquire, were produced on the minds of the Japanese by their contact with this form or phase of Christianity? It is clear, in the first place, that the Japanese were entirely misled in their conception of the methods by which Christianity is to be propagated; and further, that their misconception in this respect was warranted by the facts in the case. The following statements, from Mr. Walter Dickson's * book on Japan, will substantiate this statement. He states:—

A persecuting spirit showed itself among the Jesuits very soon after the departure of Francis Xavier. "Sumitanda," they write, "King of Omura, who had become a Christian, in accordance with a promise to that purpose in case his wife should have a child, about the year 1562, or only thirteen years after the first arrival of a missionary in the country, declared open war against the devils. He dispatched some squadrons through his kingdom to ruin all the idols and temples without any regard to the bonzes' rage."—P. 164.

In 1577 the lord of the island of Amakusa issued his proclamation, by which all his subjects, whether bonzes, gentlemen, merchants, or traders, were required either to turn Christians or to leave the country the very next day. They almost all submitted and received baptism, so that in a short time there were more than twenty churches in the kingdom. God wrought miracles to confirm the faithful in their belief.—P. 165.

All this time one of the most zealous as well as influential among the Christian converts was he who was known as Justo

* Translated by him from the Jesuit Charlevoix's "Histoire du Christianisme au Japon."

Ucondono, or Takayama no Kongay no Kami. His seat was Takashi, in the province of Setsa, where he labored with a zeal truly apostolical to extirpate the idolaters out of his states, where the number was now fallen to 30,000. He sent word that they should either receive the faith, or begone immediately out of his country, for he would acknowledge none for his subjects but such as adored the true God. This declaration obliged them all to accept of instruction, which cut out work enough for all the fathers and missionaries at Miaco.—*Ibid.*

Don Justo had the merit, in his religious zeal, of being unconnected with any seaport town. All the other lords who had been brought over to the Roman Church were competing more or less for foreign trade: Bungo, Arima, Omura, Firando, and Goto; and though some of them seem to have been sincere converts, others wavered with the rise and fall of exports and imports.—P. 166.

The provincial put in a petition to Taikosama, which he is said by the Jesuits to have granted, namely: That it should be lawful for them to preach the law of the true God through all his States, and his subjects free to embrace it. That their houses should be exempt from lodging soldiers. That as strangers they should be exempt from all cesses and taxes which the lords do usually lay upon their vassals. . . . And he added to that, that he gave them license to preach, not only in his own kingdoms, but through all Japan as lords and sovereigns of the whole empire.—P. 168.

In the year 1587 they reckoned about 200,000 Christians in Japan, among whom were several persons of distinguished merit; kings, princes, generals of armies, principal lords of the court, and in a word, the flower of Japonian nobility. Moreover, what by Taikosama's esteem of our religion and kindness to the missioners that preached it; and what by his contempt of the bonzes whom he persecuted with fire and sword, burning their temples and pulling down their idols wherever he came; what, also, by vesting the Christian lords in the most considerable places of the government, and indulging liberty to all his court to receive baptism; over and above, by erecting so many churches to the true God, and so particularly countenancing the fathers of the society, the number of them daily increased. For, not content with sending frequently for the fathers to his palace, he went one day himself to visit the provincial on board his ship, and discoursed with him after a familiar way for several hours together. Not that he had any thought of religion, for he was so proud that he pretended equality with divinity itself; but by this had a mind to gain a reputation among the princes of Europe.—P. 168

It is clear, also, in the second place, that the Japanese received a very incorrect impression of the object of Christian missions, and, indeed, of the nature of Christianity itself; and

that for these distorted views the Roman Catholic missionaries were largely, if not wholly, responsible. Professor Griffis, in his work, "The Mikado's Empire," gives emphatic testimony on this point. Referring to the first arrival (A. D. 1542) of Europeans (Portuguese) at the island of Tané, ("seed island,") on the coast of Southern Japan, he proceeds:

> The name of the island was significant. The arrival of these foreigners was the seed of troubles innumerable. The crop was priestcraft of the worst type, political intrigue, religious persecution, the inquisition, the slave trade, the propagation of Christianity by the sword, sedition, rebellion, and civil war. Its harvest was gathered in the blood of sixty thousand Japanese.—P. 248.

He continues,

> All foreigners, but especially Portuguese, were then slave-traders, and thousands of Japanese were bought and sold and shipped to Macao, in China, and to the Philippines. . . . Hideyashi repeatedly issued decrees threatening with death these slave-traders, and even the purchasers. . . . To the everlasting honor of some of the Jesuit bishops and priests, be it said, they endeavored to do all they could to prevent the traffic in the bodies of men.—P. 254.

Seven years after the arrival of the merchants came the missionaries, (1549.) Referring to the missionaries, Professor Griffis says:

> As the different orders, Jesuits, Franciscans, and Augustinians, increased, they began to trench upon each other's parishes. This gave rise to quarrels, indecent squabbles, and mutual vituperation, at which the pagan sneered and the bonze rejoiced. . . . Christianity received her sorest wound in the house of her friends.—P. 254.

The resemblances between Romanism and Buddhism are many and striking. Professor Griffis remarks:

> Furthermore, the transition from the religion of India to that of Rome was extremely easy. The very idols of Buddha served, after a little alteration with the chisel, for images of Christ. The Buddhist saints were easily transformed into the twelve apostles. The cross took the place of the *torii*. It was emblazoned on the helmets and banners of the warriors, and embroidered on their breasts. The Japanese soldiers went forth to battle like Christian crusaders. In the roadside shrine, Kuanon, the goddess of mercy, made way for the Virgin, the mother of God. Buddhism was beaten with its own weapons. Its own artillery was turned against it. Nearly all the Christian churches were native tem-

ples, sprinkled and purified. The same bell, whose boom had so often quivered the air announcing the orisons and matins of paganism, was again blessed and sprinkled, and called the same hearers to mass and to confession; the same lavatory that fronted the temple served for holy water or baptismal font; the same censer that swung before Amida could be refilled to waft Christian incense; the new convert could use unchanged his old beads, bells, candles, incense, and all the paraphernalia of his old faith, in celebration of the new.—P. 252.

Meanwhile, in 1583, the Christian *daimios* in southern Japan sent an embassy to Europe to declare themselves the vassals of the pope, which fact becoming known to the central government of Japan excited the gravest apprehensions, and induced it to issue edicts forbidding Christianity and expelling some of the foreign missionaries. In 1590 more Spanish priests arrived from the Philippines, and openly defied the edicts recently issued by the Japanese Government. Resisting the stringent policy of the government, the Japanese Christians rose in armed rebellion. In 1606 a decree was issued from Yedo forbidding the Christian religion. In 1611 Iyeyasu, the Shogun, obtained documentary evidence of the existence of a plot on the part of the native converts and the foreign emissaries to reduce Japan to the position of a subject state; and came to the conclusion that the Christian religion was only a pestilent breeder of sedition and war.

Thirdly, and lastly in this connection, it is very clear that from the events transpiring around them, to some of which we have referred during the course of this article, the Japanese authorities received the impression that the only safe policy for them to adopt was to extirpate, at once and forever, the so-called Christian religion from Japan. Utterly mistaken in their conceptions as to the nature of Christianity and the objects and methods of Christian missions, and menaced on all sides by unprecedented and imminent dangers, which seemed to them the necessary product of the new doctrines, it is not strange that the Japanese authorities, in self-defense, should resort to extreme measures. Edicts, each more stringent than its predecessor, interdicting and execrating the *Jashin mon-i*—that is, "corrupt sect," followed one another in quick succession from 1587 to 1637. Blood flowed freely, and many thousands of the Christians fell at Sekigahara, (1600,)

Osaco, (1615,) and at Shimabara, (1637,) where the final crushing blow was given to the Christian insurgents. In 1596, six Franciscan, three Jesuit priests, and seventeen Japanese converts were put to death by crucifixion at Nagasaki; in 1614 one hundred and seventeen Jesuits and twenty-two friars of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian, orders, together with hundreds of native priests and catechists, were banished from the country. Sentence of death was pronounced against any foreign priest who might be found in Japan; all foreign commerce was restricted to Nagasaki; all Japanese were forbidden, on penalty of death, to leave the country; all foreigners, except Dutch and Chinese, were expelled from Japan; all sea-going Japanese vessels were destroyed, and the building of such craft forbidden.*

Fresh persecutions fcllowed, many apostate lords and gentry now favoring the government. Fire and sword were used to extirpate Christianity and to paganize the same people who in their youth were christianized by the same means. Thousands of the native converts fled to China, Formosa, and the Philippines. All over the empire, but especially at Osaca and in Kiushin, the people were compelled to trample on the cross, or on a copper plate engraved with the representation of "the Christians' criminal God." The Christians suffered all sorts of persecutions. They were wrapped in straw sacks, piled in heaps of living fuel, and set on fire. All the tortures that barbaric hatred or refined cruelty could invent were used to turn thousands of their fellow men into carcasses and ashes. Yet few of the natives quailed or renounced their faith. They calmly let the fire of wood cleft from the crosses before which they once prayed consume them, or walked cheerfully to the blood-pit, or were plunged alive into the open grave about to be filled up. Mothers carried their babes at their bosoms, or their children in their arms to the fire, the sword, or the precipice's edge, rather than leave them behind to be educated in the pagan faith.

At Shimabara, where, in 1637, the "hated sect" received, as was then supposed, its death-blow in Japan, thirty-seven thousand Christians perished. Shortly afterward large numbers were hurled from the precipitous islet in the harbor of Nagasaki. Thousands more were banished to distant parts of the empire, or were put to death by torture. For centuries

* "Mikado's Empire," p. 257.

subsequent to these terrible scenes, writes Professor Griffis,* there was a name the mention of which

would bate the breath, blanch the cheek, and smite with fear as with an earthquake's shock. The name was the synonym of sorcery, sedition, and all that was hostile to the purity of the home and the peace of society. All over the empire, in every city, town, village, and hamlet; by the roadside, ferry, or mountain-pass; at every entrance to the capital, stood the public notice-boards on which, with prohibitions against the great crimes that disturb the relations of society and government, was one tablet, written with a deeper brand of guilt, with a more hideous memory of blood, with a more awful terror of torture, than when the like superscription was affixed at the top of a cross that stood between two thieves on a little hill outside Jerusalem. Its daily and familiar sight startled, ever and anon, the peasant to clasp hands and utter a fresh prayer, the bonze to add new venom to his maledictions, the magistrate to shake his head, and gave to the mother a ready word to hush the crying of her fretful babe. That name was Christ.

The foregoing is an indication, inadequate, indeed, of the impression made on the minds of the Japanese by the emissaries of the Papacy during the period to which we have referred. It is not surprising that, surrounded by such influences, the Japanese Government hastened to expel, at all hazards, the foreign intruder from its territory; to break off, except in one particular, all intercourse with Western nations; and to cover the empire with placards declaring that as long as the sun should shine no foreigners should enter Japan or natives leave it. We are now able to appreciate, in some degree at least, the formidable character of the difficulty which, from this source, confronted the advocates and promoters of progress in Japan.

Having glanced at some of the difficulties in the way of the progressive movement in Japan, let us refer very briefly to the processes or influences by which these obstacles were surmounted. Among the influences contributing to the recent radical changes in Japan, a prominent place must be assigned to a feeling of profound dissatisfaction on the part of the influential classes of the Japanese, both with regard to the results of feudalism and the existence of the dual form of government. In every feudal territory the military class had

* "Mikado's Empire," p. 259.

usurped and exercised supreme authority. The members of this class filled all the offices of government, administered the laws, took charge of the revenues, regulated the expenditures, and practically dictated the policy of the realm. The feudal lords themselves were to a great extent controlled by this domineering class, which, in some instances, claimed and exercised the right to say what share of the revenue should be given to the feudal lords for their current expenses. The farmers, merchants, artisans, and common laborers, comprising, perhaps, eight tenths of the population, were almost entirely at the mercy of the members of the military class, and were by them subjected to cruel oppression and gross injustice. The emperor himself, stripped of all authority, had been consigned to utter inaction and seclusion, while the Shogun usurped wholly the administration of the empire. We thus witness the spectacle of a great nation whose legitimate sovereign and subordinate chiefs are mere figure-heads, and the vast majority of whose population, deprived of their rights, have been reduced to the most exacting servitude, while the members of a numerically insignificant class have monopolized the authority, offices, dignities, emoluments, and revenues of the empire, they themselves, meanwhile, being in many respects above law and amenable to no court of justice. This abnormal and unjust condition of affairs did not fail to arrest the attention of thoughtful Japanese. The second Prince of Mito, (1622–1700,) in his "Cai Nihon Shi," (History of Great Japan,) had intimated as plainly as it was possible to do at that time that the Mikado was the sole legitimate sovereign of the empire. Other writers, as Kada, Mabuchi, Hatori, Motoori, Hirata, and others, advocated a similar view. These writings in manuscript form were read and studied by Japanese students throughout the empire; and in 1851 the "Cai Nihon Shi" was issued from the press.

Other influences were at work also in the same direction. Through the Dutch residents at Nagasaki, the Japanese Government had obtained much information concerning the progress of events in Europe and other parts of the world. The excitement consequent on the discovery of gold in California and the rapid growth of population on the Pacific were not unnoticed by the Japanese. Russia was steadily moving toward

Japan from the north. American whalers, cruising in the adjacent waters, were ever and anon visiting Japanese ports on errands of mercy, or constrained by necessity. America, England, France, and other nations were anxious to form treaties with Japan. There is satisfactory evidence that the scholars of the period to which we now refer were engaged in carefully observing and studying the signs of the times. More than one hundred and fifty years before the United States fleet under Commodore Perry visited Japan, the work of preparation for the progressive movement now going forward in that country had begun. Religious motives combined with patriotism to stimulate the energy of those who dared to advocate sentiments unacceptable to the governing class and attended with imminent peril to those advocating them. The earnest persistent movement to reform the religion of the Japanese, known as the revival of Pure Shinto, exercised a powerful influence on this question. The advocates of this reform, some of whose names have already been given in a preceding paragraph of this article, had the courage to enunciate principles, the logical sequences of which are found in the most radical measures adopted by the progressive party of Japan to-day; and it is sheer justice to such men as Kada, Hirata, Motoori, Mabuchi, and their compeers, to say that the brilliant success with which the efforts of Japanese statesmen in our day have been crowned, is due chiefly to the influence of their writings. A successor and lineal descendant of the second Prince of Mito, to whom we have already referred, cherishing the opinions of his great ancestor, but influenced probably by mixed motives, had commenced, in the year 1840, to collect war material with a view to insurrectionary proceedings; but the vigorous measures of the government thwarted his plans; and it was not till the stirring times consequent upon Commodore Perry's arrival in Japan that he was released from the confinement into which he had been thrown by the Shogun's government.

Passing from the causes underlying this great national movement, let us indicate chronologically the principal stages in its development. In March, 1854, the Shogun concluded and signed the treaty between Japan and the United States. November, 1867, Keiki, the last Shogun of Japan, resigned his

office. January, 1868, the clans of Satsuma, Tosa, Echizen, and Owari obtained control of the Mikado's person and took possession of the government. Civil war followed and continued till July 1, 1869, when it terminated in the complete overthrow of the Shogun's party, and the establishment of the Mikado as the *de facto* sovereign of the empire. In 1871 the feudal lords voluntarily resigned their offices, titles, and revenues, and retired to the rank of private subjects, thus placing the administration of the whole empire in the hands of the Mikado and the officers he might appoint.

We now leave what may be termed the initial stage of this remarkable enterprise, and proceed to its second, or constructive, period, when, pressed by the exigencies of their position, the national leaders began to grapple with the great practical difficulties confronting them. Okubo, Iwakura, Kido, Sanjo, Soyejima, Goto, Katsu, Ito, and others, were the statesmen on whom the Mikado relied in this great emergency; and nobly did they respond to his confidence. To modernize the government, and thus adapt it to the demands of the present age, was one of the urgent problems. This was effected by inviting eminent scholars and statesmen from America and Europe to take charge of departments in the administration of the Government and also of educational institutions established in Japan, by sending abroad many of their youth to be educated in Western countries, and by putting into operation an educational system which provides at least approximately for the literary training of all the youth of the empire. The next great difficulty was the provision to be made for the *samurai*, or military class, which through so many centuries had practically dominated the empire. This was overcome by retiring the members of the class on pensions to be paid them annually; and subsequently, when the productive classes of the country complained of injustice in being taxed to support an unproductive and now almost useless portion of the population, the government compounded with the *samurai* by paying them at once a specified amount in liquidation of all claims, thus relieving the administration of a heavy annual draft on its exchequer. But perhaps the greatest difficulty of all was to provide an adequate supply of money for the extraordinary expenses of the government

during its transition period. It is not claimed that in the performance of this most difficult task the Japanese have been uniformly successful, or that they have invariably adopted the best measures to accomplish their object; and yet it is certainly creditable to them to be able to state that after an administrative experience of at least twenty years, during which period most of the extraordinary disbursements of the government have been completed, the entire foreign debt of the nation is only about eleven millions of dollars, the balance of the estimated debt being simply the depreciation of the national paper currency, which is entirely in the hands of the Japanese. It should be stated, moreover, that in the extraordinary expenses during the period just referred to are included the enormous cost of suppressing two rebellions, one of which was of so formidable a character that to it the government, in all probability, would have succumbed if it had not been for the help it most opportunely derived from the modern appliances of steamer and telegraph at its command. To these gratifying evidences of national growth and prosperity we may add the gradual removal of the anti-Christian prejudices which at one time seemed to place an impassable barrier between Japan and Christian nations. To destroy those distortions and caricatures of Christianity which had taken possession of the Japanese mind it was only necessary to present the truth. The lives and instructions of Christian missionaries, and, more than all, the study of the sacred Scriptures, recently for the first time translated into the Japanese language, have been quite sufficient to enable the Japanese to appreciate the beneficent spirit of Christianity and the wonderful character of its Divine Founder, whom many of them have already learned to acknowledge as "my Lord and my God."

Japan, with her thirty-four millions of inhabitants, is now knocking for admittance at the gate of Christendom. She is the first one of the great nations of Asia to break away voluntarily from the old Asiatic ideas and seek to place herself in harmony with modern European thought and civilization. What she has hitherto accomplished in the career of progress on which she has entered affords ample evidence at once of her sincerity and of her ability to discharge the duties of the high position to which she aspires. The geographical situation of Japan,

the character of her people, and the spirit of inquiry developing among other Asiatic races, together with its evident drift toward modern civilization—all these considerations indicate at once the paramount importance and promise of Japan's present attitude, and the far-reaching influence her example will exert throughout the Far East. Under such circumstances it certainly is extremely desirable that the present disposition of Japan, and the advances she is now making in the direction of cosmopolitan intercourse and responsibilities, shall be responded to at least in a friendly and liberal spirit by the professedly Christian nations of the world. We indicate only what is generally known in circles conversant with affairs in the Far East, when we state that for some years past Japan has felt aggrieved by the continuance, in her treaties with Western nations, of certain stipulations inconsistent with, and, as she avers, in violation of, her rights as an independent nation. It is only just to Japan to state, in this connection, that, while presenting the foregoing grievance, she at the same time admits the expediency of inserting the stipulations now complained of in the treaties when first formed. Assenting to this, however, she claims that, in view of the rapid advancement since the original formation of the treaties, the time has fully come when the stipulations, being no longer necessary, should be canceled.

The first stipulation in the treaties of which Japan now complains is what is popularly designated the extra-territoriality clause—a clause which provides that the citizens or subjects of Western nations having treaties with Japan shall be subject, during the period of their residence in the latter country, not to the laws of Japan but to the laws of their respective countries. The principle underlying this stipulation, as is well known, was not asserted for the first time by Western nations when the treaties with Japan were formed. When Christian powers began to negotiate treaties with non-Christian powers, as Turkey, China, etc., it was believed that, in view of the laws of those non-Christian nations, and the imperfect administration under them, it was neither prudent nor safe to intrust to such protection the persons and property of their citizens or subjects who for business or other purposes might desire to reside, for a time, within the territory of the aforesaid non-

Christian States. When the treaties with Japan were negotiated, the Western high-contracting powers, in accordance with the precedents established in regard to this subject, inserted the extra-territoriality clause, and these clauses remain in the treaties to the present day. In support of their request for the rescission of these stipulations, which they have come to consider derogatory and unjust, the Japanese urge that by the adoption of the Code Napoleon as the laws of the empire, and by placing the administration of these laws under the supervision of a commission comprising eminent jurists from Western countries, they have given every guarantee that can reasonably be demanded of them for the due protection of all foreigners who may reside within the territory of the empire. It is difficult to conceive in what respect the foregoing request of the Japanese Government, with reference to this important subject, is not equitable and just. Another stipulation in the treaties, of which the Japanese complain, is the clause which fixes the tariff of duties to be levied by their government on the exports and imports of the empire, and provides that no change of the tariff shall be made without the knowledge and consent of the original high-contracting parties. The Japanese urge, in support of their request for the abrogation of this stipulation, that while the condition of their country, at the time the first treaties were formed, may have rendered such a provision expedient and necessary, the circumstances have now entirely changed; the empire has become firmly established on its new basis; its laws are now entirely in harmony with these of Western nations; it has fully demonstrated its ability to administer its own affairs; and consequently, that to deprive the Japanese Government of the power to regulate its own commerce is every way prejudicial to its interests, and utterly inconsistent with its dignity as a sovereign and independent State. The pertinency and force of the foregoing considerations can be readily appreciated. It would seem, indeed, that the best and only adequate reply that can be offered by the other high-contracting parties to the modest claim of the Japanese with regard to the point now before us, is to give to it at once their unreserved and hearty assent. Before leaving this portion of our subject we desire to support most earnestly the recommendation contained in the recent message from the

President of the United States suggesting the immediate return to the Japanese Government of the unclaimed balance of the so-called "indemnity fund" now lying in the treasury of the United States. It is said that the delay which has occurred in reference to this matter has been caused by certain legal or technical difficulties connected with the case. We are not aware how many or how formidable these difficulties may be, but we trust and believe it will not be found impossible or inexpedient for a great Christian nation to devise some suitable method by which to perform an act of sheer justice to another great nation with which it sustains treaty relations. We do not wish it to be understood, from our reference to the indemnity question in this connection, that the Japanese Government has ever requested the return of the money to which we have just referred. The Government of Japan will never prefer such a request, but in all probability will gratefully accept the amount, when tendered to her, as an expression of good-will and sympathy on the part of the Government of the United States.

If evidence is desired as to the sincerity of Japan in her present progression, and her ability to perform the task she has undertaken, it is only necessary to refer to what she has already accomplished since entering on her career of progress. During the brief period of twenty-seven years, as has been already intimated in the opening paragraph of this article, Japan has to a great extent remodeled her government and laws, together with her political and social institutions. Railroads, steamers, telegraphs, together with improved appliances for manufactures, mining, agriculture, etc., have been introduced. A mint has been established by which the precious metals are coined in a manner that challenges admiration. A system of general education, with provisions of the most liberal character, is now in operation throughout the empire. The productions of the country are steadily increasing; new lines of industry are developing, and commerce is growing quite as fast as could be expected under existing treaty stipulations. Public sentiment representing all classes of society has, to an extent that could not have been anticipated, ceased to be Asiatic, and is rapidly becoming European and Christian. Even with regard to religious matters, where, in most

countries, ignorance and fanaticism have never failed to intrench themselves for a last desperate struggle with advancing intelligence, the Government of Japan has adopted the policy of neutrality, thus relegating this momentous question to the conscience of the individual, and affording, in the main, a fair field and equal opportunities to each of the great religious bodies operating in the empire. But the triumphs of peace have not been the only victories won by the Japanese Government during the period now under review. From time immemorial, among the Japanese, the ultimate appeal with regard to all controverted points had been to the sword—the verdict had usually been written in blood. It was not to be expected that a resolute and persistent effort to substitute the pen for the sword as the defender of rights, and reason and law for violence and war, as the tribunal of ultimate arbitrament, would meet with immediate and universal acceptance in Japan. To disband, as it were, the *Samurai* class, constituting practically a vast standing army, and transfer its disarmed members to the rank of private citizens or subjects, was an enterprise the difficulties and dangers of which might well appall the most daring spirit. As we now calmly review the events of the past four years, it is impossible not to admire the courage and statesmanship of the men who could initiate and execute such a radical reform. The assassination of Okubo, the daring attempt to assassinate Iwakura, and the two formidable outbursts of popular violence known respectively as the Saga and Satsuma rebellions, show the terrible character of the dangers to which we have referred. A government which has achieved successes like these we are now considering has certainly demonstrated its ability to administer the affairs of a great nation, and may confidently anticipate a cordial welcome, at no distant day, to the comity of Christian States.

We cannot close this article without presenting an aspect of the subject which must, we think, appeal directly and powerfully to every member and branch of the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ. Japan presents to-day the unparalleled example of a great non-Christian nation awaiting, in a voluntarily assumed attitude of expectant receptivity, the advent of the Christian religion. Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism have all been tried by her, and have been found wanting. She

has now obtained some knowledge of Christianity. She sees that Christianity is the great moral power of the world—that Christian nations are, every-where, the chief factors in human civilization and progress. She has learned that Christianity reveals truths after which her highest minds have long been vainly groping; that it offers freely to every believer the rest and joy for which, through the ages of the past, her weary and heavy-laden ones have been seeking; and that it saves perfectly and forever all who comply with its requirements. She has ascertained, moreover, that the provisions and invitation of the Gospel are for all races; and that the Saviour of the world has commanded his people to preach the glad tidings of his salvation to every creature. Inspired by the hopes legitimately excited by these glorious truths, and not questioning for a moment the willingness of Christians to yield cheerful and swift obedience to the command of their Lord, Japan now awaits the Christian missionary.

The recent success of Christian missionary efforts in Japan has been extremely gratifying. In 1859 the first Protestant missionaries commenced their labors in the empire; but, in consequence of the disturbed condition of affairs and the restrictions of the government, it was not till 1869 that it was practicable to engage publicly in efforts for the proclamation of the Gospel. The first church of Japanese converts (Protestant) was organized March 10, 1872, in Yokohama, and comprised ten members under the care of a native ordained pastor. During the ten years that have elapsed since the organization of that church the number of Christian church-members in Japan has increased to over three thousand; a rapidly increasing corps of trained and devoted native preachers has been raised up; Christian schools have been established; two religious periodicals are published; Christian churches and communities have been formed in many of the principal cities and provinces of the empire; the traditional prejudices against the Christian religion have been to a great extent removed. The scriptures of the New Testament and portions of the Old Testament have been translated into the Japanese language and extensively circulated; a Christian literature is growing up; the influence of Christian truth is permeating all classes of society; some of the officers of government are members of

Christian Churches, others recognize the excellence of Christianity, while none of them, as far as we know, are fanatical, persecuting heathen. The government, by its attitude of religious neutrality, is opening the way for Christianity, and practically favors it. The people, in some portions of the country, have already pulled down their heathen temples and destroyed their idols, while every-where respectful treatment and attentive hearing are accorded the Christian missionary. With regard at least to spiritual matters, the Japanese are now at sea, and will inevitably drift with the strongest current. It is entirely probable that during the coming ten or twenty years the religious faith and institutions of the Japanese will be molded and settled for an unlimited future.

In view of what has just been stated, it certainly is at once pertinent and important for us to inquire, What are the influences now operating in Japan which are likely to affect the religious character of her people? The answer to this inquiry will show, we think, that, while there is ground for hope, there is, at the same time, serious occasion for solicitude and alarm. It is unquestionably true, in the first place, that some of the most brilliant and progressive minds in Japan, intoxicated, as it were, by their contact with modern civilization, seem inclined to adopt latitudinarian, if not atheistic, views in regard to religious matters. They read with avidity, either in the original or translated form, the works of foreign writers who inculcate such opinions; and we shall not be charged with uncharitableness when we state frankly that their tendency in the direction of these sentiments has been accelerated by the example and teaching of some of the Western scholars whom the Japanese Government has employed to assist and direct in her educational work. We remark, in the second place, that the missionaries of the Roman Catholic and the Russo-Greek branches of the Church of Christ are occupying the field in force, and are prosecuting their work, the former with the trained wisdom of veterans, the latter with the dashing enthusiasm of neophytes in the missionary service, while both of them have at command apparently inexhaustible resources and appliances. It is not our purpose or desire to act the part of an alarmist; and yet a conscientious regard for the interests involved compels us to state as our profound conviction that,

in our judgment, the magnitude of the dangers to which we have just referred, and, consequently, the extreme gravity of the situation in Japan, are not adequately appreciated by the friends and supporters of Christian missions who are connected with the Protestant Churches in the United States and Europe.

The influence of Protestant Christianity is the last plastic power operating in Japan to which we shall now refer. It is, to say the least, an interesting historic coincidence that, while the conquering Iyeyasu was stamping out what he supposed to be the last vestiges of Romanism in Japan, the *Mayflower* was bearing her precious freight across the Atlantic to found a nation of truth-loving, liberty-proclaiming patriots and heroes whose descendants, in due process of time, should carry to Japan a purer form of the religious faith she once destroyed. Enjoying complete immunity, on the one hand, from the traditional hatred against Romanism, and, on the other hand, from the fear of political complications with the Russo-Greek agents, cherished by the Japanese people, the missionaries of Protestant Christianity entered Japan under conditions exceptionally favorable. It is not surprising, therefore, that Protestantism, though somewhat tardy in entering the field, should be warmly welcomed by the Japanese, and should already give cheering promise of eminent success in leading them to Christ. Many reasons, each valid in its way, may be assigned for the success of Protestant missions in Japan, and all, doubtless, have contributed to the grand result; but the one consideration which, in this connection, we wish to emphasize beyond every other, is that Protestant missionaries, in the main, guided by conscientious convictions as well as by denominational instincts and antecedents, have, from the outset, endeavored to preach to the Japanese, as absolutely necessary to their salvation, the Gospel, the whole Gospel, and nothing but the Gospel. While we may not expect that the conflict of truth with error will ever cease during the period of human probation, there is every reason to believe that in Japan what may, perhaps, be termed the crucial struggle, that is, the struggle which shall decide, at least for the department of morals and religion, the vital question—Who is master?—will be short, sharp, and decisive. The Japanese mind is swift, radical, and fearless in its logical movements. It cannot brook delay. Action is inev-

itable. Years have already elapsed since heathenism in Japan received its crushing blow. The heart of the nation, weary of its burdens, longs for rest and comfort. To whom shall it go?

The time, we think, has fully come when Christian nations should accord to Japan the same rights they accord to any other treaty power, and should cordially extend to her practical sympathy and assistance, when desired, in her efforts to prepare herself for acting an honorable part in the great family of Christian states. It is also high time that the Church of Christ, in all lands, should respond promptly and magnanimously to Japan's appeal for spiritual enlightenment and help.

Art. II.—AMERICAN LUTHERANS AND THEIR DIVISIONS.

The Lutherans, though strong in numbers, have not impressed their importance upon the people of our country as firmly as Churches which have less than half their numerical strength. The comparative obscurity in which they exist is not to be accounted for by saying their communion has but recently planted itself among us. It is a fact which, perhaps, many do not know, that Lutheran service was celebrated in this country almost as early in the seventeenth century as the Congregational or Dutch Reformed, as we shall presently see. It is true, however, that while Lutherans may count nearly two centuries and a half since their first church was built in America, the great majority of those now reckoned as communicants are new to our country, new to its language, new to its customs, and have not yet become assimilated with its population. In religion they occupy a position apart. They have neither fallen into the current of Protestant life, nor formed an antagonistic tide like the Roman Catholics. They have no close or cordial connection with the Evangelical Alliance, nor sympathy with its objects. The great body of them have no bonds of fellowship with other Protestants; their pulpits are not open to other ministers; their altars are not free to other communicants. They believe that they constitute the true Church of Christ, and that the rest of Protestantism is

made up of sects more or less steeped in error, with whom fellowship would be dangerous. They are not more separate from the world than from other denominations. They have no part or representation in our general literature, nor have they developed an extensive denominational literature of their own to carry their influence beyond their ecclesiastical limits. If, therefore, they have not received the attention to which their numbers,* their work, and their importance entitle them, it will not require long or difficult search to find the causes; nor do the causes involve a lack of due regard for the obligations of Christian fellowship by other denominations. These obligations are more generally and conscientiously recognized in this age of the Evangelical Alliance than in any age, perhaps, since the days of the early Church, and it would be a reproach to our Protestant Christianity if such sturdy defenders of our common faith as are the Lutherans should be made to feel unwelcome in association with the Evangelical Churches. Their isolation is of their own choice. For reasons which to them are good and sufficient, the majority of Lutherans in the United States have decided that fellowship with other denominations is neither to be sought nor accepted; that it is neither a duty nor a privilege; and that it offers no advantages so indispensable as the approval of their own consciences. There is a minority, however, represented by the General Synod, who, though distinctively Lutheran, believe that pure Lutheranism can be preserved without absolute withdrawal from association with other branches of the Church of Christ. Dr. S. S. Schmucker helped heartily in organizing the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance, and Dr. F. W. Conrad† bore fraternal greetings to the National Congregational Council held some years ago in Detroit; and the body to which they belonged—the General Synod—has officially declared (1869) that its "principles not merely allow, but demand, fraternal relations with all Evangelical Christians."

Lutherans were among the earliest immigrants to our shores. Only a few years after the landing of the Pilgrims, followers of the great German reformer began to arrive in New York

* They aggregate nearly 740,000.

† Dr. Schmucker is dead; Dr. Conrad is editor of the oldest Lutheran journal in this country, "The Lutheran Observer," published in English in Philadelphia.

from Holland; but their countrymen of the Reformed faith were not at all tolerant, and sought to suppress their worship by fines and imprisonment. It was Dutch against Dutch, and we may be sure that the weaker party was no more willing to yield than was the dominant party to tolerate. Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, of the Reformed faith, wrote, in 1657, of the arrival in New Amsterdam of the Rev. John E. Goetwater, Lutheran, to the "especial discontent and disappointment of the congregation of this place." Owing to this fact, Mr. Goetwater's stay was short. Nevertheless, "the snake," as the dominies wickedly called the Lutheran faith, was "already" in their "bosom," and, in spite of their efforts to remove it, it remained there till the English conquest of 1664, when its right to a permanent lodgment was conceded and protected. Twenty years before Goetwater's fruitless voyage to New Amsterdam, a colony of Swedish Lutherans had been planted on the shores of the Delaware, and they had built the first Lutheran church in America in Fort Christina, (Wilmington, Del.,) a year after their arrival.* Other and smaller colonies settled at various dates along the Atlantic coast. Thus the Lutheran form of worship was used in the earliest Protestant settlements in our country, and our respected co-religionists are honorably connected with the first chapters of the history of the people of America. The first Lutheran pastor in the colonies was the Rev. Reorus Torkillus, who served the Fort Christina congregation from 1638 to 1643;† and the first ordination took place in 1703. It was about this time that the German immigration began. Previously the Lutheran colonists had come chiefly from Holland and Sweden. With the advent of the Germans began those difficulties with which the builders at Babel were confused and disheartened—difficulties from which the Lutheran communion has not been free for an instant, from which they have suffered almost incomputable losses, and against which they are contending now. When Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who is

* Dr. H. E. Jacobs, paper on "History and Progress of the Lutheran Church in the United States." Proceedings of First Free Lutheran Diet. J. F. Smith, Philadelphia, 1878.

† It is claimed that the second pastor, Campanius, was the first Protestant to preach to the Indians.

sometimes called the Father of the American Lutheran Church, arrived from Europe in the seventeenth century, he found congregations scattered from Maine to the Carolinas, and composed of such heterogeneous elements, in some instances, that the pastor was required to preach in the Dutch, German, Swedish, and English tongues. Muhlenberg's work was chiefly a work of organization, of supervision, of unification, and of revivification. Colonists, absorbed in the arduous duties of creating homes for themselves, providing for their families, and protecting their persons and possessions from sudden destruction, needed to be pressed to the performance of their religious obligations. He had the assistance of able and zealous men from Halle, and together they organized the first synod, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in 1748. The Swedes and Germans, however, did not coalesce, and as the demand for English preaching increased in the Swedish population beyond the possible supply, it became quite common, in some neighborhoods, to secure the occasional services of pastors of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Indeed, the relations between the two denominations were of a very fraternal and intimate character. Lutherans performed many pleasant offices for their Episcopal friends; but the result was the incorporation, finally, of the Swedish Lutheran Churches in Pennsylvania and Delaware* into the Protestant Episcopal Church, with whose form of government that of the Church of Sweden was in substantial agreement. "Episcopal ministers first became the assistants of the Lutheran pastors. The charters were first altered so as to allow the services of either Lutheran or Episcopal pastors; and the Lutheran name at length disappeared altogether." † The Swedes had been disappointed in procuring an episcopacy of their own, and the measures employed to bring them into a union with the Germans were probably not purely persuasive. It is remarkable that Dr. Krauth and others seek to explain these interchanges of denominational courtesy, which are not at all in fashion now, in such a way as to vindicate the Lutheranism of the Fathers, and the present position of the stricter schools. They say the idea prevailed in that period, on both sides, that the Lutheran and Protestant Episcopal Churches were in accord on fundamentals, and differed only in nationality and

* The Rev. C. F. Welden in First Free Lutheran Diet. † Dr. Jacobs.

language; and the Lutherans, in admitting Episcopal ministers to the functions of pastors in their churches, simply acted on that idea. It seems strange that it should be deemed necessary to find some motive for these acts other than the natural one of Christian brotherliness; but this would not be regarded as good Lutheranism by the stricter Lutherans. But what are we to think of the further explanation that it was thought in those times that Lutheranism "needed no future in [the] English language,"* and therefore as fast as the Swedes became Americanized they recognized the Episcopal communion as their church home. This was not Lutheranism such as prevails to-day; it was simply apostasy.

This question of language has been a sorely troublesome one, as I have already said, from the first almost till now, and the most disastrous results have been caused by obstinate adherence to the German tongue. The Germans were proud of their language, and were so fondly attached to it that some of them even entertained the absurd idea of giving it to their adopted country. The ritual, the confession, the catechism, the literature of their religion, were in the language in which Luther wrote with the ability, the skill, and the grace of a master. They believed, as we have already seen, that Lutheranism had a peculiar and inseparable connection with the German; and they could not see how their faith could be successfully voiced in the English. It surely must lose something of its power, purity, and glory in the translation. They thought that if they could retain the language of their native country, their religion could also be retained and perpetuated, and thus lasting and tender ties to scenes and associations in the dear old Fatherland would be formed. It was a fond, fascinating dream from which there has been a sorrowful awakening. They could rigorously insist that the services in their churches should be wholly in the German; in some localities where they were in the majority they could even have the teaching in the public schools in that tongue; but while their children studied in German, worshiped in German in the church, and recited the catechism in German, they had playmates who spoke English, and they learned and used it in spite of all precautions. When they were old enough to go into business they found it

* Dr. C. P. Krauth in First Free Lutheran Diet.

indispensable. The result was heavy losses to the Church. Those who had become Americanized would not use one language in family and business relations during the week and go to church to hear service in another on Sunday. They naturally sought churches in which there was English preaching. If there had not been a constant influx of immigrants from Germany Lutheranism would have disappeared in America.* The struggle between the English and German elements in the churches became a determined one at the beginning of the present century. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania, which was then one of three synods, gave notice to those who were constantly demanding that preaching in English should be provided, that it must continue to be a German-speaking synod, and would entertain no proposition making necessary the use of any other language in its meetings and transactions. This was in 1805. In the following year the first English Church in Pennsylvania was established by a secession from a German congregation in Philadelphia where the seceders had been repeatedly voted down in their efforts to secure English service. The Anglicizing process had gone on more rapidly in the synod of New York, in which there was a considerable Dutch element and few recent German immigrants. It was almost entirely English as early as 1815.† But even after the eyes of the Germans were opened to the inevitable, they could not gracefully yield; they would not say to those who thought it too much to be asked to learn the German for the special purpose of church worship, "Go in peace, and God's blessing go with you; form English congregations, and we will help you all we can." They needs must show a hostile spirit. There were some very bitter contests, and the English worshipers were treated like renegades. Even yet there is considerable feeling in some of the general bodies against those who abandon the German. Mr. D. Luther, in a paper read in the First Free Lutheran Diet, (1877,) says that this opposition "has in a great measure ceased," but he adds:

English Lutheran churches have greatly multiplied and grown strong; German churches have also greatly increased and prospered. But why this continued jealousy and hostility? Why this never-ending and bitter controversy with which our weekly

* Dr. C. P. Krauth, in First Free Lutheran Diet. † Dr. Jacobs.

and monthly publications are so filled? Why these numerous divisions, these rival institutions and agencies, to carry on the work of the Church? You may cry Peace, Peace, but there is no peace; the corroding ulcer, though cicatrized, is not healed. . . . . For upward of one hundred years has the Church in this country bled and suffered from it; for all that long time has it been agitated, distracted, and divided.

The German Reformed Church has suffered considerable losses in the same way; and the English-speaking denominations have received into their respective folds thousands upon thousands of members who are either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants belonging chiefly to the Lutheran Communion. The Methodist Episcopal Church has a German-speaking and Scandinavian constituency of 52,500 members, besides the thousands who are a generation or two removed from Germany and Lutheranism and mingle indistinguishably with the masses of the Church. The Presbyterians, the Baptists, and other denominations have likewise a large number of German communicants, and there are also bodies like the Evangelical Association, the United Brethren in Christ, the Church of God, the Tunkers, etc., which have built themselves up with the German element at the expense chiefly of the Lutheran Church. I do not suppose, however, that these losses have occurred through active proselytism. The opposition to English preaching among the German Lutherans drove no inconsiderable number, as we have already seen, into other churches; others came naturally under the influence of Episcopalianism, Methodism, Presbyterianism, etc., and yielded to it; and many were found in a neglected condition spiritually, and gathered in by missionaries. They have been cordially welcomed into all the Churches, and are recognized as most faithful, devoted, and (though generally poor) liberal members.

It has been the misfortune of the Lutherans to have a very inadequate ministerial force. In the colonial days they looked to Europe for pastors, and societies were formed to supply the demand, but their resources were insufficient, and many flocks were broken up and scattered because there were no shepherds for them. They were in a land, in the language of an appeal to Halle, in 1773, "full of sects and heresy, without ministers and teachers, schools, churches, and books." Those who volunteered to come found the field a hard one. The congrega-

tions were poor, and a pastor could not expect to confine his ministrations to any one of them; he must serve several. The prospect of providing endowed institutions to train young men for the ministry was, at any time during last century, a very dim one. The immigrants were largely of the peasant class, and could not raise the necessary funds. Toward the close of last century a one-third interest was secured in Franklin College, Lancaster; but attachment to the German operated almost as strongly as poverty against the founding of any great institution, and the Church had neither college nor seminary under its control, save the Hartwick Seminary, in New York, begun in 1815, "until full twenty-five years of the present century had elapsed." * It was half a century after the first ordination (1703) before a second was put upon record, and licentiates were numerous at no time in that century. If ministers could have been produced in sufficient numbers it is doubtful if many could have been supported. Only fifty years ago the president of the Synod of Virginia, speaking of the many destitute congregations, said an increase of ministers could give no relief, for "our ministers are literally beggared as soon as they let go their secular resources and throw themselves upon the bounty of the Church." † This bit of Lutheran history is not at all unlike chapters in the annals of other denominations in this country. The two Reformed Churches—the Dutch and German—the Presbyterian, the Episcopal, and other communions, suffered for want of an adequate ministerial supply which Holland, Germany, England, and Scotland could not furnish, but they were able to open training institutions to meet this want long before the Lutherans were delivered from their difficulties. Methodism came forward at a critical time in the religious history of the country with a system admirably, nay, providentially, fitted for the exigency. What would that history have been without the abounding successes of Wesley's followers?

The synodical system, which began with the organization of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1748, developed slowly

* President Sadtler, of Muhlenberg College, in a paper read before Second Free Lutheran Diet, held in 1878. Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1879.

† The Lutheran Church in Virginia. The Rev. D. M. Gilbert, Newmarket, Va., 1876. Pp. 33, 34.

until the formation of the General Synod in 1820, in which four synods were concerned. The need of some central body to draw the churches, through their respective synods, closer together; to promote unity in doctrine and practice; and to devise measures for the protection and development of the general interests of the denomination, was pressing; but these objects could not be fully secured because the co-operation was not complete. There were two synods which did not unite in the organization of the General Synod. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania withdrew in 1823, in deference to the fear of its congregations that there was to be an increase of ecclesiastical power; in 1825 it was divided; in 1853 it returned to the General Synod; in 1864 it withdrew; in 1866 it helped to organize the General Council; it has also passed through many other vicissitudes. Other synods have a similar history. Now they are in association, now independent; controversy arises and division follows; new synods come into existence and others go out; some withdraw from one general body to join another; now two synods quarrel with each other; now they unite in one. Amid all these bewildering changes one principle may be considered to have been firmly established: that of the sovereignty of the synods; and we get a faint idea of the confusion which would follow in the political world the adoption of the doctrine of State rights. The General Synod has, at no time since its organization, represented the whole Church; nor, as a matter, of course, has any of the other general bodies; but for a period of about forty-five years it had the support of the majority of the churches and ministers. At the time of its greatest numerical strength, 1860, it had two-thirds of the Lutheran communicants in the country, or 164,000 out of 245,000. The remaining 81,000 were divided among independent synods, each of which believed that it more nearly represented true Lutheranism than the General Synod or any of its fellow synods. In the decade following 1860, the General Synod suffered severely from two distinct divisions which reduced its membership to 86,000 out of 350,000. The first was not a very serious division. It was caused by the civil war, and resulted in the organization of the General Synod, (South,) which has never counted more than 19,000 members. The second division marks an epoch in the history of American

Lutheranism, and deserves careful consideration. To get a proper understanding of it we must go back far enough to strike the two tendencies leading to the separation at a point near their origin.

I have said little about the doctrinal phases of early Lutheranism in this country. The episode of the loss of the Swedish churches, and the general opposition to the English tongue, were given as one of the results of a narrow view of the character and destiny of Lutheranism; but they also have a doctrinal significance. It was held that Luther had, under divine guidance, perfected a doctrinal, catechetical, and liturgical system which explained and expressed the truth of Scripture fully and faithfully, and that in the German and its cognates only could the teachings of this system be adequately and accurately imparted. They saw that many denominations used the English, and they honestly believed that it produced the sects and the heresy with which they were surrounded. They had an intense desire that the Church, as Luther left it, should be handed down to their descendants, and be preserved forever in its purity. They resisted, therefore, the influences of English churches, society, language, and literature as long as possible; and when they saw that defeat was inevitable they began to yield on the question of language, but cultivated assiduously a stricter adherence to the doctrines of the Church, and a more exclusive denominationalism. The spirit of this tendency has been, from the first, of a foreign character. The other tendency may be considered as American in its type. There were some who broke early and easily with the traditions and tongue of the fatherland, and not only accepted American institutions, political and social, but allowed themselves to be influenced in their religious ideas by the views of the people with whom they were surrounded. When Whitefield and the Tennents were rousing the Churches with their revival meetings, these Lutherans did not regard them as dangerous fanatics; but some of the stricter confessionalists of the present refer with no feeling of satisfaction to the participation of ministers of other denominations in Lutheran services. There were, of course, but few Lutheran books in the English, and consequently Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist literature found its way into Lutheran homes, and was one of

the influences which broke down denominational exclusivism, and created a considerable degree of friendship, and even fellowship, between Lutherans and other Christians. The Ministerium of New York was the first to yield to these influences, and to abate the requirements of strict Lutheranism. Though synodical constitutions usually made the acceptance of the Augsburg Confession a binding obligation, that of New York, adopted in 1816, only required as a condition of ordination that the candidate promise to teach faithfully, perform other ministerial duties, and regulate his "walk and conversation" according to the Gospel. The Lutheranism of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was also called in question several years later, and there were practices in other synods which were considered very lax by stricter bodies, like the Tennessee synod. It is a striking proof of the growth of what some Lutheran writers call "church consciousness," that both of these ministeriums are now marshaled with the stricter party represented by the General Council, and regard the General Synod as lacking in churchliness. The differences in spirit, doctrine, and practice between the two parties whose development I have tried to follow proceed from differences of view in respect to the character of the Augsburg Confession and the form of subscription thereto. The General Synod, which has shown from the first the liberalizing effects of American influences, while it has never failed in attachment to the Augsburg Confession, has regarded it as a human production liable to human errors, and hence has not thought it right to demand an unconditional acceptance of it. For many years its formulary of subscription ran thus: "We believe that the fundamental doctrines of God's word are taught in a manner substantially correct in the Augsburg Confession." In 1864 it admitted to membership the Franckean Synod of New York, which, by the stricter party, was regarded as un-Lutheran and positively heretical, on condition of its acceptance, at its next meeting, of "the doctrinal articles of the Confession as a substantially correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of God's word." It had already adopted the constitution of the General Synod, but the stricter party were not satisfied with this, and would have refused it admission until it had formally adopted the Confession. The resolution granting admission was carried, and the

result was a division. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania withdrew, and two years later assisted in the organization of the General Council, which, at its first meeting, in 1866, embraced eleven synods. By this division the General Synod lost nearly half its members, and a new and powerful Lutheran body came into existence. According to the statistics of 1882, the General Council has ten synods, with 191,325 members. Two others which maintain a semi-independent relation have 32,000 members not included above. The General Synod embraces 23 synods, with 124,798 members.

The confessional basis of the General Council is quite strict, though, as we shall see presently, there is another organization which occupies far more advanced ground. This basis not only accepts the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, but accepts the doctrines of the *unaltered* Augsburg Confession *in its original sense;* declares it to be in perfect accordance with the canonical Scriptures, and rejects the errors it condemns. The other Lutheran symbols are also accepted as pure and scriptural statements of doctrine, namely, the Apology, the Schmalcald Articles, the Catechisms of Luther, and the Formula of Concord. Upon so strict a platform, and with a steadily increasing foreign constituency of a strict tendency, the Council has made considerable advances toward exclusivism. Some years ago it adopted a rule intended as a guard to the purity of its Lutheranism, declaring that "Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only, Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only." When it was seen subsequently that this rule applied directly to the friendly relations which had long been maintained between the old Ministerium of Pennsylvania and an old synod of the Reformed (German) Church there was opposition to its enforcement, and the General Council for many years has been inquiring whether the rule is to be received in an "absolute" or "educative" sense; and Dr. C. P. Krauth, regarded as the ablest Lutheran writer in the United States, by official appointment prepared a series of 105 theses* on this simple question. As the General Council can only discuss and dispose of two or three of these theses at each annual session, the world may have to wait until some time in the first half of the next century for a final

* Published in Philadelphia in 1877 in pamphlet.

decision. The Council includes two parties or tendencies, the stricter of which, under the lead of Dr. Krauth,* would renounce all fellowship with those not bearing the Lutheran name, also with those who do bear it if their Lutheranism is not of the approved sort.

The General Synod has felt in some degree the force of the influences under which the General Council was developed, and its cónfessional basis now declares acceptance of the Augsburg Confession "as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines," etc.; the word "substantially," which, in the old formulary, qualified "correct," having been eliminated. It does not, however, insist that its ministers shall accept the Confession as though it were divinely inspired. Dr. Ziegler, President of the Missionary Institute at Selinsgrove, Pa., declared in the Second Free Lutheran Diet that he could not accept the doctrines he understood the Confessions to teach of infant baptismal regeneration, and the real presence and oral reception of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and others of the General Synod defended its tolerant position. It is American in spirit, thought, and usage; it believes in revivals of religion and the temperance reform; it believes in fellowship with other denominations, and in great benevolences like the Tract and Bible Societies. According to Dr. Jacobs' estimate, nine tenths of its members are descendants of immigrants of last century, while less than one half of the General Council are of this class.

The immigration from Germany and Scandinavia in the last twenty-five or thirty years has been of vast proportions. People from these countries have come to us by the hundred thousand, settling in the cities of the East, and pouring a steady stream into our Western States and Territories. In the opening of the vast country lying between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains these immigrants are yeomen doing yeomen's service. They are largely of the peasant class, and find in their adopted country opportunities and possibilities such as they never dreamed of in the fatherland. The nation welcomes them most cordially. They bring little wealth with

* See Krauth's "Religion and Religionisms," pamphlet published in Philadelphia in 1877. Also his paper before First Lutheran Diet on "Relations of Lutheran Church to the Denominations Around Us."

them, but they bring what is really of greater value—industry, honesty, thrift, and strength of hand, of heart, and of will. What if they do adhere to the customs of their native land, and are, as some tell us, like colonies of eighteenth century people living in the midst of the civilization of the nineteenth century? What if they are strangers to modern appliances and methods of agriculture? What if they are ignorant peasants, obstinate and prejudiced? Their antiquated notions and customs, their ignorance and their prejudices, will vanish, for they are in a school where they cannot choose but be learners. They must mingle ere long indistinguishably in the great nation which receives and assimilates from all sources.

This rich and full-flowing tide of population has affected the census of the American Lutheran Church as wonderfully as it has the census of the country. We must remember this very significant fact: that the Lutherans have been fully employed in taking care of their own. They have not sought, either by their home mission agencies or the ordinary congregational methods, to reach the general population. Their English work has been solely among immigrants and descendants of immigrants chiefly of their own faith, and the utmost of their desire, probably, is to save what belongs to them. It is apparent, therefore, that, exclusive of the direct increase by the immigration of the past twenty-five or thirty years, the natural gains, for reasons already stated, were not exceptionally large. The Lutherans have not yet been able to make their statistical work an exact science,* but their figures are sufficiently correct for the purposes of this article. Let us see how they have increased since 1825:

	Communicants.		Communicants.
1825.....	43,125	1865.....	310,677
1835.....	60,791 †	1875.....	559,119
1845.....	135,629	1882.....	738,302
1855.....	200,000 ‡		

It will be seen from this table that the gain of the last seven years is 179,183, or about 25,600 a year. The gain for the

* The sources for statistical information are: "Lutherische Kalender," Allentown, Pa.; "Church Almanac," Lutheran Book Store, Philadelphia; "Lutheran Almanac," Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia; "Evangelical Lutheran Almanac," Columbus, O.

† These figures are for 1834. ‡ For 1853.

preceding decade ending in 1875 was 248,442, or about 24,850 a year. In the last seventeen years, therefore, the Lutherans have been increasing at the rate of 25,000 a year, and may now rightfully claim to stand fourth in the order of numerical strength among the Protestant denominational families of this country.

The benefits of this immigration have not been enjoyed by the General Synod, for I have already stated that only one tenth of that body is estimated as foreign by Dr. Jacobs; nor has the General Synod, South, been increased by them. The General Council has had a large share of them, its constituency being more than one half foreign. This body is trying an experiment which is attended with great difficulties; it is endeavoring to serve the interests of Germans, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and English-speaking members, and to bind them together under a common bond. The independent synods are chiefly composed of foreign-born communicants. They aggregate, exclusive of the Ohio Synod, more than 66,000, but it will require too much space to describe them. The great bulk of Lutheran immigration has gone to swell the rising numbers of the Synodical Conference, which represents the highest development to which Lutheranism has attained in this or any other country. This body, which was organized so late as 1872, consists almost entirely of immigrants, its native-born members not exceeding perhaps one-twentieth * of its communicants, who number, according to the returns for 1882, no less than 298,389. † Including baptized infants and catechumens, the Conference, in 1881, had 554,505 souls, distributed among six synods. Two of the synods—those of Missouri and Ohio—called Joint Synods, are peculiar. The Missouri Joint Synod extends over a large part of the country, and is divided into twelve districts. The Ohio Joint Synod also embraces a large territory and consists of five districts. This peculiarity is due to the fact that these bodies had existed previously as independent synods—that of Ohio for fifty-four years, and that of Missouri for twenty-five—and, representing certain types of Lutheranism, had extended themselves beyond the ordinary limits of synodical organization.

* Dr. H. E. Jacobs. † The Columbus "Almanac" still includes the Ohio Synod though it has withdrawn from the Synodical Conference.

It will be necessary, in order to understand the history and position of the Synodical Conference, to give particular attention to the origin and development of the Synod of Missouri, which dominates in the Conference, and represents a type of Lutheranism which is not only known throughout the Communion in this country as "Missourian," but is much talked of in Europe under the same title. Early in the present century there began in different parts of Germany, especially in Saxony, a reaction among the Lutherans against the Rationalism that was paralyzing the Church. In 1817 the present State Church of Prussia was organized by the union of the Reformed and Lutheran communions against the earnest opposition of a very small minority of Lutherans. The revival of strict Lutheranism to which I have referred was not only in protest against Rationalism, but against "Unionism," as it was called, a horrible thing equivalent to apostasy from the truth. Those holding these views were gathered into congregations, and were so thoroughly convinced that they alone were contending for pure Lutheranism that they were ready to make great sacrifices; so when Pastor Stephan, of Dresden, after some persecution, declared that emigration was the only resource left for the preservation of the faith, seven hundred persons, including several pastors, accepted his scheme and sailed for America near the close of 1838. They settled in Perry County and St. Louis, Mo. Stephan was their acknowledged leader, and exacted and received unquestioning obedience, not only in spiritual matters, but in all the affairs of the colony, which had a common treasury, His rule was well nigh ruinous; and when he was charged with gross immorality and expelled it was found that he had not only administered the office of governor injudiciously, but he had taught doctrines consistent, not with Lutheranism, but with Catholicism. In 1841 the Rev. C. F. W. Walther became pastor of the congregation in St. Louis, and set himself to work to repair the injuries done by Stephan, and counteract the effects of his false teachings. Pastor Walther proved to be a wise leader, and in forty years he has seen the reduced and impoverished company of immigrants become the strongest and most influential synod in the United States, embracing 150,000 communicants, and constituting the center of a body reporting, in 1881, nearly

292,000 members. The synod was organized in 1847, and began at once to establish institutions for the training of ministers, and to foster congregational schools for the education of the children. Soon, also, it entered into the publishing business, and has multiplied its influence by its literature and by other activities, attracting attention to its type of Lutheranism by its controversies; and drawing into its congregations thousands upon thousands of immigrants settling within its widely extended bounds. A striking evidence of its rapidity of growth is the fact that in 1864 it had but 30,000 members, and has therefore increased fivefold in eighteen years.

After the organization of the General Council efforts were made to induce the Synod of Missouri to join it. The Council had, as we have seen, taken high confessional ground, but it was not prepared to advance to the position which the Synods of Missouri and Ohio desired it to take. The form of subscription to the symbols was satisfactory; but only a small minority of the Council were willing to make of the "four points" in dispute a test of membership. The Council expressed a modified condemnation of Chiliasm, (millenarianism,) secret societies, the admission of non-Lutheran ministers to Lutheran pulpits, and of non-Lutheran communicants to Lutheran altars; but it refused to make its testimony against these errors positive prohibition. The Missouri and Ohio Synods, together with the Wisconsin and Norwegian Synods, were not only at one with regard to these four points, but would not admit the force of the distinction drawn by the General Council between heretics and "fundamental errorists." Heretics were those, the Council said, who deny doctrines fundamental to the *existence* of Christianity, and there could be no fellowship with them; but "fundamental errorists" were those who deny doctrines "fundamental to the complete *integrity* of Christianity," or, in other words, deny some part or parts of the Lutheran faith. Against those it would raise no impassable law to fellowship. The synods would not only exclude heretics and "fundamental errorists," but all Lutherans not of the orthodox type.* It was evident, therefore, that they must form a new

* Dr. L. A. Gottwald, of the General Synod, writing in 1877 of a visit to the institutions of the Missouri Synod said the Missourians would not admit him to their pulpits or altars.

Conference or continue as independent synods holding relations with one another as orthodox Lutherans.

Out of this condition of things came the Synodical Conference in 1872, beyond which, it would seem, there can be no further development in Confessionalism. The form of subscription in use by its synods is as strict as words can make it. Take, for example, the constitution of the Ohio Synod. It declares that pastors must, "without reservation, accept all the symbolical books," "not *so far as*, [the italics are not mine,] but *because*, they contain the pure, unadulterated explanation and exposition of God's word;" and that they "must renounce all kinds of unionism and syncretism, such as pastoral ministrations to heterodox or mixed congregations as such; exchange of pulpits and altar fellowship with errorists; participation in the worship and sacramental acts of such congregations; taking part in the missionary and tract operations of errorists and unionists, and also secret societies and the like." The position of the Synodical Conference on this question of fellowship, as defined in 1873, is that inasmuch as the unaltered Augsburg Confession "sets forth the pure and uncorrupted word of God positively and negatively," and the consciences of all Lutherans are bound by it, no congregation or ecclesiastical body is orthodox Lutheran that does not receive the words of this Confession both as they teach truth and reject errors. The stringency of the requirements would seem to indicate that they regard the Confession infallible as divine writ; and it is possible that the statement is true which I have seen attributed to them: "We do not interpret the Confession according to the Scriptures, but the Scriptures according to the Confession."

It might be supposed that the symbols so highly exalted and so rigidly prescribed to pastor and people were considered sufficient to guide the willing conscience fully and safely without modern additions; but such is not the fact. Conferences and synods have been constantly engaged in raising new questions and giving new definitions for the acceptance of their constituents. Controversy as a means of defending, defining, and discovering truth is held in high regard. By far the larger portion of a history* of the Synod of Missouri, which I have had before me in writing this article, is occupied in describing

* Published serially in the "Lutheran Standard," Columbus, O., in 1879.

the controversies in which that body has been engaged; and the author devotes much space to showing how salutary controversy is. He says the opposition to doctrinal controversies is the fruit of a "unionistic, indifferentistic spirit which cowardly flees every controversy, surrounding itself with the garb of so-called piety and godliness; but this piety and godliness is false; it is but the scales of the old dragon." With an evident pride he speaks of the private and public controversies which have been carried on in the district synods and conferences of the Missouri Synod, so numerous that volumes would be required to describe them; for there is not, he supposes, "a single doctrine in the whole field of theology, besides many not properly in this field, which they have not discussed and treated at length." With rare relish he approaches the description of the more notable of these controversies: "The lion of our tribe is awake; he goes forth in the pride of his youth; the earth trembles at his voice and his adversaries flee from his presence." It is hardly probable that in using the figure of a "roaring lion" he had in mind 1 Peter v, 8. Abundant evidence is given in the course of his history that these controversies were not like the cooing of turtle-doves. When the Missourians were contending with the Iowa, Buffalo, and other synods, the disputants were terribly in earnest if we may judge by the forcible language they used in defense of sound doctrine. They did not hesitate to brand one another as liars, as dishonest, as false teachers, etc. The Buffalo Synod spoke of the Synod of Missouri as "Ahab's Synod," the "Chicago College of Evil Repute," and the "Abominable Synod;" but I have not been permitted to see whether the Missourians had choicer terms to hurl back. The internal controversies which are regarded as a means of growth in knowledge of the truth, if not in grace, must have been of a less disturbing character than the inter-synodical, or divisions would have been more plentiful. It is strange, when we consider to what a severe analytical treatment each point of doctrine is subjected, that so great a degree of harmony has been maintained. This is to be accounted for, probably, by the fact of a common doctrinal basis in the symbols whose statements have usually furnished the theme, and which have always been, as a source of appeal, absolutely conclusive. All were agreed in accepting every utter-

ance of the confession, and if a discussion led into deep waters it was always easy to return to safe footing on the immovable standards. The object in view appears to be to reclaim and annex border lands to the high ground of confessional truth; in other words, to use the language of another synod, "to labor on the basis of the symbols, with the word of God in hand, for a greater completion of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." The idea of "open questions" is scouted as full of "dangerous leaven." The word of God is not obscure, and no question can be regarded as belonging to the sphere of liberty for which light may be had from the Scriptures.

Among the notable controversies of recent years is one on the doctrine of predestination. This has not been as harmless in results as other discussions apparently were, but has rent, as we shall presently see, the Synodical Conference in twain, and wrought ruin and confusion in many a congregation. Some time ago the theological faculty of St. Louis put forth a series of thirteen theses on election on the basis of the eleventh article of the Formula of Concord. Periodicals of other synods in the Synodical Conference discussed the theses, and some declared that they taught Calvinistic, and hence un-Lutheran, doctrine. The Missourians resented these charges, and a sharp controversy took place. Last May the Synod of Missouri formally adopted the theses, and declared that its delegates would not sit in the Synodical Conference with men who had called them Calvinists, or with representatives of any synod which had applied that name to them. This action was equivalent to withdrawing fellowship from the Synod of Ohio, which had opposed the theses, and that body accordingly decided not to send delegates to the Synodical Conference which was to meet in October. It was expected that the Synod of Wisconsin would likewise withdraw, and that some other synods would not be fully represented. Meantime numerous pastoral conferences have been held to discuss the doctrine, with varying results, some siding with the Missourians and some with their opponents, whom the venerable dictator of the Missourian Synod, Prof. C. F. W. Walther, condemned on the floor of his synod "to the lowest pit of hell." Synods and congregations are being drawn asunder, and it is impossible to estimate the extent of the mischief done until the

process of division shall have been completed. What are the differences which the Missourians regard as important enough to justify such results? The principal one is this: the Missouri Synod holds, the Ohio Synod denies, that God was moved to choose the elect, not by foresight of faith, or any good in them, but by his grace and the merits of Christ alone. The leaders of the Ohio Synod declared that if the Missourians would allow them to interpret the thirteen theses they could accept them. The reply was that the language used was plain, and must be accepted without reservation or explanation.*

On just such trifling matters as this the Lutherans of the stricter schools have wasted their time in controversy, destroying their harmony, stirring up bitter feelings, provoking strife, and leading to estrangements and divisions. There is little in this method of propagating the Gospel which accords with the spirit of Christianity as generally understood in the present age, and its results as seen in the Lutheran communion are not such as to give assurance that it is the divine plan. Their conception of the Christian religion is of a system of intellectual truth to be imparted and apprehended by intellectual processes. To know the doctrine, to hear the Word, to receive the sacraments, is to be a Christian believer. This truth they divide into dogmatic statements, from each of which branches of inquiry run far into the domain of metaphysics. Here is often the battle-ground where the hardest fights are fought and the greatest havoc wrought. The synodical Lutherans set forth their views of exegesis of the Scriptures in twenty-two theses, and of conversion in ninety-two. In this way they go over the whole field of theology and create a body of divinity which, perhaps, is without a parallel. They interpret Scripture by a strictly literal method which brings them often to strange conclusions. For example, they are said to hold that in the apostolic days the Gospel was preached to every kindred, tribe, and tongue on this terrestrial ball—to Norsemen, Chinamen, East Indians, Bushmen, Esquimaux, etc.—basing this belief on St. Paul's saying: "Their sound went into

* The Missouri side of the controversy is presented by Prof. Walther in two pamphlets: "The Controversy Concerning Predestination;" "The Doctrine Concerning Election." Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, 1881. The other side is to be found in pamphlets on "Predestination," by Profs. Stellhorn and Schuette respectively. Lutheran Book Concern, Columbus, O., 1881.

all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." They also declare that the New Testament plainly teaches that when the communicant receives the elements with the "mouth" he "eats and drinks the body and blood" of Christ,* and they show why Christ's words, "Take, eat, this is my body," etc., cannot be used figuratively. In the phrase "this is my body," the word *this*, as they reason,† cannot be figurative; nor is it possible for the verb *is* to be figurative. The figure is always found "either in the subject or the predicate, most generally the latter;" but when the Saviour adds the words, "which is given for you," to the word "body," it is plain that he refers to his real body. "As it was not a figurative body that was given for us on the cross, so it is not a figurative body which is given to us in the Holy Supper." They go on to lay down this exegetical rule: "Whenever the Holy Scriptures use figurative language we must get at its real meaning by means of other passages which are undoubtedly to be understood in a literal sense;" and they ask, with an air of triumph, if the words "this is my body" are figurative, "where is the passage in which the meaning of those words is expressed in language containing no figure?" They clinch the whole argument with this sentence: "To assert that the words of institution are to be understood figuratively is to assert that Christ could not express himself in an intelligent manner."

It might be inferred from such glimpses as have been given of these Lutherans of the Synodical Conference that they do not represent a very high degree of culture. Fuller acquaintance with them would make of this inference a demonstrable fact. They shun science as they would heresy. They dislike American schools and colleges, and isolate themselves as much as possible, having their parochial schools for their children, and their own colleges and theological seminaries, in all of which indoctrination in Lutheranism is the chief object. In the small English constituency of the Ohio Synod, the Sunday-school is one of the few American institutions regarded with favor. The convention of the English District gave authority in 1880 for the establishment of Sunday-schools under strict regulations, providing, among other things, that only such

* Minutes of English District of Ohio Synod for 1879, Columbus, O., pp. 29, 30.

† Minutes of the English District of Ohio Synod for 1880, pp. 17, 18.

books and periodicals shall be used, besides the Bible, as set forth the truth contained in the Confessions. The list prescribed includes only a Lutheran primer and two Lutheran papers, Luther's small catechism, Dietrich's catechism, "Bible Narratives," by Weiskotten, and the Church Hymn-book. Certainly there is nothing in these to corrupt the Lutheranism of the children, if there is not much to attract them.

What is to be the end or stopping-place of this advancing school of thought? If it shall continue to grow in rigidness, will it not at last break in pieces? It has already excluded all Lutherans who are not of its own type; will it not begin to exclude those of its own ranks who may not be able to move on in theology as rapidly as its leaders? The policy of isolation must, sooner or later, break down utterly. The people will come in contact with American ideas and institutions, and refuse to follow in blind ignorance and prejudice their prelatical pastors; and the type of Lutheranism represented by the Missourians will, in time perhaps, be obliterated.

I have left myself no space to consider many other interesting phases and features of Lutheranism—its ritual and diversities in forms of worship; its system of church government; its educational institutions and periodical press; its missionary and benevolent work; the recent attempt to bring the general bodies closer together in a colloquium or diet, etc. But I will not close this article without calling attention to what has been done, under difficult circumstances, to provide for the Church and its adherents colleges, seminaries, asylums, and periodicals. For higher education, there are sixteen colleges, two of which are called universities; twenty-eight academies; fifteen seminaries for young ladies; eighteen theological seminaries,* with

* Says Dr. M. Valentine, in a paper read before the First Free Lutheran Diet: These "schools represent and foster at least half a dozen types of what is claimed to be Lutheran theology; and varieties of these are shaded out, in some places, into minuter diversities. Even within the schools connected with the same general Lutheran organization divergences occur. The carrying on of our theological education in so many institutions, which are led, by their rivalries and jealousies, to magnify their typical differences, and overlook the points of their agreements, emphasizing all the diverse peculiarities on which partisanship feeds and grows, training, it may be, and inspiring skilled polemics rather than earnest servants of Christ and his truth, and sending them forth prepared to misconceive and misinterpret, but not to trust and love one another—this is something, it seems to me, that requires us to put a clear seal of condemnation upon this policy."—P. 159.

532 students; and nineteen orphan asylums, besides six hospitals and infirmaries. How many orphan asylums and hospitals has the Methodist Episcopal Church provided? Is not such a record as this a shame to us? Of periodical publications there is a formidable list. In the English there are thirty-six weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and annuals; in the German thirty-eight; in the Norwegian fourteen; in the Swedish six; and four in the Danish.

Art. III.—A GLANCE AT THE LITERATURE OF SANSKRIT.

In a former article* we saw how the discovery of Sanskrit led to the classification of speech and the foundation of a scientific philology. We propose in the present paper to inquire a little further into its character and history, and particularly to glance at the principal monuments of its remarkable literature.

Probably the most of us are in the habit of thinking and speaking of Sanskrit as the oldest known language of Japhetic stock and connection. This is of course not true in the sense that it is of earlier development or origin: that is, that it evolved its characteristic and individual type as the language of a distinct people before the beginnings of the other Indo-European languages and tribes. We have already seen that the various Japhetic idioms owe the fact of being now so distinct and unlike to no other cause than the ancient separation of their respective clans or tribes of speakers, all of whom used, previous to this separation, substantially the same tongue. There is no evidence that the Aryan tribe, a part of which eventually found its way into India and developed the race and tongue called Sanskrit, was the earliest, or even one of the earliest, to part from the parent community; it may, indeed, have been the very last. Nor is there evidence that this people was the first to reach ideas worthy to found a literature. Yet is Sanskrit entitled to the epithet of "oldest" because it has preserved the earliest monuments of the Indo-European mind; also, because it was the first of its known

* In the issue for October, 1881.

sisterhood of speech to finish its career and become extinct. It is, therefore, only on this basis of classification that we have the right to mention the Zend (or Old Persian) after Sanskrit, as we usually do, and the Greek as third, in our enumeration of these languages.

Doubtless many of us, moreover, associate the Sanskrit with the Hebrew as the two old languages of the world. We remember that neither has been a spoken language for more than two thousand years, and that both have so abundantly survived the idioms of their day simply because they contain the scriptures of an ancient religion. This chance parallelism can be extended, if we will, a little further. They alone of all dead languages have continued to change and be changed, almost to grow, since their decease. It is supposed with truth that nothing can be more unalterable than a dead language. It would be utterly impossible to reform, for instance, the inflections of Latin, while copies of its authors are in everybody's hands. Yet if this had been attempted a thousand years ago by the authority of the Church, which then had exclusive possession of the manuscripts of Latin literature and sole charge of Latin instruction, it could perhaps have been accomplished. The amended idiom could have been both learned and taught as easily as true Latin, there being no natural life in either (or, rather, there being no such thing as usage, but only authority;) and the alteration of the manuscripts would not have been difficult. Something like this actually happened to Sanskrit and Hebrew after they ceased to be used as vernacular languages. They were still read, and in an artificial way spoken and written, much as the mediæval monks and prelates spoke and wrote Latin; but, perhaps from their being, unlike Latin, comparatively crude and unpolished idioms, they began to receive improvement. Exactly how much change was made, and in what way it was accomplished, it is difficult to determine: the Hebrew certainly received far less amendment than the Sanskrit. The Hebrew still continues to be called by the name of the race which spoke it; but Sanskrit ("elaborated" or "perfected") is a late invention, and was not applied as a designation of the language until the process of its remaking was so nearly accomplished that the pundits were ready to signalize their success. Therefore the

name Sanskrit, properly speaking, belongs, not to the whole literature, but only to its latest or classic portion, and to the latest or modern type of the language.

The whole body of Sanskrit literature is divided into three parts. The earliest or Vedic portion is as far removed from the classic type as the epic of Homer from Attic Greek. There is a like exuberance of vocabulary and unsteadiness in grammatical treatment, as compared with the later language. After the poems of the Veda had come to be looked upon as sacred, there began an age of devout study and commentation. Thus arose a vast body, so to speak, of "Fathers,"—the earliest and almost the only Sanskrit prose, written in a language more modern than the Vedic, yet not far removed from it. The literature of this second period, intermediate between the Vedic and the classical, is called Brāhmana. The rise of the so-called classical literature is involved in much obscurity, and was doubtless the outgrowth of many circumstances. The chief occasion, we may be reasonably sure, was the beginning of that scientific study of grammar in which the Brahmins eventually attained such eminence. By this time Sanskrit had entered upon its stage of decay as a vernacular tongue. Only the priestly caste adhered to it; the lower classes spoke Prakrit, a simpler and ruder idiom. Thus were the learned Brahmins enabled to reform and remold the sacred language according to their pleasure. They pruned away corrupt accretions, eliminated irregularities of inflection and structure, and in grammatical treatises of great subtlety formulated the rules and principles which should govern future usage. This work of reform and renovation ends with the grammarian Pānini, who lived, perhaps, in the third century before our era. The principal changes that have been made in Sanskrit since his day have been wrought in the literature, which has been brought into general conformity with his rules and standards.

Of the literature proper we will examine first the extensive maze of the classical period. Its richness is bewildering. There is poetry of every kind; there are works on law, scientific treatises—almost every department is full. We will follow the recognized order of development in other literatures, and inquire first for epic products. The chief is called the Mahā-Bhārata, and is almost a whole library in itself. It is, in fact,

not a consistent production like the "Iliad," devoted to a single theme. It may have been such in its first plan and execution; for this is one of those works which have come down from an earlier age and been thoroughly revised, one may say rewritten, in order to conform to the changes in the later grammar of Sanskrit. Not only has it suffered changes in grammar and style, but it has been thoroughly recast, distortod, and distended beyond all reason. Into it have been embodied many heterogeneous elements which have little to do with the main purpose of the poem. This appears to have been, judging it as we find it, to mass together under one title all the epic legends in the language. The Mahā-Bhārata ("Great War of the Bharatas") is the original legend, which has received the others and given its name to the whole collection. The incongruous additions are mostly moral tractates, inserted here and there at random for the edification of the warrior caste, for whose eye the poem, as a whole, appears to have been especially intended. One of the most important of these didactic episodes is the philosophical poem of the Bhagavad-gītā. This is undoubtedly of comparatively modern authorship, and though of eighteen chapters extent, is inserted like an ordinary interpolation at the twenty-fifth chapter of Bhīshma-parva, the sixth book of the poem. The name signifies the mystic doctrine proclaimed by Bhagavat, or Krishna. It is a dialogue between the hero Arjuna and the god Krishna, who is serving as his charioteer. It ranks among the most famous of the episodes, as embodying the principles of the Vedānta, or pantheistic philosophy of the Hindus, the most important of their systems. With true Hindu disregard of concinnity and consistency, it likewise admits certain principles of other philosophical systems, the Sankhya (atheistic) and the Yoga, (monotheistic,) equally at variance with the Vedānta and with each other. The Yoga doctrine bears resemblance in certain points to Christian theology, (as will be observed hereafter when we come to the department of philosophy,) and is by some conjectured to have been borrowed from that source.

Another very famous but very different episode of the Mahā-Bhārata, found inserted in the Vana-parva or third book, is the legend of Nala. It is more in keeping with the epic character of the poem than the preceding, though it is really a

romance of almost the modern conventional type. Nala is the name of the hero, who is king of Nishada. He is a hero indeed, handsome in person, possessed of all human accomplishments and virtues, and without vices except a fondness for gaming. For this he is spared the usual reprobation by the author, since he is "the friend of the dice," or always successful in play. This best of kings fitly espouses Damayantī, the fairest of princesses, who had refused alliance even with the gods. Kali, one of the unsuccessful deities, determines to ruin Nala in revenge. Long and patiently he watches for an opportunity, and not until twelve years have passed does he detect Nala in any fault—then only in the trifling neglect of a ceremonial ablution. But this is enough to subject him to the control of the fiendish spirit: Kali enters and possesses his soul. As the shortest road to ruin, Kali drives him to the dice. He loses his treasures, his chariots, his robes, his kingdom, and finally is driven forth to wander with his lovely queen in beggary. Still instigated by the demon within, he even deserts his faithful Damayantī. But one day, when thus wandering forlorn and friendless in the forests, he chances to rescue a serpent from the flames. This proves to be Karkotaka, a powerful demon from the nether world, who undertakes to deliver Nala from the power of Kali. Nala is accordingly changed into a dwarfish charioteer, with power to resume his proper features and proportions at will. He then enters the service of King Rituparna, a consummate gamester, who bargains to communicate the secret of his skill with dice for the secret of Nala's skill with horses. Nala soon finds Damayantī, and with her repairs to the capital of his former kingdom. The present possessor, who, though his brother, had driven Nala forth, as he thought, to die, is challenged to renew the game. Nala quickly wins back his possessions, forgives his brother, and lives out a long and peaceful reign with his faithful queen. This history, so seemingly modern, is of very ancient authorship. It has been worked over and over again, and probably expanded since it was first composed, and now exists in several versions. The episode is also remarkable for the simplicity and purity of its Sanskrit, and deserves the summary we have given of it, both as an example of the lighter literature, and on account of its universal popularity.

Of the other episodes of the Mahā-Bhārata we have not space to speak; nor is the main subject of the poem, the wars of the Kurus and Pandavas, worthy of further time. Formed in the way described, by the unsystematized union of diverse materials, its increase from an original of 8,800 to the present extent of 107,389 shlokas or double lines, is not so surprising. Its companion epic, the Rāmāyana, (the adventures or expeditions of Rāma), is of less extent—about 24,000 shlokas, has far more unity, and is, perhaps, the work originally of a single mind. It is not without its episodes and additions, among which is to be reckoned the whole of the last or seventh book. The theme of the original six books is the abduction of Rāmachandra's wife, Sīta, by a demon, and the wars waged by her husband for her recovery; but the basis of the whole is undoubtedly the long struggle of the advancing Kshatriyas or Aryan warrior caste against the aborigines of Southern India, who are usually spoken of as ogres (rākshasas) or giants. Of the remaining epic compositions, two titles only (the Raghuvansha, and the Kumārasambhava, both attributed to Kālidāsa, of whom some notice hereafter) deserve to be quoted. The rest of the list are mostly weak expansions or abridgments of themes from the Mahā-Bhāratā or Rāmāyana.

The lyrical productions of Sanskrit are numerous, and, judged by occidental standards, generally more artistic and successful. The best example is the Meghadūta, (Cloud-messenger,) ascribed to the poet Kālidāsa. It is a poem of one hundred and sixteen stanzas, and tells the story of a Yaksha who, incurring the displeasure of his sovereign, is sent into distant exile for a year. In the lonely forest where his banishment is to be spent, while longing for some means of communication with the beloved wife from whom he is separated, he bethinks him of the availability of a cloud, "one of those noble masses which seem almost instinct with life, as they traverse a tropical sky in the commencement of the monsoon, and move with slow and solemn progression from the equatorial ocean to the snows of the Himalaya." This cloud, which he has espied halting upon the summit of a neighboring mountain, he commissions to bear his message. He describes to it the devious pathway it must pursue, and figures to himself the visits it will make to scenes and haunts familiar or famous in Hindu

mythology. Having imagined its final arrival, and cautioned it to disguise its hideous, elephantine bulk, lest his gentle wife be seized with terror, he pictures to himself the attitude of faithful, patient longing in which she will be found. Should his weird messenger arrive at night, his bidding is, (Wilson's translation:)

> Delay thy tidings and suspend thy flight,
> And watch in solemn silence through the night;

and, having waited till the darkness has lifted,

> Behold her rising with the early morn,
> Fair as the flower that opening buds adorn;
> And strive to animate her drooping mind
> With cooling rain-drops and refreshing wind;
> Restrain thy lightnings, as her timid gaze
> Shrinks from the bright intolerable blaze;
> And murmuring softly, gentle sounds prepare
> With words like these to raise her from despair.

The long message is then indited; and to cover the absence of the reply on the part of the cloud, the lover is made to add:

> Such, vast dispenser of the dews of heaven,
> Such is my suit, and such thy promise given:
> Fearless, upon thy friendship I rely,
> Nor ask that promise nor expect reply.
> To thee the thirsty Chātakas complain;
> Thy only answer is the falling rain:
> And still such answer from the good proceeds
> Who grant our wishes, not in words, but deeds.

Here, then, we come upon genuine poetic imagery and tenderness of feeling, coupled with no little ingenuity and discrimination in respect of form—qualities not usually united in a Sanskrit author.

Another celebrated poem of like erotic character is the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva. It describes the loves of Krishna and the Gopīs, or shepherdesses, his companions in Vrindāvana, the home of his youth. To this poem is usually attributed a mystical significance. Rādhā, the principal Gopī, seems designed to represent the human soul which is drawn to Krishna as type of the supreme, eternal goodness. There are several other inferior poems in the same strain, for whose mystical interpretation there is small reason except the offensiveness of a literal understanding. Then there is further to be mentioned a con-

siderable body of what may be called hymns, varying in point of merit from mere safety-spells to prayers and songs of genuine and fervid devotion.

Of specially didactic poetry there is but a small showing. The nearest approach to a moral poem of any extent is the Pancha-tantra, or five books of fables, which, as is well known, is the original of a good share of all the fable-literature of the other Indo-European languages. It also exists in an abridged form in the Hitopadesha (Salutary Instruction). The form, however, of these fables is very different from the traditional type with which we are acquainted. Instead of each story's being given distinct and complete in itself, the Sanskrit weaves the fables of a whole chapter into a confused and almost unravelable web, introducing each tale as an illustration of some point in its unfinished predecessor.

We come now to that department in which Sanskrit culture appears at the best advantage—the drama. The foremost author is the poet Kālidāsa before mentioned. Little is known of his history. We are told he was one of the nine gems (or poets) of King Vikramāditya's court; but which this was among the many princes so designated there is no means of finding out. The date of the poet is, therefore, very uncertain. The best authorities are now inclined to place it some centuries after Christ. He is accredited with numerous compositions, some of them no doubt erroneously, but it is quite certain that he is the author of the three dramas which bear his name, and that they contain his best work. The finest of these is the Shakuntalā, which may safely be taken as the measure of the best effort of the Sanskrit mind in the direction of *belles-lettres*. In spite of its oriental atmosphere and coloring, eminent critics of nearly all the great nations of the West have yielded it the highest praise, and none, perhaps, so enthusiastically as Goethe, who said of it after reading an early and very imperfect version:

> "Willst du die Blüthe des frühen, die Früchte des späteren Jahres,
> Willst du was reizt und entzückt, willst du was sättigt und nährt,
> Willst du den Himmel, die Erde, mit einem Namen begreifen:
> Nenn' ich *Sakutala*, Dich, und so ist Alles gesagt."

Kālidāsa is almost a phenomenon among eastern poets. Richness of imagery we expect to find, and appreciation of

nature—the luxuriant nature of the tropics; but his chivalric delicacy and tenderness of feeling, his trained good taste, acute sense of proportion, and perfect self-control—these take us by surprise. Judged by the strictest standards he is, undoubtedly, amply entitled to honorable rank among the greatest artists of all times and countries.

The Shakuntalā belongs to the species of drama which the Brahmins call Nātaka, the most elevated of their theater. Plays of this class derive their character from the exalted rank of the characters represented, not at all from situation or incident. There is no such thing as tragedy or comedy, as we know them. Any thing like the former, indeed, would be abhorrent to the Hindu mind; for every thing rendered upon the stage must have a good ending. Most dramas blend both qualities in close accordance with nature. One of the first differences which separate the Indian theater from ours is the length, some plays comprising no less than ten acts. Every piece opens with an introduction, consisting of an invocation of some deity, a statement of the play to be rendered, and generally a panegyric of its author. This seemingly awkward preludium is managed with such skill that the audience is momentarily diverted and the way prepared for the opening scene. Thus, in the Shakuntalā, after the invocation of Shiva, the director of the play, looking toward the door of the green-room, says:

If your toilet, my good lady, is completed, please come forward.

ACTRESS, (*entering.*)

Here I am, ready to obey my good master's behests.

DIRECTOR.

It is quite a brilliant audience which we have here assembled before us. We must, therefore, serve them to-day with the new play, composed by Kālidāsa, which is called "Shakuntalā, or, The Lost Ring." Let each strive to enact his *rôle* in his best manner.

After exchange of remarks upon the conditions of success, the actress says:

Pray, direct now what shall be done first.

DIRECTOR.

What can you do better than enchant the audience to close attention by your singing?

ACTRESS.

Well, of which season shall I sing?

DIRECTOR.

You should sing, I think, of Summer, which has just returned to us with all its pleasures.

The song suggested is then rendered, no doubt with excellent effect, and the director immediately remarks:

Ah! the whole audience is so entranced that it seemed, just now, like a motionless tableau. Pray, then, what shall we perform that we may surely win its applause?

ACTRESS.

But have you not already determined that, my gracious master? You have just announced that the exquisite drama of "Shakuntalā; or, The Lost Ring," will be enacted to-day."

DIRECTOR.

Your reminder is most opportune. I had for a moment forgotten my words, I was so carried away by your charming song, just as King Dushyanta here by the swift chase of the deer.

And at this moment King Dushyanta appears in a chariot driven at full speed, in pursuit of a fleeing deer; and the first scene opens at once by dialogue between the king and his chariot-driver.

The plot of the drama is very simple. The deer which King Dushyanta is soon to overtake belongs to a near hermitage in the forest, and the king is warned of this by two hermits just as he is aiming the fatal arrow. Later he dismounts and repairs to the hermitage to pay his respects to its inmates, when he sees Shakuntalā, the heroine. She is the daughter of a nymph, of more than human beauty, brought up since infancy in the hermitage. The king falls deeply in love, and his suit is accepted. After their marriage the king is hastily summoned to his capital, whither he departs after arranging for the queen's speedy following. She is so unfortunate, in the meantime, as to incur the displeasure of a rishi, or saint, who pronounces upon her a temporary curse. She proceeds with joyful expectations to her husband's palace, only to find herself unrecognized, disowned—the consequences of the curse. Finally, after the usual chapters of sorrow have been enacted, the ring-token given to Shakuntalā by the king at marriage (which she had mysteriously lost) is recovered by a fisherman

and restored to her. At sight of it the king's memory is regained, and the curse removed.

We have space but for a single extract, which shall be from the fourth act, where Shakuntalā, about setting out for her new home, amid the bustle and agitation of leave-taking, feels something gently pulling at her garments. Her foster-father, Kanva, explaining, says, (Williams' translation:)

> My daughter,
> It is the little fawn, thy foster-child.
> Poor, helpless orphan! it remembers well
> How, with a mother's tenderness and love,
> Thou didst protect it, and with grains of rice
> From thine own hand didst daily nourish it;
> And ever and anon, when some sharp thorn
> Had pierced its mouth, how gently thou didst tend
> The bleeding wound, and pour in healing balm.
> The grateful nursling clings to its protectress,
> Mutely imploring leave to follow thee.

There are about sixty Sanskrit dramas of which some knowledge (often only the name) has come down to us. According to native tradition the name of Kālidāsa's successor is Bhavabhūti, also the author of three plays; but his work bears no comparison with Kālidāsa's. A far worthier rival is Shūdraka, the reputed author of the "Mrichakatī" (Toy-Cart), probably the oldest extant drama in Sanskrit. This author is recorded to have been a king equally renowned for martial and literary achievements, who lived a century, and finally burned himself alive, leaving his kingdom to his son—a characteristic bit of Indian biography. His performance especially rivals the "Shakuntalā" in excellence of description. We cannot forbear quoting the following (from Wilson's rather free, but appreciative, version) upon the approach of the rainy season:

ATTENDANT *to* VASANTASENA.

> Lady, upon the mountain's brow the clouds
> Hang dark and drooping, as the aching heart
> Of her who sorrows for her absent lord;
> Their thunders rouse the pea-fowl, and the sky
> Is agitated by their wings, as fanned
> By thousand fans with costly gems inchased.
> The chattering frog quaffs the pellucid drops
> That cleanse his miry jaws. The pea-hen shrieks
> With transport, and the Nipa freshly blooms:

The moon is blotted by the driving scud,
As is the saintly character by those
Who wear its garb to veil their abject lives;
And like the damsel whose fair fame is lost
In ever-changing loves, the lightning, true
To no one quarter, flits along the skies.

* * * * * *

There, like a string of elephants, the clouds
In regular file, by lightning fillets bound,
Move slowly at their potent god's commands.
The heavens let down a silver chain to earth.
The earth that shines with buds, and sheds sweet odors,
Is pierced with showers, like diamond-shafted darts
Launched from the rolling mass of deepest blue,
Which heaves before the breeze and foams with flame,
Like ocean's dark waves by the tempest driven,
And tossing high their flashing surge to shore.

Though we now pass to the severer subjects of science and philosophy, we do not leave the department of poetry. As has been pointed out above, there is, properly speaking, no Sanskrit prose; works even upon astronomy and geography are laboriously and patiently cast into the mold of verse. This illustrates the artificial and unpractical character of the Brahminical literature, which was never to be degraded to every-day uses, but must raise the commonest themes to the poetic plane before admission to the sacred language. We will here note, first, the progress made by the Hindus in astronomy. The Vedas must be turned to for the earliest testimony, and we find there allusions and references sufficient to establish very early beginnings for the science. The Vedic year consisted of 360 days, without intercalary correction; but this was soon supplied by the device of the Yuga, a five-year cycle, which included the addition of an intercalary month. The distinction of the planets from fixed stars appears to have been made considerably later: among the earliest references to the former are those occurring in the "Mahā-Bhārata" and the writings of Kālidāsa.* How much further discovery and addition to their astronomical knowledge were made by the Hindus themselves is a difficult question. They certainly borrowed their acquaintance with the zodiacal signs from the Greeks, as, perhaps, their earlier knowledge of the lunar mansions from

* Prof. Weber's *Vorlesungen über Indische Literatur-geschichte.*

Semitic sources;* and they servilely copied Greek writers and phraseology in their later works. In the end, however, it is probable that they excelled their masters; and there are works or titles extant of Hindu astronomers who were recognized as high authority outside of their own country. In mathematical studies, also, they attained equal or greater eminence, and without borrowing, especially in arithmetic and geometry. We owe to their success in the former of these branches, as is well known, the numerical symbols which the Arabs early adopted and communicated to Europe.

In the field of history the Brahmins have accomplished nothing worthy of mention. The Sanskrit mind seems never to have appreciated either the possibility or the necessity of truthful records of the past. There are, to be sure, vast chronicles, (Purānas,) but so largely made up of mythology and fable as to be valueless to the historical or biographical inquirer. One might find, in a certain sense, their parallel in the half-hearsay, half-fictitious, chronicles of the Middle Ages. As to the kindred subject of chronology, there is utter confusion. Nothing is harder in dealing with Sanskrit literature than to fix the date, or even the century, of an author.

The literature of medicine is very abundant, and seems to have been a genuine product of Hindu intelligence. It is, of course, of no especial value or interest, except to the curious. Yet is it, on the whole, the record of creditable success, both in theory and practice, and will fairly bear comparison with the monuments of the subject in the classic languages.

The achievements of the many generations of Sanskrit grammarians deserve a more extended notice than we can make room for here. For the intricacy and subtlety of such a subject as philology the genius of the Hindus is especially adapted; and as evidence of their success it is sufficient to say, that their works on grammar were, until lately, in advance of the best European scholarship. They excelled particularly in phonetic studies, and the Sanskrit alphabet which they devised, or at least improved, is the most perfect that was ever in actual use. It is based upon an accurate and complete classification of all the elements of Sanskrit speech, shows a correct understanding of the relation between vowel and semivowel, and represents

* Prof. Weber's "Lectures."

each of the sounds employed by an unvarying symbol. The beginnings of grammatical study go back, doubtless, to the early post-Vedic era, and had their occasion in the fact that the Vedas were treasured in a dialect that was fast becoming obsolete. The work of the earlier centuries has perished, almost entirely without record, each succeeding generation appropriating and canceling the labors of its predecessor. Hence it has chanced that Pānini, the last great name in the series, is the first author whose books have been preserved. His treatise on grammar, though perhaps the most remarkable text-book in the world, can hardly be compared with such works as European scholarship has produced. It masses together the facts and principles of Sanskrit usage, without much reference to subject, in eight books of promiscuous rules, each cast in the tersest possible form, by the aid of a terminology especially devised for the purpose, and meaningless to any body but an expert grammarian. These eight books, comprising about four thousand rules, (which have been well likened to algebraic formulæ,) have to be mastered *in toto* before they can be made of any use. No book is complete in itself; its rules must be taken in connection with others, found in no certain place, which modify or annul their application. An amusing illustration of the working of this system is given by Max Müller in the preface of his Sanskrit grammar. A verb-root is mentioned, which, by a certain rule of Pānini, should receive the addition of ă; this is denied for this instance by another rule in another book, which prescribes a different addition. This is in turn set aside; and not until *nine* rules have been thus recollected and applied in succession is the true result obtained! To the grammatical literature belong further the numerous commentaries upon Pānini, certain attempts at a vocabulary of Sanskrit, and the Dhātu-pāthas, or dictionaries of roots.

As for the department of Law, it will be sufficient to mention two or three works. The Sanskrit term for law (*dharma*) comprehends not only statutes, but also every thing prescribed by custom or religion. The earliest of the Dharma-shāstras, or codes, is the book of "Manu." It consists of twelve treatises, or chapters, of which but two are devoted to civil and criminal judicature; the others treat of various subjects, including education, ceremonial purity, devotion, and transmi-

gration. It is the high-water mark of the caste system, and affirms the teacher of the Vedas to be the image of Deity. The principal other code is that of Yājnavalkya. The existence of works on political ethics (*nītishāstras*) is also noteworthy.

We finish our notice of the classical literature with a glance at the productions of philosophy. We find in native authorities little help to an understanding of its beginnings. We are sure the Hindu mind began to occupy itself with speculative themes at a very early period, but of the first schools or systems established we know nothing. The earliest philosopher of whom the natives have preserved traditions is Kapila, the founder of the Sānkhya, or oldest of the six existing systems. The work attributed to him is in the form of about five hundred *Sūtras*, (aphoristic sentences or texts.) The term *sānkhya* signifies deliberation, reflection; and the philosophy so named regarded the universe as evolved from primitive, chaotic matter in bulk, called *prakriti*, which was supposed to be endowed with a volitive guiding principle. The Supreme Deity, according to Kapila, was, therefore, an apotheosized nature. He admitted, however, the existence of a spiritual source from which the souls of men are derived, and whither they return, but he did not take the trouble to explain the involved inconsistency. On the moral side he admitted the existence of evil, inner, outer, and superhuman; and the panacea for all its forms he held to be knowledge—the source and measure of all greatness.

The next system is the Yoga, associated with Pantanjali as its founder, of whom nothing is known. He is purported to have been the author of about two hundred existing Sūtras. The name Yoga (union) indicates the end of this philosophy —spiritual union with God, to be attained by contemplation. Coupled with the concentration of the mind upon the Supreme Being was the practice of austerities, to which the devotee must so accustom himself as to be conscious of no discomfort. Among the requirements to which he must submit were, perfect purity of mind and body, perfect truthfulness in word and thought, the suppression of all desire to injure others, cheerfulness, and the renunciation of all indulgence. A somewhat modified form of this philosophy, is taught in the Bhag-

avad-gītā, to which reference has been made earlier. This treatise appears to have been composed with the intent to divest the Yoga of Pantanjali of the element of compulsory asceticism, which had, doubtless, proved too popular for the best interests of Brahmanism. The author maintains that a pious mingling with the world is better than anchoretical retirement. Instead of avoiding temptation one should combat it; but the affections must first be centered upon things above. Supreme love to God will empower for victory. The chief attributes of Deity are omniscience, omnipresence, and perfect goodness. This purely monotheistic conception rests, however, upon a pantheistic basis, which is derived from still another system—the Vedānta.

The next or third school, following the native order, is the Pūrva-Mīmānsā, "former speculation." It is an orthodox body of sacred doctrine, derived from the Veda, and essentially of a practical character. It is thus distinguished in name from the Uttara-Mīmānsā, "latter speculation," or fourth school, (same as the Vedānta just mentioned,) which is devoted to discussion of the nature of the creative principle, and the origin of the universe. The supreme Brahman, according to this theory, produced the visible creation by changing himself into matter, which is, however, only an illusion. The theses of these two systems are contained in the Karma and Brahma-Sūtras respectively. The Nyāya, or fifth school, and the Vaisheshika, which completes the six, are closely related. Both suppose the universe formed from primordial atoms, each of which is the "sixth part of the mote in a sunbeam." These are united according to the will of a divine arranger, who can neither create nor destroy them. The former system is ascribed to Gotama, who has left a logical treatise consisting of five books of aphorisms. The works of Kanāda, the founder of the last, are also logical Sūtras, a fact which points to the dialectical origin of both schools.

We now move backward to the second, or Brāhmana, period of the literature. As to its date and duration, the limits 1400–700 B. C. may be conjectured. The term Brāhmana signifies "relating to prayer or worship," and designates the unmetrical portion of the Veda, which has been attached to the mantra or hymn portion by Brahmanic priests and sages.

The purpose of this addition is for the most part not exegetical, but explanatory of the ceremonies and sacrifices which the hymns accompanied, and often of their origin. Each of the four Vedas has its own Brāhmana or Brāhmanas. Of the Rig, for example, there are two, which specify the hymns to be used by the Hotar, or invocation-priest; and one of them, the Āitareya, is in part devoted to the ceremony employed at the crowning of a king. The Brāhmanas of the Sāma, eight in number, define the duties of the Udgātar, or singer of chants; while those of the Yajur are for the use of the Adhvaryu, who immolates and burns the sacrifice. Interspersed through the whole body of these writings are numerous episodes and legends, which not a little aid to swell their contents. Founded upon the Brāhmanas in great measure are the Sūtras, which present the substance of their rules in an aphoristic form. Developed also from the same sources, and covering much of the period of transition to the later Sanskrit, are the numerous Upanishads. These are metaphysical disquisitions upon theosophic and other themes, and may be regarded as the virtual beginnings of Hindu Philosophy.

We come lastly to the earliest or Vedic monuments of the Sanskrit people. The form of these must have been preserved by oral tradition, like the poems of Homer, from the mythical age of the race until the invention of writing—from a time hardly less than eighteen centuries before Christ. They contain conclusive evidence of the place of their composition—namely, the valley of the Indus, into which the southern branch of Aryans had but lately entered. The comparative nearness of this migration to the period of Japhetic unity invests the Vedas with the greatest interest to every Indo-European. The Vedas, as we hardly need to state, are four in number, the Rig, the Sāma, the Yajur, and the Atharva. The Rig, or Veda of hymns, is by far the oldest, comprising 1,017 (or 1,028) hymns, which in contents and form not a little resemble the Hebrew psalms. The Sāma, or Veda of chants, is made up mostly of hymns found in the Rig, forming a collection (of about one sixth of its extent) for use at the Soma-sacrifice. The Yajur, "sacrificial Veda," consisting of formulæ for use at the altar, is also largely made up of verses found in the Rig, which are drawn from various hymns and combined

in new forms. Finally, the Atharva (named from an ancient priestly family) is a late compilation, and was long refused the authority of a fourth Veda. Its hymns and formulæ are inspired by a superstitious dread of calamity and evil, and abound in incantation and magic.

The chief interest in the Vedas centers in the Rig, which from its extreme age represents approximately the religion of our forefathers. We find this consisted in the personification and apotheosis of the mighty or mysterious phenomena of nature. The chief deity is Indra, god of the blue and cloudless sky. He drives away a demon Vritra, who, clothed in clouds, stretches himself across the heavens, hides the face of the sun from man, and withholds from his fields the needed rain. Indra smites him with his thunderbolts, and thus causes him to release the pent-up showers and bring the clear sky again to view. The deity to whom the greatest number of hymns is addressed is Agni, (Lat. *ignis*,) the god of fire. He is man's protector from the demons of darkness, having condescended to leave the heavens and dwell with him on the earth; he is the mediator between the other gods and man, and the messenger who carries up his prayers and brings down the gods to his smoking sacrifice. But the noblest of the deities is Varŭna, whose outward manifestation is the all-enveloping firmament, (*οὐρανός*.) He is the physical and moral ruler of the universe; he orders the paths of the stars and sun; fixes the limits of the seasons: nothing in the exterior physical world or the inner consciousness of man escapes his all-searching gaze. He is the pardoner of sin and the punisher of the unrepentant. There seems in this character the trace of a lingering consciousness, which may well have been retained among the early Japhetic peoples, of the God of Noah. The conception, at any rate, is too spiritual to last, and we are not surprised to find Varŭna, in the later religion, stripped of these moral attributes and degraded to a divinity of the waters. Among the few female deities the most engaging is Ushas, the Dawn, who is invoked in strains perhaps the most poetic in the Vedas. She is the sister of night, the daughter of the sky, the impeller of chariots, the youthful maiden in garments of light to whom every moving thing makes obeisance. She unbars the doors of heaven, rides through in a great resplendent chariot, and

brings the pious unto their sacrifices. Thus do the earliest phenomena of day elicit the admiration and worship of this ancient people. We seem to stand on the threshold of time, when the mornings are sweet with their first dews, and the nightfalls hushed as with the silence of wonder. Man is yet young upon the earth, not yet habituated to his strange life, not yet unwilling to admit a marvelous cause for each marvelous phenomenon, has not yet learned how to gather up the universe in the lifeless, godless abstraction, Nature. The first breeze of morning is the approach of Vāyu, (god of gentle winds,) who comes with Indra in his chariot drawn by a thousand steeds, to drink the earliest draught of the Soma libation. The sun, which comes up later, and strides across the heavens with three paces, one at meridian and one at either horizon, is Vishnu; but the generating and vivifying power of his rays is Savitar. The sun-deity which causes the alternations of day and night, is Pūshan, who is also the guardian of the wayfarer and of shepherds. The god of fierce winds and tempests is Rudra; his sons, the Maruts, are the body-guard of Indra. Finally, the god of death is Yama, not a gloomy conception, but a divinity without terrors, who admits mortals to a paradise with himself, having been the first to go from earth to those far regions. The dead are said to go forth by the ancient pathways, where they shall behold Varŭna and Yama, and dwell with them in felicity forever. There is thus no trace of the doctrine of transmigration, as there is none of the practice of suttee nor of the degradation of woman. There is, moreover, no priestly caste, nor more than an occasional reference to the priestly office; but the method of worship was prevailingly patriarchal.

To illustrate the general character of the Vedic hymns we will translate a few verses from I., 25, of the Rig:

Considering that we violate thy precepts,
O Varŭna, from day to day, as subjects,
Subject us not unto the deadly weapon
Of him who hateth us and would destroy us.

Let us unloose thy mind and heart to pity
By these our songs of worship and devotion,
As doth, O Varŭna, the chariot-driver
Unloose his steed from chariot and harness.

The god who knows the region of the heavens,
Where fly the birds; who knows the ocean's pathways;
Who knows the months, the twelve, and all their fruitage;
Who knows what one is borne unto the others;

Who knows the winds, the mighty, the majestic;
Who knows their goings and who rides upon them:
This Varŭna hath fixed his throne with wisdom,
And rules thereon in absolute dominion.

In state with golden mantle on he sitteth,
The spies have also set themselves about him.
Away my meditations go, and fondly hasten,
Like kine to pasture, seeking the far-seeing.

The meter here imitated is the trishtubh, one of the most usual in the Vedas. The other measures are of this simple sort, usually iambic and founded upon quantity, with double lines, or padas, containing each twelve syllables, or sometimes three or four lines, each containing eight. As to the origin of the Vedic Scripture, several rishis or sages are named and mentioned with reverence as the composers of its inspired lays. Indeed, the greater part of the hymns of the Rig are grouped together according to this reputed authorship.

The peculiarities of the grammar and vocabulary of the antiquated idiom of the Vedas have been spoken of already. The greatest care has been exercised in the tradition of the sacred texts, and there is little reason to doubt that they have been preserved substantially unaltered. But tradition has failed to preserve along with many words and forms their original force and meaning. There are, therefore, many passages to which the Brahmins can give but a conjectural interpretation. These in most instances have been made out with the aid of comparative philology, that is, by recourse to the related languages which have preserved the meaning as well as form of the same words. To philologic learning and skill we therefore owe not a little of the ethnic knowledge derived from the Vedic monuments.

The literature which we have thus hastily surveyed is seen to be in many respects remarkably unlike that of any other Indo-European nation. We miss the consistency, good sense, good taste, and practicality which so markedly characterize the

literary products of the Aryan West. Much of this difference is doubtless due to the caste system, which, for not less than three thousand years, has tended to extinguish all the energy of Brahmanic thought. Much more of the difference is certainly due to the influences of climate. Had the Goth and Indo-Aryan exchanged paths of emigration, we should doubtless have found, just as we find to-day, the weakest and least progressive of the Indo-European sisterhood under a tropical sky.

ART. IV.—JESUS A TOTAL ABSTAINER.

[THIRD ARTICLE.]

WE come now directly to the

IV. EXAMINATION OF THE CHARGE

that the example of Jesus sanctions the use of alcoholic beverages. This is based, as we have previously stated, on three specifications, which we shall consider in the order already named.*

First Specification: Jesus MADE *intoxicating wine.*

The instance cited, and it is the only one of the kind, is the replenishing of the wine at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee. (John ii, 1–11.) Some cause, perhaps the unexpected number of the guests attracted by the presence of Jesus, had exhausted the stock of the host. At this juncture Jesus miraculously provided a fresh supply of the beverage, in quantity somewhere between one hundred and one hundred and sixty gallons,† and in quality so superior that the ruler of the feast remarked to the bridegroom, (A. V.,) "Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse, but thou hast kept the good wine until now." (John ii, 10.) So far there is no controversy. Jesus did make wine. But did he make a fer-

* "Methodist Quarterly Review," April, 1882, p. 284.

† *Vide* Lange, Comm. *in loc.* It is immaterial to our inquiry, however, whether we regard the whole amount of water in the jars as transformed into wine at once, (so Trench, and commentators generally,) or gradually, as the liquid was poured into each cup, (so Ellicott, Comm. *in loc.*;) or whether we understand with Westcott ("Characteristics of the Gospel Miracles," p. 15) that the wine was drawn directly from the fountain from which they had taken the water to fill the water-pots.

mented and intoxicating wine? Only in case we are compelled to return an affirmative answer to this question has the fact any force as an argument against his total abstinence principles and practice. The word used in the Gospel narrative to describe the article made by Jesus is the generic *olvoς*, and this gives us no intimation as to its nature, but leaves us free to decide, by internal evidence and moral likelihood, whether the wine was alcoholic or the contrary. The simple record of the evangelist affords ample material for determining the question.

1. The fact is stated (v. 9) that "the wine was made (*γεγενημένον*, lit., 'had become') wine." This form of expression seems to indicate the transformation of the water into the pure blood of the grape in the same manner in which it takes place every year within the growing clusters of the vine, but differentiated from that by the supernatural rapidity of the process. St. Augustine was perhaps the first among the commentators to suggest this interpretation.* It has been adopted by such authorities as Chrysostom,† Bishop Hall,‡ Trench,§ Meyer, Olshausen, Whedon,‖ Geikie,¶ and others. If this interpretation be correct, it settles the whole controversy. Christ never made a drop of alcoholic wine in the grape. In the whole realm of living nature he has never once created an atom of alcohol. That destructive spirit is nowhere a product of nature. "Alcohol is a purely artificial product, obtained only by carefully carried out chemical methods. It exists nowhere in nature," says Dr. Niel Carmichael.** Dr. Richardson describes alcohol†† as "an artificial product devised by man for his purposes." Similar is the testimony of Sir Humphrey Davy,‡‡ Liebig,§§ Chapital,‖‖ and Turner.¶¶ If Jesus did make an alcoholic substance on this occasion, as Chancellor Crosby, Dr. Moore, and Professor Bumstead would have us believe that he did,*** then the act

* In Evang. Joan., tr. viii. † Hom. xxii, in Joan.

‡ "Contemplations." Lond., 1759, p. 117.

§ "Notes on the Miracles," p. 115. Comm. *in loc.*

¶ "Life and Words of Christ," i, 479.

** "Medical Temperance Journal," April, 1880, p. 125.

†† "Cantor Lectures," p. 178. ‡‡ "Agricultural Chemistry," 6th ed., p. 129.

§§ "Letters on Chemistry," 2d series, 1845.

‖‖ "L' Art de Faire le Vin," Paris, 1819, p. 2.

¶¶ "Elements of Chemistry," p. 664.

*** "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 80. "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 88. "A Calm View of the Temperance Question."

was without a parallel in creation. It was, moreover, a palpable contradiction of the doctrine he announced a few months later, namely, "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise," (John v. 19;) for the Son had never seen the Father make an intoxicating wine. That, as we have seen, is purely a human invention, and probably the most fatal one man has ever sought out.

2. The wine Jesus provided was pronounced "the good" (τὸν καλόν) by the ruler of the feast, (v. 10.) The term is used comparatively, "the" (τὸν) being emphatic, and is equivalent to the best wine. It is interpreted by our authors * to mean the most intoxicating wine. But this is to beg the whole question. It is to set up a false criterion, and bring everything to the test of that. It is to make the vitiated taste of a nineteenth century set the standard of the taste of a Jewish architriklinos of the first century. It will not do to answer that this interpretation is sustained by the custom, referred to in the remarks of the ruler of the feast, of setting forth the best wine at the beginning of a feast. For this is only to bolster up one fallacy by another. It is not true, as these interpreters would have us believe, that the strongest wines formed the first course of an entertainment, and then, when these had blunted the taste, beverages of an inferior quality were palmed off upon the guests. Evidence in support of such a theory has been diligently sought for, but without success. Meyer admits † that "the general custom, however, to which the table-master refers, is not elsewhere with any certainty confirmed." It is in evidence, on the other hand, that the general custom of a banquet was to use at the beginning of a feast the lighter and largely diluted wines, while the heaviest and specially intoxicating sorts were reserved to the last. That this was true of Christ's day is plainly indicated by a passage from Philo, one of his contemporaries, who describes the votaries of wine proceeding from one kind to another, and finishing up "with bowls and goblets of all the largest sizes that they can get, and drinking the wine unmixed in huge draughts." ‡ Athenæus § and

* "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 80. "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 88. "A Calm View of the Temperance Question." † Comm. *in loc.*

‡ "On Drunkenness," sec. 53. § "Banquet," X, p. 431, b.

Diogenes Laertius* bear similar testimony. The fact that in this instance the verdict of the ruler of the feast was pronounced merely upon tasting (ἐγεύσατο, v. 9) the wine, shows that its superior qualities must have been such as commended themselves immediately to the palate. He did not wait to observe its supposed alcoholic or intoxicating effects.

Have we any evidence as to what actually was the judgment of antiquity concerning the best wine? Dr. Moore attempts to show,† though not in immediate connection with this text, that "the wine which the Bible pronounces *the best*," was fermented and intoxicating. In proof of this position, he cites Prov. xxiii, 31, where the wine against which a warning is directed is described (A. V.) as moving itself aright, (Heb. יִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּמֵישָׁרִים, (lit., "goes according to evenness,") and then compares this with Cant. vii, 9, (in Heb. verse 10,) "where," as he remarks, "regarding 'the best wine' it is said, הוֹלֵךְ לְמֵישָׁרִים, which is rendered in our English Bible 'that goeth *down* sweetly;' in the margin, 'straightly.' 'The roof of thy mouth like the best wine for my beloved that goeth down sweetly,' etc. This is the meaning of the phrase in Prov. xxiii, 31, as the best interpreters allow. It is an attractive property, a characteristic of the best wine, that it goeth (down) straightly, or smoothly, or sweetly." But an examination of the Hebrew text shows that the comparison is unfounded, and the inference illegitimate. Vicar Kingsbury well says of this passage:‡ "The A. V. here is one of the numerous instances of needless departure from the order of words in the Hebrew." The original reads, word for word, "And thy palate, like the wine of the good, going to my beloved straightly, flowing over the lips of the sleeping." The thought is not, as the A. V. might seem to suggest, that the best wine slips down smoothly. "Down" is not in the text, and neither the smoothness nor any other quality of the liquor is suggested. The palate (that is, the words which come from thence, though some understand kisses,) is compared to the best wine, which was so choice that it deserved to be sent *directly* to the beloved one. So the LXX renders, πορευόμενος τῷ ἀδελφιδῷ μου εἰς εὐθύτητα, going to my kinsman in a straight way. Cranmer and the Geneva Bible

* Op. i, 104. † "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 87.
‡ "Speaker's Commentary" *in loc.*

both translate, "wine which goeth straightly unto my beloved."* Going straightly to the beloved, and not going smoothly down the throat, is the idea of the passage, and so lends no support to the theory of Dr. Moore.

Opposed to that theory is such testimony as follows. Volney, after describing the unfermented and boiled sweet wines of Syria, adds: "Such are the wines of Lebanon, so boasted by Greek and Roman epicures."† Rev. W. H. Rule, who, in general, sympathizes with the views of Dr. Moore, confesses that the pure grape juice was "the choice beverage of epicures."‡ The practice of the Egyptian kings, already adverted to, is confirmatory of this view. Dr. Jacobus says of the wine made by Christ:§ "All who know of the wines then used will understand the unfermented juice of the grape. The present wines of Jerusalem and Lebanon, as we tasted them, were commonly boiled and sweet, without intoxicating qualities, such as we here get in liquors called wines. *Those were esteemed the best wines which were least strong.*" It is a noteworthy fact that the Arabic translators of the Old and New Testaments, about the middle of the eighth century, rendered "the good wine" of John ii, 10, by *el-chamer, el-jid*, "the wine, the new;" *el-jid* signifying that which is "new" in excellence of preservation; the verb having, as a leading meaning, *cœpit novum, renovavit*, "he takes as new, he renews."‖ It must also be observed that the adjective used to describe the wine made by Christ is not *ἀγαθός, good*, simply, but *καλός, that which is morally excellent or befitting.* The term is suggestive of Theophrastus' characterization of unintoxicating wine as *moral* (*ἠθικός*) *wine.*¶

3. Christ provided "the good wine" when the guests had "well drunk," v. 10. Does this expression of the ruler of the feast imply the intoxication of the guests? Prof. Bumstead, following Bengel and others, says that it does not,** "for the remark of the master of the feast was a general one concerning the custom of the times." This is hardly consistent, however, with what he has just said, namely: "The character of it (the wine) in that instance is clearly indicated by the

* *Vide* Dr. Patrick, Cowles, *et al.*, Comm. *in loc.*

† "Travels in Egypt and Syria," c. xxix, p. 382.

‡ "Brief Inquiry," quoted Nott's "Lectures on Temperance," p. 222.

§ Comm. *in loc.* ‖ Samson, "The Divine Law as to Wines," 223.

¶ *Vide* Nott, "Lect. on Temp.," p. 114. ** "Bib. Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 80.

remark of the master of the feast." For, if the ruler's remark holds good on one point, it does on the other. It cannot logically be divided. The definiteness of the last clause carries along with it the special applicability of the whole. It necessitates the inference that on this occasion also the general custom had been followed. And if these authors are correct who insist that the wine used at this festival was alcoholic, then we are driven to the conclusion that, after free potations of this beverage, which had exhausted the supply and occasioned more or less drunkenness, Jesus miraculously created a large additional quantity of the fiery fluid, so that the company could continue their reckless indulgence and deepen their maudlin into mad intoxication. But such a conclusion stops scarcely short of blasphemy.

It becomes important, therefore, to examine this term which is rendered "well drunk." The Greek is *μεθυσθῶσι*. The form is an aorist passive from *μεθύω*, whose tenses, excepting the present and imperfect, are supplied by the passive of its derivative *μεθύσκω*.* Both of these verbs occur in the New Testament, as well as the noun *μέθη* and the adjective *μέθυσος*, used substantively. Lexicographers are agreed that the root *μέθη*, or *μέθυ*, signifies excessive drinking without reference to the kind of liquor used. All etymologists connect it directly with the Sanscrit *madhu*,† whose primary meaning, according to Benfey, was honey,‡ but, according to Curtius, was sweet drink.§ The same root appears in the Latin *te-me-tum*, Sclavic *medu*, Lith. *midus*, Gaelic *mil*, O. H. G. *metu*, Ang.-Saxon *medo*, Eng. *mead*, all of which signify either honey or a drink made from honey.‖ The idea of cloying sweetness, and so of satiation, is clearly traceable in this root and in all of its derivatives. The verbs *μεθύω* and *μεθύσκω* retain this primary signification of fullness. Hesychius defines *μεθύει* by *πεπλήρωται*, he has filled himself.¶ Liddell and Scott give as the first meaning of this verb, "to be drunken, given to drink," and add, as a secondary signification, "to be drenched or soaked with, steeped in, any liquid."** This arrangement, while it may fairly

* Liddell and Scott, "Lexicon," *s. v.*

† *E. g.*, Pott, Benfey, Curtius, Vanicek, Peile, *et al.*

‡ "Sanscrit Dictionary," *s. v.* § "Griechische Etymologie," *s. v.*

‖ Peile, "Greek and Latin Etymology," p. 127. ¶ "Lex.," *s. v.* ** "Lex.," *s. v.*

indicate the relative frequency with which the verb is used in these different senses, really reverses the natural order, and puts primitive for derivative usage. Bloomfield correctly defines *μεθύειν*, "to moisten, or to be moistened with liquor, and in a figurative sense, (like the Lat. *madere vino*,) to be saturated with drink." * In the classical writings these verbs often have the sense of being soaked in or filled with any liquid.† Homer, *e. g.*, ("Il.," xvii, 39,) speaks of *βοείη μεθύουσα ἀλοιφῇ*, "an ox-hide steeped in fat." Similar instances occur in Anacreon, (Ode 47;) Hippocrates, ("De Rat. Vic.," iii;) Xenophon, ("Cyr.," i, 3;) Aristotle, ("ap. Stob. Phys.," T. 2, 312;) Theophrastus, ("Ch. Eth.," 13;) Plutarch, ("Alex.," 69;) Philo, ("De Agric.," p. 209, E.) The last-named author furnishes one very important piece of testimony as to the meaning and use of this verb. He says, ("De Plant. Noae.," p. 234,) "There is a twofold *μεθύειν:* one is to use wine—*οἰνοῦσθαι*—the other is to play the fool with wine—*ληρεῖν ἐν οἴνῳ*." But, what is more to our purpose, in the LXX. *μεθύω* is repeatedly used in its primary sense of repletion. In Gen. xliii, 34, it is said of Joseph's brethren, *ἐμεθύσθησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ*, they drank freely with him; undoubtedly of that freshly expressed grape-juice which was the favorite beverage of Egyptian royalty. In Psa. xxiii, (LXX., cp. xxii,) 5, we read *τὸ ποτήριόν σου μεθύσκον*, "thy cup runneth over;" in Cant. v, 1, *πίετε καὶ μεθύσθητε*, "drink, yea, drink abundantly;" in Jer. xxxi, 14, (LXX. cp. xxxviii,) *μεθύσω τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ἱερέων*, "I will satiate the soul of the priests," etc. But where examples are so numerous, quotation is unnecessary. Dr. Lees has made a large collection of such texts, showing the application of this verb to food, milk, water, blood, and oil, as well as to wine.‡ Coming now to the New Testament, we find that *μεθύω* occurs seven times, (Matt. xxiv, 49; John ii, 10; Acts ii, 15; 1 Cor. xi, 21; 1 Thess. v, 7; Rev. xvii, 2, 6,) and the derivative *μεθύσκω* three times, (Luke xii, 45; Eph. v, 18; 1 Thess. v, 7.)

* Notes on 1 Cor. xi, 21.

† Similar to the use of *μεθύω* in classic Greek is the use of *inebrio* in Latin for *saturate* and *satiate*. Cf. Pliny (N. H. i, 9) *inebriatæ radices;* and (xiv, 1,) *uvæ vino suo inebriantur*. Likewise *ebrius*, *e. g.*, in Terence, (Hecyra, v, 23,) *cum tu satura atque ebria eris*. Comp. also French *soûler*, "1. to surfeit, to glut; 2. to satiate; 3. to intoxicate." (Surenne, Dict.) Also the Scotch *fou*, full, with secondary sense of drunken, in which sense the English word is sometimes used.

‡ Works, vol. ii.

In both forms of the verb the primary idea of surfeit is prominent. A decisive instance of the use of the former in this sense is presented in 1 Cor. xi, 21. In mentioning the abuses of the Lord's Supper in the Corinthian Church, St. Paul says (A. V.): "For in eating every one taketh before other his own supper: and one is hungry, and another is drunken," *καὶ ὃς μὲν πεινᾷ, ὃς μεθύει.* But *μεθύει*, in this case, is plainly contrasted with *πεινᾷ* which is correctly rendered as "hungry." The antithesis, therefore, requires the former to be understood in the generic sense of "surfeited," not in the narrow sense of "drunken." The overfilled man is compared with the underfilled man. This is the interpretation adopted by the great body of expositors, ancient and modern.*

Μεθύω, therefore, does not always and necessarily signify intoxication. It does not in John ii, 10. It has in this passage its natural and primitive sense of satiation. It refers simply to the large quantities of wine which had been consumed on this occasion, and has no reference whatever to any inebriating effects. Dean Stanley, one of the most conservative of scholars, in discussing *μεθύω*, has said,† "Its use in John ii, 10, shows that it need not be always taken of intoxication." He might have spoken with less caution. The whole drift of the narrative, and the imperative requirements of the case, show that in this instance it must not be taken of intoxication.‡ Five centuries ago Wycliffe recognized this, and rendered the expression, "whanne men ben fulfilled." The A. V. gives the weight of its authority to this interpretation by translating "when men have well drunk," as does the R. V., also, which renders more accurately, "when men have drunk freely."

4. The declared end and object of this miracle was to manifest forth his glory, (v. 11.) It was not to put the sanction of his divine approval upon the marriage relation, although this was incidentally accomplished; much less was it "for the sake of contributing to the enjoyment of a festive company, and thus sanctioning the use of (intoxicating) wine as a luxury."§

* *E. g.*, St. Chrysostom, Bengel, Grotius, Kuinoel, Bilroth, Whitby, Macknight, Newcome, Bloomfield. Clarke, Lightfoot, Whedon, *et al.*

† "Comm. on Corinthians," *in loc.*

‡ So Beza, Cornelius à Lapide, De Wette, Rosenmüller, Tholuck, Jamieson, Brown, Conant, Norton, *et al.*

§ Prof. Bumstead in "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., '81, p. 86.

Not that he did not wish to add to the innocent enjoyments of men, and to hallow the hospitalities and amenities of social life. But these were not the objects of his first miracle. That object was as infinitely superior to these as the real purpose of his last ordinance was superior to the motive attributed to him by Professor Bumstead,* for the selection of one of its elements, namely, "to secure the permanency of his example in regard to (intoxicating) wine, even to the remotest parts of the earth and to the latest periods of history." The sublime and incomparable object of "this beginning of miracles" was the Epiphany of his glory. "Glory is God's own attribute."† He who has seen his glory has seen God himself. (Exodus xxxiii, 18–23.) When he would reveal himself to man he made a revelation of his glory. The opening act of that revelation was an act of creation. We know him because we have seen his glory in Genesis. "For the invisible things of him *from the creation of the world* are clearly seen, being understood by *the things that are made*, even his eternal power and godhead." (Rom. i, 20.) So Christ must demonstrate his identity with the Father. Men will recognize "*his* eternal power and godhead" only when they see his glory manifested in an act of creation. That is the meaning of the miracle at Cana. It is the new Genesis. It is the revelation of Christ as Creator. "He made the water wine." (John iv, 46.) This points unmistakably to the nature of the thing that is made. The wine of the miracle must have been the same as the wine of nature; the wine of the water-pots must have been one with the wine of the grape-clusters. No other is made, all else is manufactured. Nothing less than omnipotence could make one drop of the pure juice of the grape. The art of man can manufacture any amount of alcoholic wine.

One thought further in this connection: Christ's miracles, as has been carefully observed, were never miracles of mere power.‡ With the single exception of his withering the barren fig-tree, which had no relation to mankind save in the moral lesson which it conveyed, they were always miracles of mercy. He came not "to destroy men's lives, but to save them." (Luke

* Prof. Bumstead in "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 87.

† Whedon, "Commentary on John," ii, 11. ‡ *Vide* "Ecce Deus," p. 70.

ix, 56.) And all his power was put forth to that benevolent end. But if this theory of his manufacturing an intoxicating wine be the true one, then that must stand as the single exception to all his other miracles. It was a malevolent and mischievous manifestation of power. There was no glory in it, but shame. It was the production of a substance which God his Father had cursed as the fruitful source of "woe" and "sorrows," "contentions" and "babbling;" of "redness of eyes" and "wounds without cause," (Prov. xxiii, 29;) which, partaken of in the smallest quantities, "is likely to do harm,"* and in larger quantities is certain to work destruction; which "injures the body, and diminishes the mental powers,"† perverts the conscience, depraves the heart, and destroys the soul. (1 Cor. vi, 9.) And this miracle of malevolence was wrought at a moment when it offered the strongest temptation to men already overcome with indulgence. It was wrought, moreover, as Professor Bumstead, with amazing candor, confesses,‡ "with a full knowledge of all the intemperance then existing and destined to exist in after time. He was aware of the gross intemperance both in food and drink which characterized the Roman world during the luxurious period of its history in which he was on the earth. He knew to how many in Palestine, who had misused it, wine had proved to be a 'mocker.' He could see how many in future time, this nineteenth century included, it would 'bite like a serpent and sting like an adder.' He was aware that his example would have a powerful influence on coming generations. Yet with all this knowledge distinctly in mind, he created it (intoxicating wine) for festive use." Is this, we would fain ask, the work of one "who went about doing good," (Acts x, 38,) who was "holy, harmless, and undefiled," (Heb. vii, 26;) who came "to succor them that are tempted," (Heb. ii, 18,) and to "have compassion on them that are out of the way" (Heb. v, 2,)? Would such a manifestation of power have been diabolic or divine? Would such a miracle have produced the result recorded of this?

5. That result is set forth in the statement, "And his disciples believed on him," (v. 11.) The miracle had the effect of confirming the faith of the few followers he had already

* Professor Bumstead. † Sir Henry Thompson.

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 109.

gathered about him, and of gaining still other converts. Their faith was the natural consequence of the manifestation of his glory. That was his ground and its justification. They had seen in his instantaneous creation of the pure and nutritious juice of the grape convincing evidence of his benevolence and power, and they naturally believed in him. But such belief could not, by any laws of thought, supernatural or human, have followed, had they beheld him encouraging and ministering to drunkenness. Nor can we conceive of his adopting any such method for the establishment of his claims or the extension of his cause. He was not a Mohammed, holding out to men the allurements of a sensual paradise, but a "man of sorrows," whose stern requirement of all who came after him was, that they should deny themselves and take up their cross and follow him. (Matt. xvi, 24.) And it was by the personal embodiment and the practical encouragement of self-denial and abstinence, and not by the example or sanction of luxury and self-indulgence, that he won his followers and achieved his victories.

Second Specification: Jesus COMMENDED *intoxicating wine.*

This charge is based on his allusions to wine in two recorded instances. The first occurs in the three parallel passages, Matt. ix, 22; Mark ii, 22; Luke v, 37–39. We shall confine ourselves to the passage as found in Luke, since it is in substantial agreement with the other two, and contains an important addition not found in the narratives either of Matthew or of Mark. The whole passage reads (A. V.): "And no man putteth new wine (*οἶνος νέος*) into old bottles, (*ἀσκούς*, lit., skins;) else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish. But new wine must be put into new bottles; and both are preserved. No man also having drunk old wine straightway desireth new; for he saith, The old is better." It is only in this passage, and those parallel with it, that the *οἶνος νέος* occurs in the New Testament. It is important for us to determine its application here. The common opinion, perhaps, has been that it denotes wine recently expressed, but already in a state of active fermentation. Such a liquid, it is said, could not safely be put into a leathern bottle which had become "old, rent, and bound up," since the pent-up forces would speedily tear their way through the tender

fabric. But when the skin was new and strong, it is claimed, it could withstand the strain of fermentation, or, being elastic, could stretch and still retain its integrity. But this is an interpretation of the imagination. No bottle, whether of skin or glass, or, for that matter, not the strongest iron-bound cask, could hold together if once fermentation should get under full headway.* The carbonic acid gas generated by the process would shatter a new *askos* almost as quickly as an old one. Job knew this, when he said (chap. xxxii, 19): "Behold my belly like wine hath no vent; like *new bottles* it is rent."

But if *olvoς véoς* be not wine in the act of fermentation, it can no more be wine which has completed that process, "because," as Prof. Bumstead acknowledges, "if the fermentation were complete, old bottles would be as serviceable as new ones." The conclusion, therefore, would seem to be inevitable, that, if it were neither a wine in active fermentation, or one fully fermented, it must have been unfermented. Not so, however, if we are to believe Prof. Bumstead. He says,† it was "a new wine which had not fully fermented, but which had come so near the completion of that process that it could with safety be put into the new skins, whose elasticity would be sufficient to resist the 'after-fermentation' which would ensue." Similarly Vicar Bevan‡ says: "We should be inclined to understand the passage above quoted (Matt. ix, 17) as referring to wine drawn off before the fermentation was complete, either for immediate use or for forming it into sweet wine." Prof. Bumstead, in explanation of the phrase, "after-fermentation," refers to Dr. Edward Smith's "Foods," p. 389. This author does not employ the expression "after-fermentation," but he says, on the page indicated, with reference to the manufacture of Aulese wine: "The fermented juice is allowed to remain until the middle of winter, namely, until February, when it is racked off from the lees, and renewed fermentation with the return of warmer weather is thus prevented or greatly lessened." On the very same page, in speaking of ordinary

* "A must one fifth sugar develops forty-seven times its volume of carbonic dioxide, equivalent to a pressure of 34.3 atmospheres. This would be about ten times the pressure the boiler of an ordinary high-pressure steam-engine has to undergo."—*Thudicum and Dupré*, p. 478.

† "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 82.

‡ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," art. "Wine."

wines, he says: "When the violence of fermentation has subsided, and the liquor is becoming clear and no longer sweet, it is racked off and run into tuns for perfect fermentation and ripening." This authority, for reference to which we are indebted to Prof. Bumstead, makes three points plain, namely:

1. That the "after-fermentation" is "prevented or greatly lessened" by simply racking off the wine from the lees after allowing a sufficient time for subsidence. But in such a case old bottles would do as well as new, and there would be no necessity, such as is stated, for the use of the latter.

2. That after "the violence of fermentation has subsided," that is, after the wine would be ready to bottle on this theory, it is "no longer sweet," and so could not be made to subserve the purpose suggested by Mr. Bevan.

3. That for "perfect fermentation and ripening" the wine is not bottled, but left to stand in the tun. And this is in exact accordance with what we know of the practice of the ancients, for fermentation, when permitted, was carried on in the *lacus* or the *dolium*.*

These facts show the baselessness of the hypothesis that *οἶνος νέος*, in this case, was a wine which awaited the after stage of fermentation. If, therefore, it was a wine in neither of these three conditions, active fermentation, after-fermentation, or completed fermentation, it must have been wine in an unfermented state. But to this Prof. Bumstead again objects.† "If the liquid were entirely unfermented, not even the new bottles, or skins, would be able to resist the power of the fermentation." That is to say, pure grape-juice could not be put into an *askos* without undergoing fermentation. But is this true? It could certainly have been inclosed before fermentation had begun. "Spontaneous fermentation," that is, fermentation which is not hastened by the artificial introduction of yeast germs, "is always slow in beginning."‡ Sometimes it does not take place until after three or four days' exposure to the atmosphere.§ Would fermentation necessarily take place within the skin? We have already seen that the ancients

* "Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," art. "Vinum."

† "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 82.

‡ Prof. Dittmar, in "Encyclopædia Britannica," Ninth Ed., art. "Fermentation."

§ *Vide* Kerr, "Unfermented Wine a Fact," p. 8.

were familiar with the methods by which fermentation is prevented, and were in the habit of employing them in the preparation of their wines. In this case any one of them might have been adopted with success. The grape-juice could have been carefully expressed and filtered, or, if that were not deemed security enough, it might, in addition, have been inspissated by boiling, and any incipient trace of alcohol expelled. Then it could with perfect safety have been put into a bottle, which might have been so prepared as to entirely exclude the air; and, this done, no other precaution would have been necessary. It was with this end in view that a new skin was always selected, one that was neither cracked nor ripped. Then it was prepared like the amphora, by smearing with honey,* grease, † or pitch, ‡ and when the liquid had been poured in, was tightly closed and sealed. That the leathern bottle would serve the purpose as well as the earthen flask cannot be doubted. Whatever would exclude the water would prevent the access of the air. The skin of the grape which permits the evaporation of the moisture does not allow the entrance of the yeast germs. The "must of grapes or juice of fruit, if boiled and suspended in a bladder in the midst of fermenting must or wort, will not ferment."§ And this suggests another and most important reason why a *new* skin was required for *new* wine. It would not only be perfectly sound, but perfectly sweet. An old skin would almost inevitably have some of the sour remains of a former vintage adhering to it. So that when the fresh grape-juice was poured in, no matter how carefully the air was thereafter excluded, fermentation would necessarily ensue. It is on this same account that Columella, an almost contemporary author, in describing the common process of preserving unfermented wine, (xii, 41,) lays equal stress on its being put into a *new amphora.*

* Burckhard, ("Travels in Syria,") speaking of the Beyrouk honey of the Syrians, says: "They use it in rubbing their water-skins in order to exclude the air."

† Bruce, ("Travels in Egypt," etc.,) describing the *gerbas*, or ox-skins squared and the edges sewed together by a double seam which does not let out the water, says: "They are then all smeared on the outside with grease, as well to hinder the water oozing through, as to prevent it being evaporated by the heat of the sun."

‡ Chardin, ("Travels in Persia,") says that "wine in Persia is preserved in skins saturated with pitch, which when good imparts no flavor to the wine."

§ "Amer. Cyclop.," art. "Fermentation;" Watts' "Dict. of Chemistry," ii, 625.

But if all these precautions should be deemed insufficient, others were still possible. We have seen that it was customary, after the *amphora* or *cadus* was filled and sealed, to plunge and keep it in water whose temperature would not permit of fermentation. This method was adopted with the *askos* as well as with the *cadus*, except that, while the latter was usually immersed in water, the former was more generally buried in the earth.* Any one of these processes of removing the gluten, evaporating the moisture, preventing the access of the air, or reducing the temperature of the liquid below 40 degrees Fah., would have resulted in the preservation of an unfermented wine; or, if it had been deemed best, any two or all of these methods might have been combined, and to make assurance doubly sure the liquid might have been subjected to a thorough sulphur fumigation. And so Prof. Bumstead's objection that the new wine, had it been a perfectly fresh grape-juice, must necessarily have undergone fermentation in the new bottles, is shown to be unfounded, and our former conclusion that it must have been precisely such a liquor, an unfermented wine, the pure juice of the grape, remains unshaken, and must be accepted as the only legitimate explanation of the passage in question. †

This brings us to the consideration of the thirty-ninth verse: "No man having drunk old wine straightway desireth new; for he saith, The old is better." Though not found in the other Gospels this passage is plainly an integral part of the parable, and belongs naturally to the narrative. It is really the important portion for us, since it contains, if any thing does, Christ's outspoken commendation of intoxicating wine. The first question which arises in our inquiry concerning it is, Whether the term "new wine" has the same signification in this verse as in the two preceding. Prof. Bumstead appears to think not. The "new wine" of verse 38, he says,‡ "must have been new wine which had not fully fermented," but in verse 39 it may "have denoted wine that was fully fermented, but which had

* Jahn's "Biblical Archæology," sec. 69.

† This furnishes another proof, therefore, of the generic character of *οἶνος*, since, in this instance, our Lord must have used it to designate the unfermented juice of the grape. Cf. Canon Farrar, in "Cambridge Bible for Schools." Luke, Excursus, ii, p. 375.

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 82.

not acquired that mellowness which only age can give." So the authors of the "Temperance Bible Commentary" seem to favor the view that "the 'new wine' of verse 38 is identical in nature and representative of the same Christian blessings with the 'old wine' of verse 39—being the new preserved and improved by age." (P. 295.) It cannot, indeed, be maintained that *οἶνος νέος* always denotes a wine which is free from fermentation. It does not manifestly in the LXX, (Job xxxii, 19.) But there can be no doubt that it does in the present instance. Neither can there be any question that it is used in this sense in the LXX, (Isa. xlix, 26.) There the Hebrew *asis*, which designates an unfermented wine, is rendered: LXX, *οἶνος νέος*; Vulgate, *mustum;* A. V., "sweet wine." And in the passage under consideration the legitimate, if not necessary, inference is, that it has the same signification as in the passage preceding. Used thus consecutively, and without any intimation of a change of meaning, we naturally conclude that it has undergone none. There is no confusion or contradiction of metaphors in the parable. The "new wine" of verse 39 is the "new wine" of verse 38, and the "old wine" of verse 39 is the "new wine" fermented and strengthened by age.* With this explanation of the passage it remains to be said that the expression "The old (wine) is better, (than the new,)"

1. Is not Christ's judgment as to the better wine. He does not utter it as his own opinion. He repeats it as the verdict of a certain class of persons whom he distinctly specifies. *They* think the old wine is preferable. He does not in any degree join in their commendation.

2. It is not "the universal judgment of men" concerning the better wine, as Dr. Moore calls it. † Neither does it make plain, as Prof. Bumstead claims, ‡ "that wine in either of these imperfect states," that is, unfermented or partially fermented, "was not a favorite beverage with the Jews." It simply says that one who has acquired a taste for the old wine does not care for the new. We know this to be the case. The effect of drinking alcoholic liquors is to beget an appetite for stimulants.

* Dr. Abbott renders, ("Comm. on John," p. 33,) "No man having drunk old (fermented) wine, straightway desireth new, (*that of the last vintage and unfermented,*) for he saith, The old is better."

† "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 91.

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," Jan., 1881, p. 82.

which grows with indulgence.* And the longer it is gratified, the stronger must be the beverage that will satisfy its craving. A simple, unintoxicating wine, therefore, would have no charm for one accustomed to strong drink. But Dr. Moore criticises† this interpretation in the shape propounded by Rev. Dr. Rich, who says:‡ "This was not the judgment of Christ respecting the superiority of old, fermented wines, but of drunkards whose habit it had been to drink them." Dr. Rich is able to defend his own position, and others perhaps would not deem it necessary to say, "No *drunkard*," etc. But Dr. Moore's criticism calls for consideration in the interests of the general question. He directs attention to the fact that "Christ does not say, 'No drunkard having drunk old wine,' etc., but 'no one,' *οὐδείς*." This word *οὐδείς*, however, is not always or necessarily universal in its application, any more than our "no one," which is often used in a limited or partial sense. That the Greek word is sometimes so employed in the New Testament is evident from John iii, 32: "No man (*οὐδείς*) receiveth his testimony," John says, speaking of Christ. But he immediately adds, (verse 33,) "He that hath received his testimony," etc., showing that the negative was not used in an absolute sense. If it had been intended to make an unqualified statement in the passage we are considering, the separate forms *οὐδὲ εἷς* would have been used,§ as we find them in Rom. iii, 10, and 1 Cor. vi, 5. Dr. Moore further objects that Christ "does not speak of those 'whose *habit* it had been to drink old fermented wines,' for he uses the aorist participle, *πιών*, which does not mark a habit." True, but neither does it deny one. The aorist, outside of the indicative mode, does not necessarily imply a single or transient action. In the other modes it represents an action simply as brought to pass.‖ The briefest act of drinking, for example, may be viewed as going on, and thus be expressed by the present; so the most protracted drinking may be viewed simply as brought to pass, and thus be expressed by the aorist. In the participle form the aorist

* *Vide* Richardson, "Dialogues on Drink," p. 92.

† "Presbyterian Review," Jan., 1881, p. 91.

‡ "Bibliotheca Sacra," July, 1880, p. 404.

§ Liddell and Scott, "Lexicon," *s. v.*; Robinson, "Lexicon of the New Testament," *s. v.*; Winer's "New Testament Grammar," Thayer, p. 173.

‖ Hadley, "Greek Grammar," sec. 716.

represents an action as introduced before that of the principal verb, while in its continuance it may coincide with the latter.* These usages of the aorist are illustrated in Luke v, 39. It may with literal exactness be rendered: "No one, after he has begun to drink old wine, straightway desireth new."

The text does not say such an one will never desire the new. He will not all at once. Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott, and Hort, and the R. V., omit εὐθέως, straightway, but nevertheless the sentence requires it. Godet well says:† "It is altogether an error in the Alexandrine that has erased here the word εὐθέως, immediately. The very idea of the parable is concentrated in this adverb." All the known facts in the case warrant its retention. Habits and tastes change gradually. But here there is a strong implication that a slight experience will work a transformation of prejudices, and the old wine give place to the new. The received text of this passage has χρηστότερος, rendered (A. V.) "better." But codices ℵ, B, L, etc., read χρηστός, "good." This reading is adopted by Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott, and Hort, and the R. V. Alford, although far from being a supporter of our views, admits‡ that the expression contains "no objective comparison whatever between the old and new wine:" It is merely the opinion of the individual who is quite satisfied with what he has. It is good enough for him.

3. The judgment contained in this passage, even though it were the universal one, is false. It is contradicted by the very connection in which it occurs, and by the whole purpose of the illustration which it serves. The two dispensations, the Jewish and the Christian, are set forth under the figures, respectively, of the old wine and the new. But the Jewish dispensation was not superior to the Christian; fermented wine is not preferable to unfermented; the old is not better than the new. Only those familiar with the old and unacquainted with the new are naturally reluctant to change. As Lange remarks:§ "The old remains good only so long as one is not accustomed to the new, which in and of itself is better."

The only other passage which can be quoted to sustain the

* Hadley, "Greek Grammar," sec. 717. Winer, "Grammar of the New Testament:" Thayer, p. 342.

† Comm. *in loc.* ‡ Comm. *in loc.* § Comm. *in loc.*

charge of Christ's commendation of wine is found in the parable of the Good Samaritan, (Luke x, 34:) "And he went to him and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, (*ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον.*)" It requires but a brief consideration. The commendation implied in this narrative is of the medicinal use of wine solely. It is a commendation, too, of its outward and not of its inward application. There is no intimation whatever of any internal administration of the wine. Nor is there any evidence that the wine which the Good Samaritan carried and used was of a fermented and intoxicating sort. The contrary fact is indicated. The record was made by Luke, who, as a physician, must have understood the medicinal character and uses of wine. He knew undoubtedly that in their outward application they follow the law of their internal use. Alcoholic wine is an "irritant poison," * whether taken into the stomach or applied to the surface of the body. It would not allay, but seriously increase, the inflammation of a wound. Christ could not have commended the use of so unsuitable and injurious a medicament, nor could Luke have recorded its use in such a case with his own tacit approval. But an unfermented wine, a pure and limpid grape-juice, would have made a grateful lotion. Combined with the oil, it would have served as an excellent emollient. It is probable that the article used was a compound of oil and wine, called by Galen, (xiii, 859, B,) *ὀνέλαιον*; noticed by Africanus, ("Geop.," x, 49;) described by Dioscorides, ("Matt. Med.," i, 67;) and numbered by Pliny (xv, 7) among the medicated oils. The latter gives to it the name of *oleum gleucinum*, and tells us that it was made by incorporating *mustum oleo*, unfermented wine, (*γλεῦκος*,) with olive-oil, (*ἔλαιον.*) Dioscorides specifies the same constituents, and calls the compound *γλευκίνον.*† If, therefore, there be any commendation of wine in this parable, it is that in which all abstainers can join.

* *Vide* "Story on Alcohol," pp. 76–80.

† This furnishes still another proof of the generic character of *οἶνος*, since it is used by Luke to describe the *γλεῦκος* of the compound.

Art. V.—THE WANDERING JEW AND HIS CONGENERS.

The Wandering Jew. By Moncure Daniel Conway, author of "Demonology and Devil-Lore." New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1881.

Curious Myths of the Middle Ages. By S. Baring-Gould, M.A., author of "Post-Mediæval Preachers," etc. (Revised edition.) London: Rivingtons. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869.

To the student of history the fantastic legends of the Middle Ages open rich fields for investigation. Developed unconsciously from the poetic fancies of effete religions, from strange distortions of divine revelation, and from the passions and longings of the human heart, they found ready credence in an age of ignorance; and became powerful formative factors in the mental and moral growth of later generations. "The history of Christianity," says Dean Milman, in an eloquent digression from the steady course of his historic narrative, "cannot be understood without pausing at stated periods to survey the progress and development of the Christian mythology, which, gradually growing up, and springing as it did from natural and universal instincts, took a more perfect and systematic form, and at length, at the height of the Middle Ages, was as much a part of Latin Christianity as the primal truths of the Gospel." Perhaps the strangest of such legends, and the most suggestive to the modern student of mediæval Christianity, were those of the "Undying Ones"—men and women who, cursed for their crimes or blessed for their virtues, were lifted by God above the power of death. While "the great world spins forever down the ringing grooves of change" they are supposed to lie in echoless caverns wrapped in unbroken slumber, or to luxuriate in distant insulated Edens, or, more marvelously still, to stride across the centuries, gazing solemnly on the mutations of time—themselves, alone of all that breathe, unchanged.

Unique in its weird grandeur, the story of the Wandering Jew won, for nearly six centuries, the unquestioning belief of Christendom; and even yet, though investigation long ago relegated it to the Cimmerian realm of myths, it continues to command the interest of the learned and the thoughtful.

Dr. J. G. Th. Grässe,* M. Schœbel,† and M. Gaston Paris,‡ are the best authorities on the antiquarian features of the legend. Its symbolic meaning has been, with the scholars of Germany especially, a favorite subject for study, until around it has grown a voluminous and valuable literature; but, strange to say, until the appearance of Mr. Conway's monograph, no extensive treatise on the subject existed in the English language. In the present article a sketch of the growth of the legend and of kindred myths is attempted, together with an examination of their influence on modern literature, and a glance at their signification.

History of the Legend.

In the year 1228, while the devotees of Europe were flocking eastward in thousands to atone for their sins by penance and prayer amid the sacred scenes of Jerusalem, a certain Archbishop of Armenia made a pilgrimage in an opposite direction, and visited the shrine of "S. Tumas de Kantorbire," and other holy places of the west. Chroniclers of the time § give us glimpses of this dignitary at several stages of his journey —on the banks of the Rhine, in the Low Countries, and at various monasteries in England. Every-where the religious men entertained him with due reverence and honor, and everywhere his hosts were edified by his holy conversation. Among other "strange things concerning eastern countries" communicated by this prelate and the members of his retinue, was an account of the manner of life of the Wandering Jew. According to this narration, Pilate had for the porter of his hall one Cartaphilus, who, when our Lord was dragged forth from the governor's palace to be crucified, impiously struck him on the back with his hand, and said in mockery, "Quicker, Jesus, quicker! why do you loiter?" Jesus looked on him, as he had done on Peter, and with severe countenance said, "I am going, but thou shalt wait till I return"—"and according as our Lord said, this Cartaphilus is still awaiting his return." He was then thirty years of age, and although he grew to be a

* *Die Sage vom Ewigen Juden, historisch entwecklt mit verwandter Mythen verglichen und beleuchtet*, 1844.

† *La legende du Juif Errant*, 1877. ‡ *Le Juif Errant*, 1880.

§ Matthew Paris, *Historia Major;* and Philippe de Mouskes, *Chronique rimée.*

centenarian, he "returned again to the same age as he was when our Lord suffered," and so has done every hundred years since. He heard the cry from the cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and as a sincere penitent sought and found salvation. He was christened Joseph, the baptismal rite being performed by Ananias, who afterward baptized the Apostle Paul. "This Joseph," said Henri Spigurnel, one of the knights in attendance on the Armenian prelate, "often ate at the table of my lord the archbishop in Armenia. He is a man of holy conversation, and very religious; a man of few words, and circumspect in his behavior; for he does not speak at all unless when questioned by the bishops and religious men, and then he tells of the events of old times, and of the events which occurred at the suffering and resurrection of our Lord, and of the witnesses of the resurrection, namely, those who rose with Christ and went into the holy city, and appeared unto men. He also tells of the creed of the Apostles, and of their separation and preaching. And all this he relates without smiling or levity of conversation, as one who is well practiced in sorrow and in the fear of God, always looking forward with fear to the coming of Jesus Christ, lest at the Last Judgment he should find him in anger whom, when on his way to death, he had provoked to just vengeance."* Though many gifts were offered to him, Joseph declined to receive them, and shunned observation, though thousands came from the four quarters of the earth to enjoy his society and conversation.

This remarkable story—the earliest form of the myth that has descended in detail to modern times—was told in response to the eager questionings of the monks as to whether their guests had seen "the wonderful Jew of whom there is so much talk in the world:" an evidence that the legend was already current in western Christendom. Whether Spigurnel's account was a little fiction devised for the purpose of exalting his patron in the eyes of the Latin monks, or whether he had really met the man of whom he gives so graphic a description, is uncertain. Ricardus de Argentomio, who shortly afterward visited the East, is quoted as attesting the truth of the narrative. For nearly three hundred years after it was penned,

* Paris, *Historia Major*, as quoted by Baring-Gould, "Curious Myths," pp. 6–8.

European writers make no mention of the Jew. But in 1505 an aged man claiming to be Cartaphilus appeared in Bohemia; and it was asserted that he assisted a weaver named Kokot to recover valuables which his great-grandfather had hidden sixty years before. A few years later, just after the capture of the city of Elvan, it was reported that he appeared to the Moslem warrior Fadhilah, and repeated his sad story of the death of Christ, and his prophecy of his second coming.

The next account was published in 1613. It gives another name to the Jew, and a quite different description of the events which led to his curse. It is so full in detail, and is supported by such a body of evidence, that there is hardly room for doubt that during the latter half of the sixteenth century there appeared a man—perhaps more than one—who with great skill personated the hapless wanderer. Chrysostomus Dudulœus Westphalus is the author's name or pseudonym, and his narrative* begins as follows:

> Paulus von Eizen, doctor and Bishop of Schleswig, related to me, some years ago, that at the time he was studying at Wittenberg, while on a visit to his parents at Hamburg, in 1547, he had seen in church, placed near the chancel, a very tall man, with hair falling on his shoulders, barefoot, who listened to the sermon with great attention; and whenever the name of Jesus was mentioned, bowed humbly, smote his breast, and sighed. He had no other clothing in the bitter cold of the winter, except a pair of hose, which were in tatters about his feet, and a coat with a girdle which reached to his feet; and his general appearance was that of a man of fifty years. There seem to have been many of the nobility and gentry who have seen this man, in England, France, Italy, Hungary, Persia, Spain, Poland, Moscow, Lapland, Sweden, Denmark, Scotland, and in other regions. Every one has marveled much at him.

When the sermon was finished the "aforementioned doctor" sought out the stranger, and asked him how long he had lived in the neighborhood. He answered with frankness and modesty. His name was Ahasuerus: he was a native of Jerusalem, of Jewish parentage, and a shoemaker by trade. He had been present at the crucifixion of Christ, had lived through the intervening centuries, and been an eye-witness of many

* The full title was: *Newe Zeitung von einem Juden von Jerusalem, Ahasuerus genannt, welcher die Creutzigung unsers Herrn Jhesu Christi gesehen und noch am leben ist, aus Dantzig an einem guten Freund geschrieben.*

famous historic events. There was hardly on the face of the earth a country or city he had not visited. He was especially graphic in his description of the last hours of Christ, and gave a minute account of the "life, sufferings, and death of the holy apostles." "He told even more than we know through the evangelists and historians; and he narrated the many changes of government, especially in Eastern countries, which had occurred at one time or another during those many centuries." This narration very naturally excited "Doctor Paulus v. Eizen's great interest and astonishment," and in the presence of the learned school-inspector of Hamburg he put the man through a rigid cross-examination. Ahasuerus averred that he with many others had regarded Christ as a heretic and a deceiver of the people. When sentence was pronounced upon our Lord by Pilate, he ran homeward, and summoned his family to the door that they might see this impostor, who was shortly to be dragged past on his way to Calvary. With his infant child seated on his arm, he stood, while the soldiers passed, with Christ in their midst, staggering under the weight of a heavy cross. Jesus stopped for a moment and leaned his cross against the wall. But the shoemaker, "full of sudden anger and also desirous of public applause," gruffly ordered him on. Jesus responded, "I will stand and rest, but *thou* shalt move on till the last day." At once Ahasuerus "felt within him that he could stay there no longer;" he set down his child, followed Jesus to his crucifixion, and never again saw wife or children. When he returned to Jerusalem "not one stone was left upon another, nor was any trace of its former magnificence visible." So vivid and exact was the old man's report of these ancient events, that, we are told, "it was impossible not to be convinced of the truth of his story, and to see that what is impossible with men is, after all, possible with God."

Dudulœus speaks at length of the silence and reserve of the Jew's manner; of his sobriety and voluntary poverty; of his ability to speak each European language with the skill of a native; and of his "eternal hurry"—never continuing long in one place. He "could not endure to hear curses, but whenever he heard any one swear by God's death or pains he waxed indignant, and exclaimed with vehemence and with

sighs: Wretched man and miserable creature, thus to misuse the name of thy Lord and God, and his bitter sufferings and passion! Hadst thou seen, as I have, how heavy and bitter were the pangs and wounds of thy Lord, endured for thee and for me, thou wouldst rather undergo great pains thyself than thus take his sacred name in vain."

This singular document ends as follows:

Anno 1575. The Secretary Christoph Krause, and Magister Jacob von Holstein, legates to the court of Spain, and afterward sent into the Netherlands to pay the soldiers serving his majesty in that country, related on their return home to Schleswig, and confirmed with solemn oaths, that they had come across the same mysterious individual at Madrid, in Spain, in appearance, manner of life, habits, clothing, just the same as he had appeared in Hamburg. They said that they had spoken with him, and that many people of all classes had conversed with him, and found him to speak good Spanish.

Anno 1599. In Christ's month, a trustworthy person wrote from Brunswick to Strasburg that the same mentioned strange person had been seen alive at Vienna, in Austria, and that he had started for Poland and Dantzig; and that he purposed going on to Moscow. This Ahasuerus was at Lubeck in 1601, also about the same date in Revel in Livonia, and in Cracow in Poland. In Moscow he was seen of many and spoken to by many.

What thoughtful God-fearing persons are to think of the said person, is at their option. God's works are wondrous and past finding out, and are manifested day by day, only to be revealed in full at the last great day of account.*

From about this date notices of the Wandering Jew become frequent, the details of his history agreeing in the main with one or other of the forms of the myth already given. Botereius † apologizes for inserting the story in his chronicle, and expresses the fear that some may charge him with anile trifling, but evidently thinks it well supported by testimony. Nicolas Heldvaler,‡ J. C. Bulenger,§ and others mention it as fabulous; but Bangert,‖ Martin Zeiler,¶ and other reputable historians and biographers of the day, repeat it with evident

* This sketch is translated and given in full by both Baring-Gould and Conway. The latter also quotes at length most of the authorities mentioned below.

† *Commentarii de Rebus Historicis in Gallia et toto pene Orbe gestis*, 1604.

‡ *Sylva Chronol. Circuli Baltici*, (about 1604.)

§ *Historiarium sui Temporis Libri*, 1619.

‖ *Commentatio de ortu vita et excessu Coleri Jurisconsulti Lubecensis*, 1644.

¶ *Historici Chronologi et Geographi Celebres Collecti*, 1653.

sincerity; and Coter and Louvet assure us that they met and conversed with the Jew, the former at Lubeck in 1603, the latter at Beauvais in 1604. Forty years later the "Turkish Spy,"* writing from Paris to a friend in the Orient, gives the most graphic of all the descriptions of the fabulous hero. According to this account his name was Michob Ader, and he was "Usher of the Divan (the Jews call it the Court of Judgment) in Jerusalem" when Christ was condemned. He had seen Jesus hang on the cross; had often been in the company of Mohammed "at Ormus in Persia;" was in Rome when Nero set fire to the city and stood triumphing on the top of a hill to behold the flames; heard Vespasian lament the destruction of Solomon's Temple; saw Saladin's return from his conquests in the East; was the intimate friend of Godfrey de Bouillon, Scanderbeg, Bajazet, Tamerlane, and Soliman the Magnificent; and told "many remarkable passages" concerning these famous men "whereof our histories are silent." "I tell thee," says the writer, growing enthusiastic as he recapitulates the marvelous claims of one whom, after all, he fears to be a cheat, "I tell thee if this man's pretenses be true, he is so full of choice memoirs, and hath been witness to so many grand transactions for the space of sixteen centuries of years, that he may not unfitly be called a Living Chronology, the Protonotary of the Christians' Hegira, or principal recorder of that which they esteem the last *epocha* of the world's duration. By his looks one would take him for a relic of the old world, or one of the long-lived fathers before the Flood.† To speak modestly,

* John Paul Marana, an Italian adventurer, was the author of the curious history of the preceding age written in the person of the supposed "Turkish Spy." After release from prison, in which he had been confined for conspiracy, he began his literary career, first in retirement at Monaco, afterward in Paris. His history, according to Hallam, "is no ordinary production, but contains as many proofs of a thoughtful, if not very profound, mind, as any we can find." There is little room for doubt that his account of repeated interviews and long conversations with the impostor is authentic. At all events, his description of the Jew may be taken as a fair transcript of the current belief of that day.

† By both pen and pencil the Wanderer has been usually represented as venerable and majestic in person, although sometimes attired in rags. His hair and beard are said to have been long and very white. On his brow was a blood-red cross marked by the finger of God. The Inquisition sought to secure him by this sign; but he concealed it by a black bandage. The early pictures give him "a handsome and melancholy countenance." An anonymous German work of the seventeenth century describes him as being clad after the manner of the

he may pass for the younger brother of Time." Several similar accounts were published during the seventeenth century in both Germany and France—Mr. Conway enumerates nineteen; but the legend made slower progress in England, and "seems hardly to have been known in Spain, and but little in Italy, at an early date." A number of works were published about the same time also, confuting the story, and showing that "in the nature of things" the Immortal Jew never could have existed. But the impostor or impostors who had already personified him, doubtless to their own great pecuniary advantage, were not willing to allow the popular interest in the story to die. Soon after his interview with the "Turkish Spy," Michob Ader appeared in Cambridge, England, and confounded the university doctors by his erudition. His statements were scrutinized, and he seems to have secured a respectful hearing. Traces of the progress of vagabonds of various attainments and skill, claiming to be either Ahasuerus or Cartaphilus, are found in the current records of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Other names, too, were used, *e. g.*, Buttadæus, (Boudedeo,) Isaac Laquedem, and Gregorius.* But increasing intelligence threw the legend into disfavor; and perhaps the last impostor of this sort who met with any considerable success dwelt in Newcastle, England, during the latter half of the last century.

The Wandering Jew in Literature.

Just when the Wandering Jew disappears from active life, he reappears in the realm of fancy—not now, however, as the hero of a legend in harmony with the current religious feeling, but as the favorite subject for the pencil of the painter and the pens of the romancer and the poet. Each author interprets the myth according to his own standard, and a comparison of their various interpretations forms one of the most interesting episodes of Mr. Conway's volume.

ancient Romans; but usually he appears in shabby clothes of antiquated German fashion. Dr. von Eizen's description reminds one of the typical American tramp. In Doré's spirited designs the mediæval conception is vividly reproduced.

* In 1640 a satire was published in London, entitled "The Wandering Jew Telling Fortunes to Englishmen," in which the name of the Jew is given as Gad Ben-Arod Ben-Balaam Ben-Alimoth Ben-Baal Ben-Gog Ben-Magog! In a drama by Andrew Franklin, published in 1797, he is called Mr. Mathusalem.

In Germany, Schubart, Schreiber, Müller, Lenau, de Chamisso, Goethe, Mosen, Köhler, Horn, Klingemann, Oelkers, Schücking, von Zedlitz, Hans Christian Andersen, Heller, and Hamerling, have made the Wanderer the hero of novel or song; in France, Edgar Quinet, Eugene Sue, and Edouard Grenier; and in England, Andrew Franklin, William Godwin, Rev. George Croly, and the poets Shelley and Wordsworth. Ahasuerus is represented "now as vainly seeking every conceivable form of death, now as a philosophizing pessimist, now as a penitent, whose pardon, long delayed, will surely come at last." Sometimes he appears as the typical victim of the *Judenhetze*—the undying hatred of the Jewish race—which gave to mediæval history some of its darkest stains, and which to-day appears as rampant and unscrupulous as ever in Russia, in Germany, and even in some quarters of our own more liberal land. Now he is the symbol of the hopeless but persistent opposition of sinful man to a holy God; again he stands as the personification of humanity, Immortal Man, "in whose unbroken consciousness all history is embodied." Mosen's poem makes Ahasuerus the embodiment in an individual being of the spirit of Tradition. He opposes himself to the God of Christendom, first as a representative Jew, next as a champion of Julian the Apostate, then as a Moslem warrior, and finally as the hero of infidelity, who declares an everlasting war against Christ, in the name of all forces and powers, all sighs, all sorrows, shed tears and blood, broken spirits, and crushed hearts. Christ accepts the challenge, and the struggle is to continue till the day of judgment. Köhler regards the Wanderer as a prophet of freedom. Klingemann reads in the myth the lesson of purification by suffering. Oelkers conceives a representative Wanderer for each of the great faiths—the Hebrew, the Moslem, and the Christian. Andersen's Ahasuerus is the angel of Doubt—the incarnation of reverential skepticism. Each step in human progress seems to him to be retrogressive: Constantine, the Crusaders, Columbus, Gutenberg, the Reformers, all appear to be deluded fools; and very slowly does the truth reveal itself to his mind that God is working through all forces for the elevation of humanity. Heller "puts the hero through many phases of Hegel's phenomenology: the intellectual world ever decays, consumed by doubt,

and the heart ever brings it forth anew." Quinet's epic has a peculiar history. Having lost the faith of his childhood, the author began a life of wandering. His continued journeys through Europe and the East, and the aching loneliness of his skepticism, led him at length to regard himself as a type of the doomed Ahasuerus. Mr. Conway's description of the genesis of Quinet's poem is almost as interesting as the history of the Jew himself. He wrote it while he wandered, on foot, on horseback, in gondola, at sea; in the cathedrals of Germany, the basilicas of Rome, the convent of Bron, the villas of Naples and the almshouses of Morea. Its aim, the author tells us, is to reproduce some scenes of the universal tragedy played between God, Man, and the World; but it ends in an eternal night of utter negation.* The Englishman, Franklin, turned the tale into a burlesque.† Croly's Salathiel is a truly splendid production. Sue's "*Juif Errant*" would be improved by striking out all allusion to the Jew and Jewess, who seem to be dragged in to justify the use of the attractive title. According to Mr. Conway, Shelley's conception of the Wandering Jew is "dignified beyond all others, because he defies the divine tyrant with true Promethean vigor. Although the Jew had arisen as the spiritual type before nearly every fine mind living at the beginning of the last generation, only Shelley made a real hero of the Wanderer for his scorn and defiance of the Christian deity."

Interpretations of the Legend.

The opinions of the more thoughtful writers on mediæval mythology concerning the meaning of this legend vary as greatly as do the conceptions of poets and novelists. The works whose titles have been placed at the beginning of this article represent the two extremes of thought—ultra-ecclesiasticism and infidelity.

* "Wandering Jew," pp. 204–213.

† Franklin's drama appeared in 1797. His heroine is doomed by her surly guardian to marry the most aged bachelor in England. Her chosen lover accordingly assumes the guise of the Wanderer. His body-servant, who claims to have also lived through the centuries, is betrayed by his garrulity into many amusing anachronisms. "Among other things he tells about Romulus and Remus, and relates that when he was at the baptism of the twins, their mother threw a basin of tea at him for saying that Remus was the prettier of the two."

Mr. Baring-Gould seems to cherish timidly a belief that the legend contains an element of truth, although he admits that "the historical evidence on which the tale rests is too slender for us to admit for it more than the barest claim to be more than a myth." Nevertheless, after quoting the words of Christ, "There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God," he continues:

> There can, I think, be no doubt in the mind of an unprejudiced person, that the words of our Lord do imply that some one or more of those then living should not die till he came again. I do not mean to insist on the literal signification, but I plead that it is compatible with our Lord's power to have fulfilled his words to the letter. That the circumstance is unrecorded in the Gospels is no evidence that it did not take place, for we are expressly told, "Many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book;" and again, "There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." We may remember also that mysterious witnesses are to appear in the last eventful days of the world's history, and bear testimony to the Gospel truth before the anti-Christian world. One of these has been often conjectured to be St. John the Evangelist, of whom Christ said to Peter, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" and the other has been variously conjectured to be Elias, or Enoch, or our Jew.—Pp. 4, 5.

Mr. Conway's iconoclastic treatment of the subject is in bold contrast to the reverential manner of Mr. Baring-Gould. In elegant and flowing diction, and with a somewhat pompous display of erudition, he has given to us the completest account of this myth, and the many others which have "exchanged connotations" with it, that has appeared in the English tongue. And the practical value of his volume is enhanced by the fact that he has had at his command the well-arranged results of French and German scholarship, and has thus been spared the toil of himself digging into the mines of antiquity. The earlier bibliography of the subject he has condensed from the great work of Dr. Grässe; and the excellent sketch of the various German poems on the subject—which is one of the most interesting features of his work—is translated from Helbig's pamphlet.* The typographical beauty of the

* *Die Sage vom "Ewigen Juden," ihre poetische Wandlung und Fortbildung.* Von Friedrich Helbig. Berlin, 1874.

volume is marred by errors which can hardly be excused. Such, for instance, is the occurrence of the name Samuel, the Hebrew prophet, for Sammael, the Angel of Death. Philippe de Mouskes, who died in 1283, is said to have become bishop of Tournai in 1682; and there are several other glaring blunders. There is, too, a spirit noticeable throughout the book which to most of Mr. Conway's countrymen must savor of toadyism to "British culture." Among other recondite bits of information, the reader is gravely informed that a certain General Jackson was once President of the United States; and "democrat" and "republican," where mentioned incidentally, are begun with small letters, as participants in insignificant squabbles, while the political parties in England are honored with capital initial letters.

There are, however, much more serious defects than these. The lofty assumption that Intelligence (with a capital I) has long ago ceased to respect the "myths" of the Bible—by which are meant the historical portions of the Scriptures—provokes a smile of contempt rather than a labored denial; but this assumption is supported by statements that, if not intentional falsifications, are certainly "conspicuously inexact." Starting with the thought that "the abrupt, absolute fact of death, especially of friends or heroes, is essentially inconceivable," Mr. Conway claims that this legend and kindred tales had their origin probably in the longing of the human soul for eternal life. A natural unwillingness to acknowledge the death of the great leaders of history led men first to fable an earthly immortality for them, and, when that fiction exploded, to transfer their undying existence to a heavenly world. The Christians' paradise, whose glories John saw in apocalyptic vision, is thus merely the more ancient Gan-Eden, Avalon, Hesperides, or Atlantis, raised to the "rosy cloudlands" that evade scientific exploration. In the most flippant manner he discourses of the germinal myths of the Semitic race. "The books of our Bible were written after ancient traditions, and gathered together when other ideas were predominant, and it is rather by intimations there found, and by references to rabbinical and Arabian folk-lore, that we can get at these primitive fables." To distinguish these original fables, from which have sprung the greater part of biblical history, the greater part of

Christian mythology, and quite all of our hopes of eternal blesseedness, would seem to be no slight undertaking; but our sapient writer proceeds unhesitatingly and oracularly to his task. Cain was the prototype of the Wandering Jew; Enoch is identical with the Iranian Yima, king of the Golden Age in Persia. And as the "imported dualistic philosophy of the Jews marshaled every being on one side or other of the great war between Ahriman and Ormuzd," a counterpart was early invented for each legendary hero. Thus, the "Seth myth" was introduced to avoid having the human race descend from the first murderer, the type of all evil, Cain. Lamech is Enoch's counterpart. Esau is the next restless wanderer, and Satan and Sammael are but later forms of the "Esau myth." The corresponding immortal is Judah, who is perpetuated in the personality of Michael. What shall be said of the scholarship or candor of a writer who, merely because the death of neither Judah nor Esau is mentioned in the Scriptures, assumes that the Hebrews believed in their immortality on earth? Moses and Elias are in turn added to the company of undying ones. The Ancient of Days, the Angel-Messiah, the Son of Man, were, according to Mr. Conway, purely earthly conceptions; and the gospel history was ingeniously modeled on the ancient legends. The transfiguration and the incidents preceding the crucifixion are treated in the same trifling manner, as stages in the evolution of the legend. Judas is the obvious evil counterpart of John. "It is doubtful whether any such person as Judas ever lived."

It is not easy to state precisely what theory of interpretation Mr. Conway favors. He regards the Wanderer as a type of the homeless, unchanging Jewish race; but his discussion is so vague and so loaded with brilliant but irrelevant learning, that it becomes in places somewhat incoherent. Many of the chapters have but little connection with the subject; and one lays down the book with no impressions quite so distinct as admiration of the author's multifarious erudition and astonishment at the rancor of his infidelity.

Mr. Conway displays great ingenuity in etymological speculation. As a specimen we quote the following in answer to the questions: "How is it that the name Cartaphilus was replaced by Ahasuerus? How did the door-keeper of the

thirteenth century become the shoemaker of the sixteenth century legend?"

Mr. Blind, with a creditable caution, suggests that the name may have been a modification of As-Vidar. This god (*As*) Vidar was in the Scandinavian mythology the symbol of everlasting force. . . . He wears shoes for which the stuff has been gathering for ages. [Similar shoes now exist as relics of the Wandering Jew in several European towns.] It may be remarked that the name Buttadæus, given to the Wandering Jew by Libavius, may possibly refer to the boot (A. S., *butte*) of the Wanderer; and it may have been that *deus* was added. Whether it meant the "booted god," or the man who struck God with a boot, or *bouter dieu*, to push God, must remain doubtful. Cartaphilus is pretty certainly κάρτα φίλος, in allusion to the "beloved" disciple. Ahasuerus is perhaps the Hebrew form of Xerxes, though there is nothing in the history of that king to connect him with the Wandering Jew. . . . If the name Laquedem is written and pronounced in French (Walloon) "Lakedem," and is derived from the Hebrew, it can scarcely be any thing else but *la-kĕdem*, i. e., "the former world;" in which case we must say the use of the prefix "la" is without a parallel in names of later Jews, and therefore the "la," the French article, may be considered due to a half-learned inventor of names.—Pp. 99–101.

Kindred Myths.

To see the absurdity of such reasoning as this, one has but to turn to the kindred legends which have floated down the ages. The naturalness with which they sprang from the existing state of things makes such learned groping after roots almost grotesque. There are but two classes of earthly immortals known to any mythology—Sleepers and Wanderers.

Nearly every nation has had its patron saint or hero, who is not dead, but sleepeth; and who in the hour of calamity will surely arise to maintain the ancient liberties of his native land, and spread consternation among its foes. The mythical Arthur of Britain proved himself invulnerable to every stroke, until the treachery of his wife and dearest friend overwhelmed him in ruin. But even then he did not *die:* his wounded form was ferried by three mystic queens to

> "The island valley of Avilion,
> Where falls not hail, nor rain, nor any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
> Deep-meadowed, happy, fair, with orchard lawns,
> And bowery hollows crowned with summer sea."

And the old monkish chroniclers tell of his occasional appearance and of his certain return in the future. So Charlemagne, William Tell, Boabdil, Sebastian, Frederick Barbarossa, and many other redoubtable warriors, await in silence the angelic call to lead their armies again to victory. Mohammed's death was discredited by his disciples; and for years after the infamous Nero had met his fate his reappearance was looked for by the Roman populace. During the Middle Ages the common people of England, with characteristic pertinacity, refused to believe the reported death of several of their favorite princes, and treasure and life were readily expended in the cause of worthless adventurers who personated the departed heroes. No sworn testimony could persuade the yeomen of Somerset that the dashing Duke of Monmouth really perished on the scaffold in 1685; and for nearly a century after his execution his followers and their sons awaited his return and leadership. Even in the nineteenth century "men cannot bear to think that their heroes, leaders, saviours, are really dead." Until the civil war, like an earthquake, shook the foundations of our Republic, and made the "living issues" vivid to every citizen, many dreamy rustics quadrennially voted for General Jackson—at least so the "campaign story" goes. And even now, it is said, there are hundreds of the French peasantry who sturdily deny the death of Napoleon the Third.

It is not strange, then, that in "times of ignorance" quaint stories of the perpetuated life of great and good men should find ready credence. Merlin, the wondrous mage, was fabled by the Celts to be forever inclosed in a hawthorn bush, bound by his own weird spell. Early in the Christian era it was reported that Saint John the Evangelist had not seen death, in accordance with the words of the Saviour, "If I will that he tarry till I come. . . ." Pilgrims flocked to Ephesus, where, according to Sir John Maundeville, dyede Seynte Johne and was buryed behynde the highe Awtiere, in a Toumbe. It was currently reported in Europe that the earth above him heaved perceptibly as he breathed heavily in deep slumber. "And zee shulle undrestonde," continues the quaint old traveler, in what was good English five hundred years ago, "that Seynt Johne leet make his Grave there in his Lyfe, and leyd him self there

inne alle quyk. And therefore somme Men seyn, that he dyed noughte, but that he restethe there till ten Day of Doom. And forsothe there is a gret Marveyle: For Men may see there the Erth of the Tombe apertly many tymes steren and meven, as there weren quykke thinges undre." The beautiful legends of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, and of the reverie of the Monk Felix, past whom two centuries slipped while he stood entranced by the singing of a nightingale, have always been dear to the popular heart. Somewhat similar are the tales of Don Fernando's mysterious voyage, and of Rip Van Winkle's sleep; but they have not the warm religious glow and sweet poetic freshness of the older legends. The Sleeping Beauty of the Wood, unconsciously awaiting the advent of her prince, before the might of whose affection the impenetrable forest opens into fair umbrageous avenues, and whose tender kiss breaks the enchantment, and sends thrills of life and love through all her being, is perhaps the most charming of these earthly immortals. In melancholy contrast to this fanciful idyll is the classic story of Tithonus, whose boon of immortality was changed into a curse by the infirmities of age. There is no great mystery about the origin of such tales as these. They are the products of the same antecedents and conditions as the perpetual Wanderers, although the modes of evolution may be different.

One of the most ancient of Jewish traditions is that of the beautiful but venomous Lilis, Adam's first spouse. Before the creation of Eve she lived in the garden of Eden—a sort of phantom woman, lovely in face and graceful in form, but malicious and cruel at heart. She revenged her husband's desertion of her by remorseless hostility to his descendants. Always in the bloom of youth, she travels to the remotest quarters of the earth, strangling children, kidnapping brides, maligning mothers, and luring men into crime. Our nursery word "Lullaby" is said to be a corruption of "*Lilla, abi*"—"Begone, Lilis!" Widely different in all its characteristics is the mediæval legend of the Wild Huntsman, forever driving on his aërial chase, and forever pursued by Satan. In the days of the incarnation, it is said that he forbade our Lord to quench his thirst at a river, telling him with a sneer that he might drink from a horse-pond. As a punishment he was condemned

to an eternal gallop and a bootless hunt. The strange nightly noises heard in the Black Forest are said by the German peasantry to be produced by the neighing of his steed, the barking of his dogs, and the winding of his horn. Near of kin to the Wild Huntsman is the Flying Dutchman. In the time of early exploration, when it seemed within the easy range of possibility for any sea-captain to discover, almost any day, a Peru or an Eldorado, old Van der Decken swore madly that his ship should round the Cape, "in spite of God or devil, if it took till Judgment-day." He is sailing yet through southern seas, propelled by supernatural force, unchecked by wind or current; and he must forever sail unless some pure and compassionate maiden voluntarily shares his sorrows and his penance. For her sake he shall be forgiven. But even his doom is hardly so bitter as that of Herodias, who is perpetually whirled about far above spires and tree-tops, and can only rest from midnight till cock-crow. According to the legend she cherished an unrequited passion for John the Baptist. Her anger secured his decapitation, but when his noble head was brought in upon the charger her love impelled her to kiss it. A contemptuous puff from the defunct prophet's lips sent her whirling through the doorway, and for nearly nineteen hundred years she has incessantly gyrated.

But the most realistic of all, and perhaps the most awful creation of the human imagination, is the legend of the Wandering Jew. Flying in despair from the home of his youth, stung by his Saviour's curse; kneeling penitently to receive the waters of baptism at the hand of Ananias; a weary witness of the downfall of Jerusalem, of the decay of Rome, of the squalor, the glory, the universal turmoil, of the Dark Ages—we can imagine the old man still trudging on his lonely way, oblivious to the changes of more modern times, unaffected by "the march of progress;" still trudging, while one by one we are carried to our graves; still trudging, through all the future centuries, till at last, as depicted by the prophetic pencil of Doré, he puts off his shoes on the eve of the Judgment, and hails with glad smiles the dissolution of a senile world.

A portly volume might be filled with ingenious explanations of the moral teachings found in these legends by zealous antiquaries. This digging for recondite symbolism in fancies which

actually sprang spontaneously from the teeming soil of ignorance, has been greatly overdone. The plain fact seems to be, as Mr. Conway remarks, that it was quite as hard for mankind, before clear notions of a future life had arisen, or science had adopted the theory of the persistence of force, to conceive of an absolute end as it is now for us. To the instinctive belief in immortality—a prolonged earthly existence, as at first conceived—we owe the whole family of myths under consideration. And when we remember the "dark sayings" of our Lord which may have seemed at first hearing to imply earthly immortality for some of his hearers, much of the mystery that befogs the origin of our legend is dissipated. The tendency of the imagination which has produced enchanted Merlins and Sleeping Beauties, Wild Huntsmen and Flying Dutchmen, is surely sufficient to bring forth from the climactic hour of Hebrew history the weird, portentous figure of the Wandering Jew. In the course of development it in all probability "exchanged connotations,"—to use again one of our author's pet phrases,—with the other myths of Wanderers; but that it ever became in any true sense an allegory may well be doubted.

But if a moral must needs be appended to these wild tales of immortal Wanderers, perhaps we shall not err greatly if we regard them as personifications of the great mental and ethical traits that have characterized humanity through all ages. Earth's generations come and go

> "As shadows cast by cloud and sun
> Flit o'er the summer grass."

Countless are their numbers and endless their individual variety; but sooner or later all are drowned in the "flood of years." But Conscious Guilt, and Malevolent Vengeance, and Passionate Love, stalk over the earth like undying personalities, at home in every age and clime, if not in every heart.

ART. VI.—THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF METHODIST EPISCOPACY.

The Life of Edmund S. Janes, D.D., LL.D., Late Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By HENRY BASCOM RIDGAWAY, D.D. 12mo, pp. 428. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

EDMUND STORER JANES lived four distinct lives—the natural, the spiritual, the official, and the practical. There was another possible life which, however, he did not live—a life for his biographer. He might have recorded what no one but himself knew, including his strongest thoughts, his boldest conceptions of God, man, and eternity. This largest, grandest book of this great and good man can never be written. He kept no adequate records of his profoundest life. He wrote innumerable letters, but not for his biographer. They were for his loved ones at home, or on official business, or for the relief of the stricken and sad. He employed no reporters to preserve his greatest discourses, and the glowing thoughts which thrilled us, and the majestic appeals which amazed us, disappeared. They were not lost, but, like a diffusible stimulus, passed into other lives. As finished productions, strong, classic English, and brilliant oratory, they are gone. This is to be regretted. To the Church and the world it is an irreparable loss. We, however, record it as a distinction of this remarkable man. He was so intensely occupied with his life mission that he did nothing for his biographer. His autobiography was lived, not written.

It is due to Dr. Ridgaway that these facts should be stated. The question was not what he would have done had he found full records of the life he attempted to characterize, but what he did without them. There was a demand for that keen perception which can identify the essence of facts and of true generalizations without the aid of material symbols. For such a difficult task we believe Dr. Ridgaway was well qualified. He has, therefore, produced a biography of great value.

The natural life of young Janes was that of a compact physical organization. It had all the equilibrium and vigor of a large body, without its wastes and burdens, a strong nervous system, with large brain and decided self-control. In his natural pose the will, which Bishop Simpson identified at his

funeral, was very evident. We know this from his firm rejection of the life of trifling, so natural to boys, in favor of hard-working industry. That "stone fence" was in young Janes. There were no stone fences in a hundred of his playmates who have never been heard from. Strong light is shed upon his natural life by those few words to his son, "I worked hard when I was a boy." He would have been an industrious, energetic man if he had never been a Christian, and I believe a splendid husband and a good father, and a grand orator, or physician, or lawyer, from the constitutional elements of his natural character.

We have here an opportunity of emphasizing an utterly neglected fact of true worth. It is first grounded in the natural life. You may give brilliancy to a life that is naturally unreliable; you may make a star preacher of an eccentric genius, a real orator of occasions, from a man of strong imagination and fancy; but a great man must be born great. To be certainly reliable he must have natural honesty. If he is to be a sound judge or a great bishop he ought to be a man who would have held an even balance if he had never been converted. If there is natural narrowness and a fondness for the ideal and untruthful in his moral constitution, it is not safe to place him where there will be a severe strain on his peculiar idiosyncrasies. A want of due attention to this fact will explain the failure of multitudes to bear themselves honorably in sharing the burdens and grasping the plans of the Church. Thus, also, we can explain much of the disgrace the cause of God has suffered from reckless passion. Unworthy members and ministers have brought their vile proclivities down from their ancestors or from childhood. Such people must be reached by the Gospel, and, if possible, saved; but comparatively few of them are by natural constitution fit for high distinction or sacred trusts. For executive responsibilities, which must control vast interests and determine the rights of multitudes, men are required who naturally feel the power of high moral obligation.

Then the hardships of an itinerant episcopacy require great powers of physical endurance, the mastery of circumstances, a keen sense of the possible against improbabilities, leaving no room for mere convenience or irresolute imbecility.

Now these are constitutional qualities. They belong to great warriors and strong workers. They were connatural with Cortez, and Humboldt, and Asbury. You cannot put them into natural weakness. Like broad common sense, they are above the average man. These facts of the primal life belong to the theory and practice of the Methodist Episcopacy. They are nowhere more thoroughly illustrated than in the life of Bishop Janes. He was eminently such a man, and this life was clearly identified by his biographer.

We now come to his spiritual life. He was a thorough Christian. His experience is nowhere formally detailed. We are, however, sure he must have endured pungent conviction for sin. He was a strong thinker, and to such a mind sin must have been no trifle. With a sensitive conscience he would surely be susceptible of the clearest, profoundest impressions from the Holy Spirit. He sought and found the common Saviour; he would accept no other. We need not be told that when his faith apprehended this Saviour he found himself in possession of a new peace and a new joy, and at length in serious conflict with "the world, the flesh, and the devil." These enemies, he found, were subjugated, but not destroyed. Slowly and painfully he would ascertain these facts and deal with them. Such a mind would take up with no superficial evidence. Every thing in his inner life would be subjected to the severest scrutiny, and such an evidence of his sonship as the Holy Spirit alone could furnish would be the only witness of the supernatural change which his judicial mind would accept. If his conflicts and victories differed from those of ordinary minds, they would be clearer and stronger. He would, therefore, be, in the best sense, a true Christian. We need no further evidence of this. It was in the constitutional organization of the man divinely guided. Most of his conflicts he would keep to himself. They would be severe and strongly marked. If he had great joys they would be distinguished by calmness, and probably demonstrated by smiles and tears rather than by shouts of praise. His progress would be apparently slow but really great.

Of this experience would come extraordinary power to help others in their severest struggles. He had most certainly passed through the trials with which the humblest Christians

were grappling. He was thus prepared to be a great pastor, a wise leader of souls.

But we feel bound to state that he was an extraordinary Christian. His mind grasped the great provisions of the Gospel for entire sanctification. He was a great reader but a greater thinker, and we are sure he judged promptly and decisively that a Divine system of salvation must be complete. He would reject instantly the idea of a death or after-death purgatory. He would insist that the cleansing which his religious consciousness showed to be indispensable after conversion must be provided for and realized in this life. He would "search the Scriptures" till he found this was true. He would follow such guides as Wesley and Fletcher until he saw the distinction between being entirely cleansed from sin and growth in grace; between love and "perfect love;" between sanctified and "sanctified wholly." Indeed, it was certain that such a mind would be beyond the reach of confusion in regard to the real import of the blood symbol, the fire symbol, and the water symbol, as used in the Scriptures, describing with all possible distinctness the believer's privilege; and we know that he reached the full efficacy of "the blood that cleanseth from all sin."

Now we see how the common experience moves into the extraordinary; how this great leader of men would be freed from all want of tenderness and charity for the weakness of Christians, even babes in Christ; and how promptly he would be found at the head of the advancing column of progressive Christians. Now see the inflexible integrity of the constitutional man revealing the regeneration of the highest natural qualities, the substructure of natural greatness newborn; and at length, entirely "hid with Christ in God," the integrity of great natural qualities not destroyed, but renovated, the baptism of the Holy Ghost consuming the dross, and the refined gold reflecting the full image of the heavenly. Then see the race. It is in the "King's highway of holiness," in which "the ransomed of the Lord come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads." Thus is realized the full meaning of the two great commandments in "perfect love which casteth out fear."

Bishop Janes was eminently a man of prayer. He prayed

"without ceasing." He dwelt long at the throne of grace. For this he had but one reason to give—"he loved to pray." Missed, however long, by night or day, he was found alone with God, on his knees, completely wrapped in visions of the heavenly. He was going down into the unfathomable depths of the Godhead, finding new glories in redemption; taking firm hold of the throne in behalf of some precious soul, or pleading for the preachers he had stationed, or for the Church he so tenderly loved. Aroused, he was ready to say, like Xavier, "Why did you call me so soon?" Now, why should not such a man be a leader of men? Too humble to forget his own Christian infancy, mingling the life of the man in the life of a child, ready at any moment to unlock the mysteries of the kingdom for any struggler after the lowliest or grandest victories, showing that the greatest of all lives is that which is "hid with Christ in God"—a life not written, but lived.

The relation of such a life to our general subject is very evident. We seek to identify the theory and practice of Methodist Episcopacy. We wish to place in the strongest possible light the thorough Christian character of this office. It began in a great religious revival, and it is for religion only. It is true it has business to do, and a secular side. It involves great questions of temporal interests, but these are Church questions. They are all to be imbued with the Christian spirit. All this work, however business-like, must be accepted as a trust from God, and all be done for him. Natural abilities, however great, are inadequate to the tasks of such a vocation until they are fully consecrated. This is essential to the true theory of the episcopacy. None but the authority indicated by Divine Providence can render it legitimate. It is little less than profane to put prelatical or state authority in God's stead. The Head of the Church is Christ. He guides and controls its organic life. Our vindication and appeal are not to the Church of England or of Rome, but to God. We have therefore given paramount distinction to the spiritual life in characterizing the Methodist Episcopacy.

But we must recognize the successful attempt of the biographer to place in its true light the official life of Bishop Janes. He was first a minister of the Lord Jesus. To this he was called of God. It was not a profession, but a vocation. To

him this was first in solemnity and dignity. In his charges to young men he was accustomed to refer to it as the highest rank of a mortal man. It was not within the reach of human ambition. It could not be entered at pleasure nor abandoned by caprice. It allowed no indirection. True, the individual judgment must be confirmed by that of the Church, and this only ratified the call of God; and it could be only closed by the authority by which it was originated.

To this Bishop Janes held all other official rank subordinate. A man was therefore to be considered a burden bearer who was made a book agent, an editor, or a college agent or president, or Secretary of the Bible Society; and when the authority of the Church would permit, he should resume the pastoral work with gratitude and joy. The guarded manner in which he accepted position outside of the regular pastoral work shows the unaffected loyalty of his life to his most sacred convictions. He never changed his views of the paramount distinction involved in this sacred vocation. This was simply a manly subordination of the less to the greater, the human to the Divine. It was more than broad common sense. It was Christian devotion to the great system under which he held office. It was so far "the mind that was in Christ Jesus:" "It is more than my meat and my drink to do the will of my Father." It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this view of official life. The Church has suffered immensely from low views of the sacred office. How has it been degraded by secular men entering it for motives of ambition or convenience, making it the stepping-stone to preferment! The whole rank of the secular clergy must be in evidence of such profanity. How irresistible the explanation it offers of the covenant-breaking of those who hold their most sacred vows subject to convenience, and temporal gain paramount to the salvation of souls! If natural integrity should fail to counteract such dishonesty, surely the grace of the new creation should not fail. Here we have the biography of a man whose whole life is a scathing rebuke to all such trifling.

Now, treating the holy ministry as the great general fact in the official life, we are entitled to inquire what is included under it, and subordinate to the same high ends. Here we find the priesthood of believers. "Would God that all the Lord's peo-

ple were prophets." It is in the nature of Christian love to yearn for the salvation of souls. Men, women, and children, through this wonderful life, become "laborers together with God." We once heard Bishop Janes say, in a missionary sermon, "You are mistaken when you suppose that you are converted simply and chiefly for your own salvation. Your happiness is but an incident of God's plans in your conversion. No; sing, and shout, and get to heaven; but the real object is greater and grander than this. You are brought into the vineyard for laborers. You are to give up your whole lives for the salvation of the world. There is no such thing as getting to heaven alone. You must save others, or fail. Your way to heaven is through prayers, and struggles, and tears, and labors for the salvation of others." O, when will the Church rise up to the grandeur of this supreme thought of a great consecrated soul?

Then comes the evident necessity for superintendency. There is one head and one body. All the members of the body have not the same office. The number required for efficient direction cannot be fixed and definite; nor can they, in relative rank, be all continuous. The number in charge of the Apostolic Church simply met the exigencies of the time. The category of St. Paul seemed to be exhaustive. "And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." But these are laborers, officers named in "the order of anticlimax;" and evidently they are not divinely appointed orders, equal in rank, and alike to be perpetuated. Apostles were not now in their original position as eye-witnesses of the miracles of Christ. This function was ended when he rose to the mediatorial throne; but radically their office was merged in that of "evangelists, prophets, and pastors," for they were "sent." They were not bishops. To sustain the prelatical idea they were twelve, and could have been neither more nor less. But then must Judas have continued to be a bishop after he was the betrayer of his Lord and a murderer. If not, then there was one too few. Peter's forwardness constituted another, and Paul was an apostle. Judas included, then, there must have been fourteen. Finally, all the bishops of Rome

and Constantinople and England must have been apostles, and having been ordained first by St. Peter and then by one of his successors, the world is and has been full of "apostles." Rather let us accept the true ministerial office of "apostles, prophets, and pastors," and expect to find them in our ministry, some "apostles," but all "πρεσβύτεροι" — "elders." Of such were "the apostles and elders at Jerusalem." Then, under the direction of overseers, all are evangelists, obeying the Lord's behest, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." Whatever may have been their relations to each other, they could not stay at home and at the same time "go into all the world," and hence, "beginning at Jerusalem," they were, even under the discipline of persecution, scattered abroad, every-where preaching, and they had soon "filled the world with their doctrine." Now, let it not be supposed that all these laborers were of the same office. If they were sent out to proclaim anywhere a risen Saviour, they fell into their true positions as the superior wisdom of the elders directed, and those were overseers who were providentially fitted for that rank. Pastors and teachers of all grades were in the field, not to claim pre-eminence, but to seek and save the lost.

Organization progressed, we must admit, slowly, but rather under the control of necessity and fitness than by election. There were no state churches nor organized ecclesiastical bodies with authority to make elections or appointments. Whoever gathered souls from the world would take care of them, and intrust them to the care of the most competent, as they went on to find others to collect into churches. The "evangelists" waited for no prelatical authority, but preached the Gospel. The organizations and provisions for the holy sacraments would accompany or follow them as ordinations were effected by the elders or bishops who were of the same authority, but some were first among equals.

At length there were deacons, "ministers," who at first were appointed to serve tables, and also ordained preachers, because it appeared that they were evidently called to that sacred function—a new class of workers, but not elders.

The exact Wesleyan theory of Churchship and of organic efforts for the salvation of a world ruined by sin, and for "the

propagation of the faith" is detailed by Wesley himself in the Minutes for 1745:

> The plain origin of Church government seems to be this: Christ sends forth a preacher of the Gospel. Some who hear him repent and believe the Gospel. They then desire him to watch over them, to build them up in the faith, and to guide their souls in the path of righteousness. Here, then, is an independent congregation, subject to no pastor but their own, neither liable to be controlled in things spiritual by any other men or body of men whatever.
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> But, soon after, some from other parts, who are occasionally present when he speaks in the name of Him that sent him, beseech him to come over to help them also. Knowing it to be the will of God, he consents, yet not till he has conferred with the wisest and holiest of his congregation, and with their advice appointed one or more who have gifts and grace to watch over the flock till his return. If it pleases God to raise another flock in the new place, before he leaves them he does the same thing, appointing one whom God has fitted to watch over those souls also. In like manner in every place where it pleases God to gather a little flock by his word, he appoints one in his absence to take the oversight of the rest, and to assist them of the abilities which God giveth. These are *deacons* or servants of the Church, and they look on the first pastor as their common father. And all these congregations regard him in the same light, and esteem him still as the shepherd of their souls. These congregations are not absolutely independent. They depended on one pastor, though not on each other. As these congregations increase, and as their deacons grow in years and grace, they need other subordinate deacons or helpers, in respect of whom they may be called *presbyters* or elders, as their father in the Lord may be called bishop or overseer of them all.

These clear words detail the actual methods of Providence in "planting and training the Christian Churches," from the days of the apostles, throughout the world to the present time. Missionary power and revivals of religion outrun formal methods, the grace of God in Christ Jesus "*preventing*," going before and working with, the great evangelists and humble lay-workers as well. Would it be incumbent upon each man who should act under the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls to show his authority with accurate detail from St. Peter before he could venture to preach Christ to souls on the way to ruin, or group the young converts into Church relations? He could not. There are no such records. The fire breaks out in places widely apart. No human skill can identify its genesis.

Might no sinners be "called out of darkness into God's marvelous light" until some man should appear who could by indubitable evidence trace his official authority back to the apostles? Nothing could be more absurd nor more contrary to the facts of history or the Divine plans. Would the Lord Jesus confine himself to the Church of England, and, until that authority could be obtained, might no one gather souls into a Church in America until a successor of St. Peter or the laws of England should permit? Then, alas for the world! Then a State Church might forbid Mr. Wesley to send Dr. Coke or Mr. Asbury to America, and put an end to the great revivals rapidly spreading over a continent. Souls must go to hell by the million unless the Bishop of London or some other prelate would ordain a Bishop for America, subject to the laws of England. Let "the Church" mean the Church of England, and those who have true ordination by her gracious authority, and what would be the state of Christendom! Reduced to strict High-Church religious prerogatives, the Church would mean the Church of Rome, and the Greek Church, and the English and American Episcopal Churches, with the power to excommunicate each other, and the rest of the converted redeemed millions must be handed over to "the uncovenanted mercies of God," as all heathen people are.

It is strange that the advocates of prelacy have taken a hundred years to find out that Episcopal Methodists have never had any desire to prove the legitimacy of their orders as proceeding from the Church of England, or any real or pretended successors of the apostles; that from and after 1738 the great Wesley found a divine order paramount to the human. Let it be known to all High Churchmen that they can do us no greater favor than to prove that our Episcopacy has not come directly or legitimately from the Church of England. We know, to our great satisfaction, that it has not. We should be deeply distressed if they should fail to prove that it had not come from Rome, or Constantinople, or Scotland. If we have no higher authority for our work of gathering from the world the largest voluntary Church known in history, and giving the holy sacraments and Christian nurture to our growing millions, we should be filled with dismay. We repudiate what these unhistoric men propose when they wish to give us "holy orders"

as not only untrue but impious. After the most thorough and scholarly examination Wesley found at length that these High Church claims, including his own, were utterly unsustained, and took his place with those Church scholars who entirely repudiated them, and proceeded to put the divine above the human and take the charge of the great Church of the future of which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer. From motives of expediency he dallied too long with his own early prejudices and those of his brother and others, and the people who had been saved through his labors were left without the sacraments, and great disasters followed. History has fully confirmed the judgment which he formed, and makes of holiest authority the ordinances which he gave to the Methodist Episcopal Church. That Church by its own act demonstrated the original authority of its apostolic eldership by accepting and electing its bishops. It was, therefore, impossible to maintain that Mr. Wesley instituted any form of succession to Methodist Episcopacy. It was null and void until it was constituted and rendered official by the free act of the ministry in conference assembled. Even Mr. Wesley did not renounce one form of historic fiction for another constituted by himself. He was our Father-Bishop, and if there should be anywhere any Methodist superintendency which did not come through Wesley, or Coke, or Asbury, it could not be held invalid.

But how many *orders* in Methodist Episcopacy? This seems, by the sense given to the word, to be a question of "divine right." We use it not as denoting a divinely authorized classification of ministers. History does not dictate to us. We adopt what seems nearest to the methods of apostolic times. We, therefore, have three classes. The earliest Church order seemed to Mr. Wesley and to our conference to crystallize around three classes. They were not held as under "orders *jure divino*." Mr. Wesley had been accustomed to them as a scriptural and orderly method of Church organization. He, therefore, sent them to us with three distinct forms of ordination corresponding to these "orders." He might have given us one only, but it would have been for our ministry to determine whether it should be one, two, or three. But, agreeing with Mr. Wesley, they accepted three. When they differed from him, even in the use of terms, they used their own words,

and hence they had bishops and elders instead of superintendents and priests. This proves no servility, and changes nothing.

The authority of Methodist Episcopacy is simply that of *one* of the providential adjustments to the great plans of God for the salvation of men. And, as such, it is as far above prelacy as the divine is above the human, and is subject to no arraignment before either ecclesiastical or state judicatories.

It is, moreover, most orderly in its methods. It fully acknowledges the right of churches to adopt such modes of government as seem most suitable to their high purposes, there being, in our judgment, no scriptural authority to forbid the exercise of their high and godly discretion with respect to forms. But when such forms are agreed upon by any organization, the persons in whom such authority is vested are amenable to the discipline of such organization. This is the spirit of our Twenty-second Article:

> It is not necessary that rites and ceremonies should in all places be the same, or exactly alike; for they have been always different, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word. Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the rites and ceremonies of the Church to which he belongs, which are not repugnant to the word of God, and are ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, that others may fear to do the like, as one that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and woundeth the consciences of weak brethren. Every particular Church may ordain, change, or abolish rites and ceremonies, so that all things may be done to edification.*

When, therefore, all the power necessary for efficiency is vested in the Methodist Episcopacy, its high officers are amenable to the General Conference for the proper interpretation and administration of the office, and all administrators are held accountable for just conformity to the regulations and discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Advancing further in attempts to define the "theory and practice of Methodist Episcopacy," it must be entirely paternal in its exercise of authority. This is a fact which need not be defined in words. It is in the nature of the office. No respon-

* This is Article XXXIX of the Church of England, which has "*traditions;*" Mr. Wesley has "*rites.*"

sibility can be more critical than that which is held by a Methodist bishop. He may be moved by a godly jealousy for the honor and efficiency of the ministerial office, and must be a man of inflexible integrity and firmness in every thing fundamental to the great itinerant system; but he cannot be arbitrary nor abusive in what he does or in the manner of doing it. No ecclesiastical authority can be more respectful to the rights and judgments of men than that which sits as umpire between two parties which have agreed to submit their most sacred interests to his godly judgment. He must study the wants and will of the people, and the conditions of pastors, and even their families, with prayerful, thoughtful, loving tenderness. There must be no end to his patience but what time imposes in hearing petitions and all reasons, real or even unreal. Both ministers and people must believe in his entirely unselfish impartiality; so that, when personal or local interests clash, all parties will believe that, however fallible his judgment, it is thoroughly righteous in its intentions.

This truly paternal spirit is the only adequate explanation of one of the most remarkable facts in history. For more than a hundred years the Methodist Episcopacy has been sustained by the people in the exercise of its high authority in this paternal spirit; and we are willing to be responsible for the opinion that it could not survive the destruction of this spirit.

But it is time to give prominence to the fact that this is an itinerant general superintendency. (See Discipline, ¶ 160.) It is the duty of the bishop "to travel at large through the Connection; to oversee the spiritual and temporal business of our Church." ¶ 162. "If a bishop cease from traveling at large among the people without the consent of the General Conference, he shall not thereafter exercise in any degree the episcopal office in our Church."

The field of a Methodist bishop is large, his travels are enormous; but he must travel his life out. However much or little of honor and domestic comfort his brethren in the ministry may have, his must be chiefly sacrificed. The people whom he must serve are hundreds, even thousands, of miles away; but, as far as practicable, he must go to them. He cannot appoint the preachers, averaging about a thousand a year, without reaching them; whether they are in America, or Europe, or

Asia, or Africa, he must go to their fields. He cannot judge of the condition and wants of "the people" without "traveling at large among them." This is no fiction. Let the apostolic Asbury represent this grand itinerancy:

> Methodism, thus planted in America, continued to spread in every part of the great republic under the apostolic labors of Francis Asbury, whose incessant activity emulated the enterprise of Wesley and the burning fervor of John Nelson and Thomas Walsh. No labors could exhaust, no difficulties could conquer, the energies of that devoted man. He forded rivers, he penetrated forests, he tracked the footsteps of the hardy emigrant to the uttermost settlement, and carried the Gospel to the remotest bounds of civilization. He was, indeed, a bishop of the primitive type, in labors abundant, in perils oft; and amid his incessant and arduous toils, by night as well as by day, carrying with him the care of all the churches of his ever-widening episcopate. His contemporaries labored with corresponding zeal and self-denial. His successors have carried on the great work transmitted to their hands, and copious showers of blessings have poured upon their churches.

We cannot raise the question of equality of zeal and moral power with this great man. We may, however, express the opinion that no man, living or dead, ever more thoroughly sustained this apostolic precedent than Bishop Janes. It may be, moreover, stated that the modes of modern travel render it possible for later incumbents of the office to extend their visitations far beyond what was possible in the days of Asbury. Such work as our bishops are doing in the United States, British America, Europe, Asia, and Africa would be impossible without steamboats and railroads. It is of no use to attempt to compute in miles the travels of a Methodist bishop.

But the Methodist episcopacy is general and connectional, not diocesan nor local. Its field is the world. Interfering with no man's rights, respecting the claims of non-episcopal churches, whether Wesleyan or others, it is otherwise without limits. It may arrange for a wise division of labor, but it is everywhere one. Each surveys the field for all, and, assembled once a year or oftener, the information acquired from the whole work reaches every bishop. There is no conflict of jurisdiction or administration. Taking the Methodist Episcopal Church as representative of the whole, when there are thirteen bishops, if one is non-effective the others divide his work among

them. If four bishops die in a year, their places are promptly filled by the survivors. The whole Connection feels this unity and finds itself under one administration. Ten thousand effective ministers appointed to as many charges by *eight* men feel the presence of the same power and enjoy practically the same rights.

A full understanding of the superintendency of Episcopal Methodism must include the Presiding Eldership. It is easy to see that a small number of bishops cannot directly and personally supervise interests so vast and extended. To bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the narrow boundaries of a diocese make such limited and local superintendence possible, but necessarily destroy general jurisdiction, and make episcopacy comparatively insignificant. But the charge of a great connection extending around the globe must require the subordinate superintendency of a large number of men.

Now, in our system the essential episcopacy resides in the eldership. Elders may, therefore, be assigned such functions as the efficiency of the organization requires, and thus in all subdivisions of the field the general superintendency may be present in vital force and connectional unity. Thus our supervision becomes universal in extent and minute and local in detail. This, as well as other great features of every form of Methodism, arose providentially. First, we had but few elders, and they must travel at large to administer the sacraments. Then their larger experience must guide the younger ministry, generally not in orders, and see to the exercise of healthy discipline. Hence, in fixing the appointments, the bishops detailed to this local superintendency the men deemed most suitable, and they became "Presiding Elders," and it was found that their superior knowledge of the men and the work qualified them to give valuable and indispensable advice in regard to the appointments, and they were called by the bishops to this function in annual council. Presiding elders, therefore, have become a fundamental part of the general superintendency.

It will be seen that our churches are one great Church, all living and acting as one Connection, under the same discipline, and the same general superintendency. Exceptional and

disagreeable features, to which a part are liable, may come alike to all or any. This system is distinguished from all others by the fact that every class is subject to appointment. The first classification is, a few members under a leader, and he is appointed, not elected. Several classes are one charge under a pastor, and he is appointed, not elected. Several charges constitute a district, under a presiding elder, and he is appointed, not elected. Several districts make an annual conference under a bishop, and he is appointed to the particular conference—elected as a bishop, but not to be the bishop of any special conference. Thus the whole itinerant system is administered by appointments—unquestionably more self-sacrificing and efficient than any other method. This law of appointment binds the whole system together, and leaves every man responsible to his peers, but free from all control and dictation from what in politics is known as a constituency, and at full liberty to obey God rather than man—the highest freedom in the high duties of ecclesiastical responsibilities under the great Head of the Church. Methodist Episcopacy is, therefore, a part of a great connectional system. It must, therefore, be adjusted to the analogies of the itinerancy. One great delegated body, the General Conference, is over the whole Church—the people, deacons, elders, bishops.

The wisdom of this system is vindicated by the history of a hundred years. As to the time of pastoral service, other systems have become gradually assimilated to it. It has become distinguished for its regularity, and is approved by other Churches which can hardly by possibility effect their necessary changes without disorder; and after large experience we are able to state that it is so honored and trusted by our people that they would accept no other. Instances of disloyalty upon the part of ministers and people are so few compared with our vast numbers, that no candid historian would feel at liberty to take notice of them.

This is the theory of our Episcopacy. In practice we are far from perfect. We claim no infallibility. No doubt many sad defects mark the administration, which greatly mar the system. It is, however, no vain boast to say that, judged by the history of a century, it stands in efficiency at the head of all Church systems.

But the great life of Bishop Janes was his practical life. This includes all the others. They were what he was; this, what he did. He was strong in the elements of a true manhood. This was valuable for ascendency over men to influence and save them. For the same high purpose he used the art of persuasion. In his sermons and addresses it was always evident that he wanted something of importance done. He was a calm but energetic administrator, but it was that law might be revered and order prevail. He was a strong Christian, but to enlighten others he would let his light shine. Hence we say that all his lives were merged in this great life. Some of my readers will remember his remarkable address before the Preachers' Meeting, in Bromfield-street, Boston. He laid aside his robes of office which he knew so well how to wear, and showed us simply a human soul worth nothing excepting for what it did for the Master. How he thrilled us when he said: "You'll see nothing of Bishop Janes in heaven. Only your brother, a man saved by grace, will appear there. You need not look for a bishop in heaven. This is a part of my work here, but I shall not be needed in my office there. We shall be glorified together, and only what we have done will be known or mentioned there."

Thus we reach the most remarkable purpose of a great life. In this the man lives after he is dead, lives through working forces on earth. There is, we believe, more of Bishop Janes on earth than in heaven. No Conference, hardly any man in our ministry, not one of our greatest institutions, is without him. Very little for a quarter of a century is merely what it would have been if he had not lived. His biographer had to deal with this life. I saw some portions of it, but never without feeling that it mastered me; so I believe it was with all his colleagues. It was perhaps the clearest exposition of the theory and practice of the Methodist Episcopacy extant at the time of his death.

Art. VII. — THE GREAT CONVENT OF SAN FRANCISCO IN MEXICO CITY.

As is well known to many, nunneries and convents have been abolished in the whole of Mexico. By law, no nun or monk can now exist on the soil of that country. Even the order of Sisters of Charity has been suppressed. There may be in some places evasions of the legal prohibition, but such is the statute law of the land. The vast buildings once occupied by the nuns and monks have all been confiscated by the government, together with several of the large Roman Catholic churches, and are now used, some as Protestant churches, some as schools, some as libraries, some as stores, and some as private dwellings.

The great convent of San Francisco is especially interesting to two denominations of Christians, the Methodist Episcopal and the Protestant Episcopal. The former occupies the cloisters of San Francisco as its church and the headquarters of its missions in Mexico. They were purchased by the late Bishop Gilbert Haven, and came into the possession of our Church while the Rev. William Butler, D.D., and the writer were laboring in the city of Mexico. The Protestant Episcopal Church, the Mexican branch of which is called, in Mexico, "The Church of Jesus," established there by Bishop Riley, occupies the audience-room, and some others parts of the convent.

The accommodations for each are ample: but ample as they are, they form only a part of the original structure, as will be seen from a description we shall presently give of the convent buildings. It cannot fail to be of interest, however, to look back first, and learn when, and how, and by whom, this immense structure was founded.

It appears that when Cortes invaded and conquered the country he was accompanied by five friars, or that they came almost immediately after him. The names of two of them have been lost, but of three they are recorded as Fray Pedro de Gante, Fray Juan de Tecto, and Fray Juan de Aora. Five years later, Spain sent a strong body of additional missionaries, consisting of thirteen monks, as a re-enforcement, in order to convert the Aztecs. The chief of these was Fray Martin de

Valencia. They entered the capital in the year 1524, and were the founders of the convent of San Francisco. Immediately they commenced the work of leading the Aztecs into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. Their reception in Mexico City is thus graphically described by a Spanish writer: "As they tread the streets of the capital, they are received by the acclamations of the people. Cortes, and the other conquerors, in company with the remains of the Mexican (Aztec) nobility, salute them, prostrating themselves in their presence, and putting their hands to their lips. The natives stand by in silence and look upon the scene."

Other bodies of monks came subsequently from Spain, manifesting the great earnestness of the Church of Rome for the conversion of the original inhabitants of Mexico. It is needless to say that their zeal was crowned with wonderful success, as the whole country is now considered a Roman Catholic country—a zeal which we may well emulate in bringing this beautiful land to a purer faith.

Many of these friars or early missionaries, to whom we have referred, though Roman Catholic in name, and differing from us in faith, were no doubt men of pure and holy lives, who had only the glory of God in view as they left their country and came to a strange land. We must remember that the great Reformation had not yet broken out, and that the lines of demarkation between truth and error in doctrine were not as distinctly drawn as they have been in subsequent times.

It is related of Martin de Valencia, the chief of the missionary band, that one day before he left Spain he was reading in the church where he officiated, a passage from Isaiah, and he became so wrapt up in an ecstasy at the thought of God's coming kingdom that he stopped reading, and, full of joy, exclaimed, "*Loado sea Jesucristo! Loado sea Jesucristo! Loado sea Jesucristo!* (Praised be Jesus Christ!) His brethren thought he was crazy, and shut him up in a cell, where he remained during the day, spending much of his time in prayer, and frequently repeating: "O! when shall it be? When shall this prophecy be fulfilled? Shall I be counted worthy to behold it?"

When this monk arrived in Mexico his mode of evangelizing the Aztecs merits our attention, perhaps our imitation.

His favorite occupation was in giving lessons to the children, laying, as it were, his dignity and talents at their feet, and sitting down among them as one of themselves.

"No less beautiful," says the Spanish author we have referred to, "was the picture of the people singing hymns together like one family: the rich, the poor; the servants, the masters; the caciques and their vassals, all mingling together without distinction." Amid a crowd of people the monks would commence some simple melody, repeat it over and over, or, as it was among the early Methodists, line it out, and by dint of perseverance get the words and tune into the minds of the people, who would then join in the song.

The monks applied themselves with great assiduity to the acquisition of the Aztec language, making use of the children principally as their instructors. They attempted at first to teach them Latin prayers, but soon finding this unprofitable they desisted. An account is given of a Spanish boy who, by frequent association with the Aztec children, became so familiar with the language that he spoke it as his native tongue. The friars, seeing their advantage, took this boy with them in their preaching tours, and made him not only an interpreter, but an evangelist. At every step of their progress in turning the Aztecs from idolatry, we are informed, they made use of this instrumentality. One of the historians of the period remarks: "If these children had not helped in the work of conversion, and the interpreters alone had to do the work, it seems to me that it would have been just as the Bishop of Tlaxcallan wrote to the emperor, 'We, the bishops, without the interpreters, are like dumb falcons, and thus are the friars without the children.'"

We read of one Aztec chief who employed himself in bringing the Indian children to the convent of San Francisco, children who appeared to have been chosen by him for their capacity, excelling others in the convent who had been longer under instruction.

Every one knows, who has been at the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico, that it fronts on the street called Ganta. It is so named from Pedro de Gante, one of the first Roman Catholic missionaries, of whom it was said that as many as a hundred churches in Mexico owed their erection to him. He founded the college of San Juan de Letran, the buildings

of which have been confiscated, and in which the English Protestant services have long been held in Mexico. Perhaps the good friar, as he looks down from heaven, and sees how his brethren have departed from his zeal and earnest piety, is just as well pleased to behold the present use of the college he founded as if he saw it in the possession of his own Church.

As an illustration of the labors of these zealous monks among the children, a Spanish writer records a touching story of the martyrdom of an Aztec boy. His name was Cristobal; he was of the age of twelve, the son of an Indian chieftain called Acxotecatl. The child was sent to the convent of San Francisco, and there appears to have learned the glad tidings of a crucified Saviour. He was baptized, and with great earnestness immediately began to manifest the fruits of conversion in teaching and exhorting the vassals of Acxotecatl.

But Cristobal labored more especially for his father, whose hands were stained with crime and blood, and who, by frequent intoxication, rendered himself incapable of profiting by the instructions of his son. The boy, however, by unwearied effort urged him to renounce his idol worship, abstain from drink, and "turn to God and Jesus Christ, his Son, who would pardon him." Finding his efforts vain, he adopted more energetic measures, and threw out the wine which his father was in the habit of drinking, and broke in pieces the idols which he worshiped. The servants of Acxotecatl came to him, saying: "Thy son Cristobal breaks thy gods and ours, and spills all the wine he can find. This is a reproach both to thee and to us."

The father sent for his boy, and with an oaken club beat him until his limbs were broken, and he lay before him a mass of blood, the poor child constantly crying to God in his own Aztec tongue: "Lord God, have mercy on me; and if it be thy will that I should die, let me die. If it please thee that I should live, save me from this cruelty of my father." The mother of Cristobal rushed to the spot exclaiming, "Why do you kill my son? Let me carry him away, and then kill me, but spare my child."

Acxotecatl commanded his servants to take her away, and she was violently dragged from the place; whereupon the cruel father ordered a fire to be made, and as the flames rose

high, threw the boy into them. When he struggled back he threw him again and again into the flames, until his back and breast were blistered with the fire. He lived, notwithstanding, until the next day, when the child-martyr sent for his unnatural parent and said to him: "*O! padre, no pienses que estoy enojado. Porque yo estoy muy alegre, y sabete que me has hecho mas honra que no vale tu senorio.*" ("O father! do not think that I am angry. Indeed, I am very joyful, and I wish you to know that you have conferred an honor upon me of more value than all the honors of your rank.") Cristobal then called for drink, and as he drank, his pure spirit passed away.

These early friars, we repeat, labored with great zeal and earnestness for the propagation of their faith. They effected something, and it is but fair to give them honor for all they accomplished. We find in the early annals of the country a constant struggle between them and the rough soldiers of Cortez as to the enslaving of the natives, and the friars succeeded in preventing it. They abolished also the bloody rites of the Aztec priesthood.

But the time came when the successors of these devoted missionaries departed from their piety and zeal, and, in the language of a Spanish historian, became a body without a soul. Whatever of spirituality there may have been in the preaching of Martin de Valencia, Pedro de Gante, and their associates, then disappeared, and rites and ceremonies alone were the means of supposed conversion. The touch of a priestly hand, a few drops of oil or water from priestly fingers, were a guaranty of paradise. And while great multitudes of the Mexican people apparently adopted the Christian religion, and were called Christians, there was no change in their moral nature, and no Christianity whatever. They continued to be the same idolaters that they were before. There was only a change in the names of their idols. The Aztec image was christened San Pedro or Santa Maria, and the worship was continued the same as before. It is the same old Aztec idolatry which still exists under the name of Christianity.

The Indians, or pure Aztecs, form now about three quarters of the inhabitants of the country. These are unmixed with Spanish blood. They are met with every-where throughout city and country. Very many of them in the rural districts

cannot speak Spanish at all—only Aztec, and need instruction and the evangelizing power of the Gospel as much as when Cortez invaded the country. In some places they have not even changed the name of the old Mexican idol to the Christian saint. A single example is sufficient. In one region there is a church which for half of the year is dedicated to a Romish saint—for the other half to an Aztec god.

Intelligent Spanish gentlemen in Mexico feel the need of true Christian instruction for this class of people. When we were in Mexico, an influential owner of an estate, an officer in the army, who, as he stated to us, had hundreds of Aztecs on his plantation, came to us and begged us to send a minister with him, who could reside on his estate, and whom he would support, to preach to these original inhabitants of Mexico. But alas! we had no one to send.

It is a singular and suggestive fact that two Protestant churches are occupying the building of the first and greatest convent in Mexico, the convent which once had hardly a parallel for size and beauty in any part of the world. We translate some descriptions of it, as it was before its confiscation by the government, from a Spanish work, entitled, "Los Conventos Suprimidos," page 335, etc.

This immense edifice, which, in a religious aspect, has not an equal in the country, has always enjoyed a well-merited celebrity for the beauty of its church and chapels, for the amplitude of its cloisters, and their adjoining apartments, and for the magnificent ornaments and artistic riches which it contains. It was the admiration of natives and strangers in our day, and the church, in particular, was always considered a resort for the most distinguished of our society, who there celebrated the divine offices with surprising splendor and pomp.

It contains three hundred cells or sleeping rooms, besides the sleeping rooms in the *altos*. It has two cloisters, [that is, one above and one below, both of which are included in the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church,] the lower one of which is adorned with large pictures from the famous pencil of Baltasar de Chavez, in which is recorded all the life of San Francisco. At the tables in the refectory more than five hundred friars can be seated at one time. In the church there is a thorn of the crown of Christ, with a piece of the wood of the cross and relics of the twelve apostles. [The historian, no doubt, thought these relics were genuine.] Here, also is a picture of Hernando Cortez, and at the foot of the picture is a small trunk containing his bones and those of his son, the Marquis D. Martin Cortez.

It is known by tradition that the convent is built on the very spot which was occupied by the garden of Montezuma—a garden which adjoined his palace, and which contained his plants, wild beasts, birds, and fishes. It formed the first parish on the American continent, and in it was held the first auto of the Inquisition and the first confirmations.

We have given only brief extracts from the descriptions of this wonderful edifice. We might weary the reader with an account of its valuable and numerous paintings, its statues, its riches in gold; but we have said enough to convey an idea of what the convent once was. We come to the hour at which it was confiscated by the government.

On the night of the 14th of September, 1856, a Mexican lady came to the palace of the President of Mexico and begged that he would grant her an audience. Some days before this there had been rumors that a secret revolution was in contemplation against the government, and that various meetings were held in the convent of San Francisco to promote it, that arms and ammunition were stored there, and that several of the monks were taking part in it. The Mexican lady, on being introduced to the President, said: "Your Excellency will allow me to speak freely?" "Speak, *señora.*" "There is a revolution against the government." "Who is concerned in it?" "The monks of San Francisco." "Have they an organization?" "Their organization is perfect. The convent is stored with arms, which your Excellency will find on visiting it, and there is not a moment to be lost." "Have they fixed upon any time?" "The day after to-morrow they intend to strike the blow which will make them masters of Mexico."

The President was prompt in his action, for on the morning of the 15th the city was surprised as they beheld what had taken place at San Francisco. The doors of the convent were shut, the friars were prisoners, double guards of soldiers stood around the building, and a multitude of people gathered to learn what had taken place.

On the following day a decree was passed by the government containing two clauses: First, a street, to be called *Calle Independencia*, was to be opened within fifteen days through the center of the convent; second, the buildings which were in the way, and which formed part of the convent, were to be demolished. The next day, September 17, 1856,

another decree was passed in the following words: "The convent of San Francisco in the city of Mexico is suppressed, and its buildings confiscated, their product, when sold, to be divided between the orphanage, lunatic asylum, hospital, secondary college of education for children, and the school of arts and sciences, in the city of Mexico."

There was an admirable promptness on the part of the government; the decrees were not only passed, but carried into immediate effect. The street called "Independencia" was cut through a part of the convent at some distance both from the cloister and the audience-room. Chambers could be seen, even at the time we were in Mexico, divided in two, gaping on the street, and the thick stone walls of partitions cut away, just as the work of demolition had left them. Even the figures on the cells as they had been numbered when the monks inhabited them, were visible from the street.

After the suppression of the convent, the buildings were sold according to the decree of the government, and an eterprising gentleman purchased the cloisters, put a roof upon the quadrangular space within the arches, on columns, in the form of a dome, with windows in it above for light and ventilation, and opened a grand circus, called in the city of Mexico "The Circus de Chiarini."

The center space recently roofed, where now the Gospel is proclaimed, formed the ring in which the equestrians performed, the horses raced, and the clowns joked. The space behind the pillars, the long and wide galleries, were occupied by the spectators.

From the Church to the circus was a singular transformation, but still another change awaited the spot ere it became vocal with the sounds of prayer and hymns of religious and joyful praise. It was again sold, and the new purchaser opened a theater called the "Variety Theater," part of the space recently roofed over forming the pit, the rest of the stage and beyond, on one side, where the pillars had now been taken away, the recitation and green rooms. The reader will bear in mind, however, that the pillars had been taken away from one side only; they still remain on the other three sides.

It was when it was occupied as a theater that the late Bishop Gilbert Haven purchased the property. The day that posses-

sion was obtained we visited the spot. It seemed as if a play might have been enacted the very night before. There were the side-curtains and back-scenes, and ropes to move them, reaching to the top of the building, and pulleys apparently so high up when we mounted to them that it seemed like looking down from some high steeple. There were the foot-lights at the front of the stage, and the seats of the orchestra beyond, and outside of the pit the galleries or arches were filled with seats, rising one above the other, except a space near the stage, where private boxes were partitioned off. It was a work of some months to prepare it for our Church services. Dr. Butler superintended the work, and labored at it night and day with great energy. The galleries were partitioned off, leaving the pillars in sight, and the part which the owner of the circus had covered with a roof or dome became our Church. The galleries are used for lecture-room, school-rooms, printing-offices, etc.

Besides all this space connected with the cloisters proper, two dwellings were erected in front over the large hall or vestibule, one on the second, the other on the third story, the custom in Mexico being for each family to occupy a flat, the third story often being preferred to the second.

Thus, where the monks walked, meditated, and we hope prayed, Methodist prayers and Methodist hymns are now offered and sung, and the convent which for centuries was the pride and boast of Romanism has become the center of evangelical and missionary work.

Art. VIII.— SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

American Catholic Quarterly Review, April, 1882. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Religious Rights of Catholics in Public Institutions; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 2. Modern Spiritism versus Christianity; by Rev. J. F. X. Hœffer, S.J. 3. The Existence of God Demonstrated. On What Grounds Does the Atheist Deny the Existence of God?—Conclusion; by Rev. J. Ming, S.J. 4. "The New French Minister of Public Instruction." Reply to the "Harpers'" Latest Calumny; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S. J. 5. An Irish Government for Ireland; by John Boyle O'Reilly. 6. The Practice of Shaving in the Latin Church; by Most Rev. Charles J. Seghers, D.D. 7. The Papacy and the European Powers. 1870–1882. By John MacCarthy. 8. The Monks of Old; by Rev. Edward F. X. McSweeny, D.D. 9. England's Return to the Faith; by John Charles Earle, B.A., Oxon. 10. The Cincinnati Pastoral and its Critics.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, May, June, 1882. (Cincinnati.)—1. John Tauler; by Rev. George B. Gow. 2. The Divorce of Spirituality and Integrity; by Rev. C. B. Crane, D.D. 3. The Decline of Infant Baptism; by Henry C. Vedder. 4. The Damathat; or, Buddhist Laws of Menu; by Rev. W. H. Sloan. 5. Popular Elements in Christ's Preaching; by Rev. S. Dryden Phelps. 6. The Old Testament in the Jewish Church; by Prof. O. S. Stearns.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1882. (Columbia, Mo.)—1. The Atonement; by Thomas Munnell, A.M. 2. The Plane of Salvation; by H. Christopher, A.M., M.D. 3. Were the Bible and Its Religion Plagiarized from other Religions and their Sacred Books, Legends, and Myths? by Clark Braden. 4. Oaths, Judicial and Profane; by G. T. Carpenter, A.M. 5. A Doubt raised Concerning the Typical Nature of Old Testament Institutions; by A. B. Jones, A.M. 6. Christian Citizenship with Reference to the Liquor Traffic; by E. L. Dohoney, LL.B. 7. The Simplicity of the Gospel; by W. J. Barbee, A.M., M.D. 8. Popular Literature and Public Morals; by F. D. Srygley, A.M. 9. The Apostleship vs. Apostolic Succession; by John T. Walsh. 10. The True Mission of the Church; by F. D. Power, A.M.

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1882. (Lebanon, Tenn.)—1. What will the Negro do with Himself? by John Miller McKee. 2. What is Presbyterianism? Does it exist Jure Divino? by J. C. Provine, D.D. 3. The Attitude of Prayer; by Rev. C. P. Duvall. 4. The Canterbury Bible; by Rev. W. H. Crawford. 5. Meaning of the Word Sanctify; by B. W. McDonnold, D.D., LL.D. 6. Animal Heat; by Prof. J. I. D. Hinds, Ph.D. 7. Pharaoh's Hardening; by J. M. Howard, D.D. 8. The Resurrection; selected by W. R. Stewart, Esq. 9. The Value of the Soul; by Rev. W. S. Danley.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, April, 1882. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Essential Unity of Protestant Christianity; by Rev. Prof. J. W. Richard, A.M. 2. The Translated Portions of Luther's Writings; by Rev. John G. Morris, D.D., LL.D. 3. The Necessity of the Atonement; by Rev. P. Bergstresser, D.D. 4. Inauguration of Rev. Alfred Hiller. 5. The Pulpit from the Pew; by Rev. H. L. Dox, A.M. 6. Practical Objections to Chiliasm; by Rev. Prof. J. I. Miller, A.M. 7. Education in the South; by John E. Bushnell, A.M.

NEW ENGLANDER, May, 1882. (New Haven.)—1. Spiritism (so-called) a Scientific Question; by H. Ulrici. Translated by Rev. J. B. Chase. 2. The Progress of Humane Action in Christendom; by Rev. E. Woodward Brown. 3. The Charter of Yale College. The Import and Reach of its Several Changes; by William Bliss, Esq. 4. Historic Stages of the Theory of the Atonement; by Rev. James B. Gregg. 5. The Principles of Church Polity; by Rev. Wm. H. Fenn. 6. The Folk Songs of the Färöe Islands; by William Howard Carpenter.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Messianic Kingdom; by Rev. Chas. Elliott, D.D. 2. The Homiletical Value of Wordsworth's Poetry; by Rev. John DeWitt, D.D. 3. John Mitchell Mason; by Rev. C. Van Santvoord, D.D. 4. The Majesty of God as Revealed by Modern Stellar Astronomy; by Prof. Jermain G. Porter, A.M. 5. Is Total Abstinence True Temperance? by Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D.D. 6. The Greek Testament of Westcott and Hort; by Prof. Benjamin B. Warfield, D.D. 7. The Critical Theories of Julius Wellhausen; by Prof. Henry P. Smith.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, April, 1882. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Halieutics. 2. Dr. Adam Clarke and His Biographers. 3. The Ecumenical Conference. 4. The Late Bishop Wightman. 5. The Approaching General Conference. 6. John Wesley Neither an Autocrat nor a Bigot. 7. The First Duty of the Church. 8. The New Revision Reviewed.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, April, 1882. (Boston.)—1. The Attitude of the Universalist Church Toward Skepticism; by I. M. Atwood, D.D. 2. Mrs. Judith Murry; by Rev. Richard Eddy. 3. Origin an Indication of Destiny; by Rev. R. P. Ambler. 4. Classical Studies; by Prof. Wm. D. Shipman. 5. Ireland; by G. H. Emerson, D.D. 6. Use of the Greek Verb Μέλλω by the Sacred Writers; by Rev. O. D. Miller. 7. The Catacombs of Rome; Their History and Uses; by Rev. A. B. Grosh.

CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY QUARTERLY, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Speculative Consequences of Evolution; by Alexander Winchell, LL.D. 2. Science and Revelation; by J. H. M'Ilvaine, D.D. 3. English Philosophy; by Rev. J. W. Mendenhall, Ph.D. 4. The Ego in Consciousness; by Llewelyn D. Bevan, D.D. 5. Historical.

This Quarterly, by its very significant name, frankly avows its purpose of meeting the assaults of anti-Christianity upon our religion. It promises by its performances to do effective service, and is worthy of all patronage, and worth its price to its subscribers.

The main article of the number is the first, the article of Dr. Winchell on Evolution.

In his introduction, Dr. Winchell complains, with some justice, of the misrepresentations that have been put upon evolutionists by their opponents. Dr. Winchell has been subjected to hard dealing; and that, too, when he has wished to serve the cause of Christian truth, and has endeavored to explain his views in an explicit manner. But his present statement seems somewhat one-sided. First, leading evolutionists who are very careless of avowing themselves on momentous truths are themselves the blamable party if they are misunderstood. Newton, to whom Darwin has been compared by his more unwise admirers, was alive to the bearings of his discoveries on Theism. He avowed himself fully, and in the loftiest language. But the language of Darwin, while the entire range of his theory, as by him stated, is anti-teleological, so very slightly alludes to the Divine Being as to compel the impression that he was very insensible to the truth of God. And systematically, at the present day, our scientists largely are not only reticent as to the Divine Existence, and vocally indifferent whether Theism or Atheism rules the public mind, but every thing religious is excluded under a rule of scientific etiquette. If they are then looked upon as truly *indifferent*, their own is the blame. Second, Dr. Winchell complains that "multitudes of men imagine evolution and Darwinism to be synonymous terms, if they do not even believe them synonymous with materialism, as is so often charged." But why does not Dr. Winchell candidly tell us that it is evolutionists themselves who generally so "imagine"? Read our book-notice of Dr. Hodge, and tell us where lies this responsibility. Read the bitter libels of Smalley and the "Independent" on

the great body of our ministry and Church for not swallowing Darwin entire. Darwin, with them, is evolution. And notice, too, how Dr. Hodge is sacrificed to the manes of Darwin without the slightest recognition of Dr. Hodge's personal delicacy toward Darwin, his exoneration of the great scientist from the charge of atheism, monism, or materialism, and his basing his criticism purely on the anti-teleology of Darwin's argumentations. In fact, Dr. Hodge was condemned without being read, on the assumption beforehand that he did not give due homage to the great fetich. And Dr. Hodge is taken as a standing specimen of the hostile spirit of our entire religious press toward Mr. Darwin—which is unintentional truth. For the assumption that that press has been unfair is just as true and just as false as it is of Dr. Hodge. The writer spoke, not what he knew to be true, but what he supposed to be true, because he was fully predetermined it must be true and should be true. It may be in fairness added that the bitterest of these diatribes comes generally not from scientific men, but from writers (like Andrew C. White) who have not science enough to damage their reputations, and for whose silence both sides could afford to pay a fee.

In his valuable article Dr. Winchell states the doctrine of "genetic continuity" strongly and with an array of powerful evidence. And yet, varying from the view presented in his volume on Preadamites, he makes admission of the possible break of that continuity in the case of Man.

Man's genetic continuity with the animal kingdom is a question still under consideration. It is a question not yet decided with the same unanimity as that which confirms the general doctrine of specific descent. Among existing species man stands apart, structurally and physically, by a wider interval than intervenes in any other case. Among fossil forms the links are wanting which connect living man with the world of extinct life. For these reasons it may be fairly urged, as Wallace and Mivart have urged, that judgment on man's historical relation to the animal kingdom should be held in abeyance. At the same time, man's structural affinities with other mammals are so close that a real genetic continuity seems probable.—P. 11.

But while Mivart's theory of sudden "transformation," by which a lower form becomes a higher, even a human being, with immortal endowments, meets, in perhaps a satisfactory

degree, with the doctrine of a personal Adam, Dr. Winchell has himself, in a former publication, placed before our American public a still more satisfactory statement. It was he who first furnished to us the testimony of Barrande. It was he who pronounced the name of Barrande as eminent in paleontology as Grant in politics, at the time that Grant was President. Barrande has since that time prosecuted his researches in paleontology to still greater results. And Barrande asserts (see our April Quarterly, p. 384) that universal genetic continuity, exceptionless generative evolution, Darwinism, or even Mivartism, is "poetic flourishes of the imagination." We wonder why Dr. Winchell, after referring here courteously to Mivart, is so silent in regard to his illustrious personal friend, Barrande. Are we mistaken in saying, on the sure authority of Barrande, that the denial of "special creations," or (to speak more correctly, and less in the cant phrase of the extreme Darwinians) new creative Originations, is unscientific? It was the great merit of Darwin to open before the eyes of the world the unexpectedly vast extent of genetic relations. It was the merit of Mivart to check his overstatements, and to show that theism and an Adamic inauguration were consistent with a universal transformism. But it was the final merit of Barrande to show that new creations do take place, thus limiting the universality of genetic evolution, and asserting the validity of so-called "special creations."

The following paragraph is an indication of Dr. Winchell's still firm belief in the "Pre-Adamic Man."

> *The antiquity of the human species is much greater than the antiquity of the Mediterranean race.* This follows from the superiority of the Mediterranean race over certain other races, and the consequently later date of its advent into existence. The origin of this race is comparatively not remote, but it has produced the materials of history at a rapid and ever-augmenting rate. When we shall have fixed the era of Menes or of Asshur we must add many thousand years to express the antiquity of Hottentots and Australians.—P. 11.

On this we may suggest that if we assume man's perfection to be the result of slow development, the most perfect race ought to be the oldest. We ought to assign the highest antiquity to the Mediterranean race, and ascribe the lowest cultivation of the Australian to his youthful existence. But if we as-

sume what the Darwinians style "special creation," but which we call Origination of new races under process of law, then the central human race may reasonably be considered to be the pyramidal elevation from which the marginal races are a degeneration. This we have fully argued in a former Quarterly. The Septuagint chronology would probably afford full time for this process.

Perhaps we do not understand the following paragraph:

The origin of life by abiogenesis is neither implied nor denied by the principle of evolution. I have said that evolution is a mode of continuance, not a mode of origin. The addition of life to matter previously lifeless is abiogenesis, but it is not continuance; it is a new beginning. That which has life is not an evolution of something without life. Life and death are as wide apart as affirmation and negation. It is often charged that evolution proposes to trace all organization back, not only to some primordial germ, but, as is flippantly stated, to dead matter. This is a gross misconception. Not only does no evolutionist claim this, but the assumption would be a rational absurdity. That life has been at some time added to dead matter is a dictate of reason; for the chain of percipient being must have a first link. That organic forms may frequently arise from germless and inanimate matter may be a fact; but it can never be an inference from the principle of evolution. Whenever it takes place we behold an act of creation.—Pp. 11, 12.

Now we do understand Mr. Darwin to say that one or more lifeless germs were first inspired with life by the breath of the Almighty. And this is the classic passage which his defenders quote to prove his theism. And it is this passage which we quoted in our last Quarterly to show that Mr. Darwin was committed to the doctrine of so-called "special creation." And from this, too, we show their denial and contempt of all said "special creation" to be inconsistent. If God has given life and living form to unliving matter once, then he can do it twice, thrice, and seven times. What right has Mr. Darwin to impose a universal negative after admitting one signal primal affirmative? And so the sudden apparition of new world-wide species revealed in the geologic record may be the creation of new species. And so Mediterranean man may be a fresh creation.

Dr. Winchell then opens a teleological argument, very original and effective in its logical march and conclusion. Draw-

ing a clear distinction between central *cause* and surrounding *conditions*, he prepares to show the great error of attributing the existing evolutionary process to mere environments. There are indeed environing activities, such as "capillarity, exosmose, imbibation, exhalation, solution, filtration, and chemism." But fatal and atheistic is the error of those who assign these mere conditions as sufficient, and drop out the efficient central cause. This central Cause, he proceeds to show, is a Personality. For want of a clear perception of these distinctions, the readers of Draper, Spencer, and Darwin are deeply liable to be involved in the darkest shades of Atheism. Thanks are due to Dr. Winchell for the clearness and boldness with which he develops them.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Crisis in Utah; by Gov. Eli H. Murray. 2. Why They Come; by Edward Self. 3. Anti-Vaccinism; by Dr. Henry Austin Martin. 4. The Civil Service Reform Controversy; by E. L. Godkin. 5. A National Militia; by Albert Ordway. 6. The Ruins of Central America. Part X; Désiré Charnay. 7. Bourbonism in Virginia; by Senator H. H. Riddleberger.

May.—1. Party Schisms and Future Problems; by Carl Schurz. 2. Days with Longfellow; by Samuel Ward. 3. What does Revelation Reveal? by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. 4. The Navy; by Lieut.-Commander Henry H. Gorringe. 5. Conversations with a Solitary; Part I; by W. H. Mallock. 6. The Spent Bullet; by Gail Hamilton.

June.—1. The Currency of the Future; by Senator B. W. Allison. 2. A Memorandum at a Venture; by Walt Whitman. 3. Andover and Creed-Subscription; by Rev. Dr. L. W. Bacon. 4. Mongolian Immigration; by Geo. F. Seward. 5. Old School Medicine and Homœopathy; by Prof. J. W. Dowling. 6. Swedenborg; by O. B. Frothingham. 7. Has Land a Value? by Isaac L. Rice. 8. An Unconstitutional Militia; by Charles E. Lydecker.

There are two articles in this number by very different authors and on very different subjects, yet bearing a singular analogy to each other; the one by Walt Whitman, in favor of obliterating the boundary lines of decency by the popular exhibition of nude figures; and the other by Rev. Dr. Leonard W. Bacon, in favor of obliterating the boundary lines of religious doctrine. Both are suggestive of a crisis of transition from the past toward what looks like an abysmal future. We are no alarmist, however, for we know there is an equilibrium in our nature which will in due time revolt from limitless license in practice and doctrine. But it is well to mark the steps by which the license proposes to advance.

The old theology, that is, the Bible, emphasized the divine distinction between man and brute; teaching that the latter

sprang by divine fiat from the mass of lower nature, and so is mortal and irresponsible; while the former was molded by the immediate divine hand, and quickened by the divine breath, so as to be immortal and responsible to his Maker. The Darwinian evolution teaches that man, originally also brute, was developed by natural undesign, with no fixed point of commencement for his immortality, and no indication of responsibility to any being, as having no intentional Maker. Of the diffusion of this theory, of course *animalization* is both the natural tendency and the logical result. Walt Whitman's article is logical from its premises. But it is none the less brutal. It is clothed in language of guarded delicacy, but the underlying purpose is pollution. For all the argument for nude figures is more valid for the nude living body than for the painting or statue. Says he: "It is not the picture, or nude statue, or text, with *clear aim*, that is indecent; it is the beholder's own thought." Very true, and what calls up the sensualizing thought but the nude figure, lifeless or living? When Alcibiades, naked, drove his chariot through the streets of Athens drawn by naked harlots, the pure looked on, not seduced but disgusted. Alcibiades had, forsooth, a "high, clear aim;" he was a man of great personal beauty, brilliant talent, and high æstheticism. Male and female beauty, as his chariot passed, flared splendidly on the eyes of sensual Athens, and debauched and bestialized the general mind. Pagan dogmas are now at this day struggling to bring in a similar pagan demoralization. Satanic sensuality is seeking to undo the work of Christianity, and bring back the demoralization of the Satanic Ages.

Contemporaneous with this inclined plane adown the path of morals is the singular down-sliding scale of Christian doctrine, especially in the Congregational ranks, as very specially signalized in the instance of Andover. The founders of that Seminary prescribed subscription to a certain creed, and an oath of the professors to be taken every five years, to teach nothing contrary to that creed. And now it is somehow supposed that a disregard of those fundamental prescriptions is justified by reasoning like this: Mr. Abbott and the other founders "debarred Unitarians from the enjoyment of their bounty; but did not foresee the day when the reverence of Unitarians

would be shocked by the audacious utterances of Theodore Parker, and the not much later day when some of these utterances would be freely entertained in circles indubitably orthodox;" and, he might have added, pantheism and atheism underlying Emersonism and Parkerism. Now, first, we do suppose that the very reason why the founders made such prescription was that they feared some such very defection. And Dr. Bacon's argument is that such defection is to be calculated on as a reason why no provision should be made against it. We are to hold our present beliefs not as eternal truth, but as a phase of human mutability. Our house is not built upon a rock, but upon the sand, or rather upon the heaving waves. If such is the assumption in the pulpit, what is the thought in the pews? Is it not a thin layer of belief over an ocean of skepticism? But the question is not, Were such prescriptions by the founders wise? The real question is, whether the professor who so signs and swears and violates must not be guilty of perjury. It is whether, when he teaches contrary to that creed, as certainly understood and prescribed by the founders, he could not be legally ousted by *quo warranto*. If these questions, the first especially, are to be answered affirmatively, the trustees had perhaps better sell the seminary under the hammer, and build a new seminary where every professor could teach what his own or the contemporary opinions dictated. As for the self-conceited Methodists, they believe themselves to hold the "everlasting Gospel," and are making no provision for a future plunge into pantheism or atheism. Let the generation that makes that plunge take care for itself.

PRINCETON REVIEW, May, 1882. (New York.)—1. American Agriculture: by Francis A. Walker. 2. Right and Wrong in Politics; by Sheldon Amos, LL.D. 3. Orthodox Rationalism; by Newman Smyth, D.D. 4. The Painter's Art; John F. Weir, N.A. 5. Church Economics; by Rev. Dr. John Hall. 6. The Collapse of Faith; by President Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D.

Newman Smyth's Article on Orthodox Rationalism is to our mind an impeachment of the judgment of the Andover professors and trustees in supposing him a fit teacher of Theology. It is essentially a rejection of all definite statement of Christian doctrine and the conceited substitution of cloudy wordiness. Away with the doctrine that tells us "a God proved by us would be a God made by us;" "the necessary idea of

God is the compulsion of our thought of the perfect Being." From such hands coming forth, the future preachers would turn out lofty vaporers. We repeat our opinion of his resemblance to Maurice, whose magnificent haziness always was promising something and performing nothing. We would rather go back to the despised old eighteenth century, and fasten us down, with Paley, Locke, and Blair, to solid "common sense," than float aloft in a theological balloon to the skies with these high pneumatic performers.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1882. (London.)—1. Jehovistic and Elohistic Theories; by Rev. John Urquhart. 2. The Place and Use of Doctrine; by Rev. Robert Sanders. 3. Conscience and the Blood of Sprinkling. 4. Chalmers and Schleiermacher; by Rev. Daniel Edward. 5. Professor Robertson Smith on the Pentateuch; by Rev. Prof. W. Henry Green. 6. The Sacrificial Aspect of Christ's Death; by Rev. H. B. Elliot.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1882. (London.)—1. Richard Cobden. 2. Curiosities of Bible Manuscripts. 3. Methodism and the Working Classes. 4. M. Renan's Last Volume. 5. Thirwall's Letters. 6. The Works of G. F. Watts. R.A. 7. Scientific Superstition.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. New Testament Revision—Westcott and Hort's Textual Theory. 2. Jonathan Swift. 3. English Poets and Oxford Critics. 4. Life and Letters of De Busbecq. 5. Mr. Lecky's England in the Eighteenth Century. 6. Journals of Caroline Fox. 7. The Manchester School—Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. 8. What shall be done with Ireland?

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. Epicurus and Lucretius. 2. Ants. 3. The Fair Trade Movement. 4. Fires in Theaters. 5. Ecclesiastical Migrations. 6. The Napoleonidæ. 7. The Ordnance Survey.

From the interesting article on the "Napoleonidæ," the Bonaparte family, we give the following passage in regard to the son of Josephine, Eugéne Beauharnais:

Eugéne, a man of great talent and of high character, was during his whole life a loyal adherent of the great emperor. Napoleon formed various plans of marriage for him, which were not carried out. In 1806, however, Eugéne was married to Augusta, daughter of the King of Bavaria. This princess was then engaged to the Hereditary Prince of Baden; but Napoleon compensated the latter by bestowing on him the hand of Stèphanie Beauharnais, a remote cousin of Eugéne. A letter written by Napoleon to his stepson, shortly after the marriage of the latter, is a further illustration of the minuteness of his despotism: "You must make your house gay; this is necessary for the happiness of your wife and for your own health. I lead the same

sort of existence as you do, but then I have an old wife who can amuse herself; I have also more work to do; and yet, to tell the truth, I am fonder of dissipation than you are. . . . You used to rise early; you should resume that custom. It will not disturb the arrangements of the princess if you go to bed at eleven o'clock."

Eugéne served Napoleon loyally until the fall of Paris in 1814. He then retired to Bavaria, where he was made Duke of Leuchtenberg. He visited Paris on the death of Josephine, and received offers of rank from Louis XVIII. These he declined; and he also held aloof during the Hundred Days. He used all his influence, however, on behalf of the emperor after his fall. His marriage was very happy, and at his early death in 1824 he left six children whose careers were extraordinary. His eldest son married a daughter of the Czar Nicholas, and founded the Leuchtenberg branch of the Russian Imperial family. Of the five remaining, three married respectively the sovereigns of Sweden, Portugal, and Brazil. *The unhappy Josephine is, therefore, more amply represented to-day in the world's high places than all the Bonapartes together.*—P. 235.

The sarcastic article on "Ecclesiastical Migrations" reminds us of the transmigrations through which the Westminster itself has passed. We once read it as the sturdy maintainer of the existence of God; but it now knows no God, no soul, no immortal existence for man. Whether in this "lowest deep" it can find a "lower deep" the future, not we, can determine. It is a luminary of twilight shedding darkness and hopelessness on all within its sad circumference.

We give some of its entertaining notices of Bishop Thirlwall:

Connop Thirlwall was the son of a clergyman, who was chaplain to Bishop Percy, editor of the "Reliques of Ancient British Poetry," but now perhaps better known by Boswell's record of his dispute with Johnson, in which the old philosopher, puffing hard with passion struggling for a vent, burst out, "Hold, sir, don't talk of rudeness . . . we have done with civility, we are to be as rude as we please."

In mental precocity young Thirlwall resembled his after-acquaintance, John Stuart Mill. At a very early period he read English so well that he was taught Latin at three years of age, and at four read Greek with an ease and fluency which astonished all who heard him. His talent for composition showed itself as early as Macaulay's, his junior in age by three years, afterward, like him, a fellow of Trinity. . . .

He was educated at Charterhouse, in one of those golden times which at successive intervals crown the harvest to schools and colleges as well as to the natural world. Among his school-

fellows was George Grote, who in after life was his fellow-laborer in the field of Greek history, and whose work, later in point of publication than the Bishop's, has in his own and in general estimation superseded it. The two friends now share the same grave in our great Abbey. At Trinity he happened on another "golden time." We have many letters written during his undergraduate period; they are decidedly priggish in their tone; they also contain illustrations of some of the mental characteristics which continued with him through life. Thus in a letter on Cicero, written in his twentieth year, he expresses the opinion that "the Christian religion had introduced with it no innovations at all in ethics, that it had laid down no principle of morality which had not been acknowledged and inculcated by either all or the best of the heathen writers long before; this opinion was founded on an unbiased view he had taken of the ancient philosophy, as he met with an exposition of it in the works of Cicero." In fact, throughout his life his religion was more of the school of Cicero than of the school of Christ. In the same letter we find the future editor of Schleiermacher avowing "that if the external evidence for the miracle [of the conversion of Constantine] were tenfold stronger than it is, he should upon mature reflection decidedly reject it." . . .

He determined "to rush into the pursuit of the law with a desperate activity, propelled by the single forlorn chance of amassing a competent fortune in time sufficient to free himself from the trammels of business, before his views and tastes and sentiments had undergone a total change." He, therefore, entered at Lincoln's Inn in February, 1850, [*sic*] but his aversion to the law was never concealed; and once conversing with a college friend on the subject of successful lawyers, after setting forth the drudgery and thankless efforts of a rising junior, and the utter want of leisure of his successful seniors, he added, "I think it was Sir Matthew Hale who observed that a successful lawyer commonly died in his bed surrounded by his family, which I suppose is intended as some compensation for the little happiness he has enjoyed in this life, and his very doubtful chance of happiness in that to come." He was called to the bar in 1825, and joined the Home Circuit. In the same year he published his translation of Schleiermacher's Essay on St. Luke, with his own celebrated introduction. The publication of this book not only showed that his mind retained its early theological bent shown by the "Primitiæ," but it was an epoch in the history of English theology. "Many there are," said Dean Stanley, "who in his masterly analysis of the composition of the Gospel narrative first gained an insight at once alike into the complicated structure and the profound substance of the sacred volume." The law is a jealous mistress, and with Thirlwall's aversion to its practice, and his utter want of ambition for its honors, his success at the bar was not to be looked for, and two years after his call he left the legal profession forever. We assent to an

anonymous remark quoted by the editors of the "Letters," "that equity lost in him an incomparable judge." With his power of "serene ratiocination," he would have equaled, perhaps surpassed, Eldon, or even a greater judge, Cottenham. "But," adds the same authority, "he carried the temper, and perhaps the habit, of equity into all his subsequent work." His legal studies certainly left a mark on him which was never effaced. His sermon, "The Resurrection not Incredible," is purely a forensic argument. "There is again [to quote Dean Stanley] an old English word which has now somewhat lost its meaning, but which in former times was applied to one of our greatest divines, Richard Hooker—the word 'Judicious.' We now use it in the restricted sense of 'cautious' or 'sagacious.' But in its proper meaning it signified that quality of judgment, discretion, discrimination, which is the chief characteristic of the Biblical virtue of wisdom. Hardly perhaps has there been any English theologian, rarely even any professional judge, to whom this epithet, in this its true sense of *judicial, judge-like*, was more truly applicable than to his serene and powerful intellect. In that massive countenance, in that measured diction, in that deliberate argument, in those weighty decisions, it seemed as though Themis herself were enshrined to utter her most impressive oracles, as if he was a living monument, on which was inscribed: '*Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas*,' as if he had absorbed into his inmost being the evangelical precept, Judge not according to appearance, but judge righteous judgment."

Such being the character of his mind, as was to be expected his addresses to his clergy assumed "entirely the form of judicial utterances on each of the great controversies which have agitated the Church of England for the last thirty years, and thus became the most faithful as well as impressive record of that eventful time." "There would be some chance for the Church," said Macaulay, "if we had more churchmen of the same breed, worthy successors of Leighton and Tillotson.

On leaving the bar, Thirlwall went into residence at Trinity, and there resumed, if indeed it be right to say he had ever laid aside, that task of acquiring fresh knowledge which he began even before he reached his eleventh year, and continued with indomitable energy even to the very last, in old age, in blindness and solitude; ever adding another and yet another finish to the never-ending education of his capacious mind, and justifying the title bestowed on him by Dean Stanley of "a universal scholar." "There was hardly a civilized language which he had not explored, both in its structure and its literature." In the last days of his life, *after blindness had closed his eyes*, he translated (through successive dictations) into Latin, Greek, German, Italian, Spanish, French, Welsh, the Apologue, pagan, it is noteworthy, rather than Christian in expression, if not also in sentiment: "That as sleep is the brother of death, thou must be careful to commit thyself to the care of Him who is to awaken

thee both from the death of sleep and from the sleep of death, and which tells us further that the outward occurrences of life, whether prosperous or adverse, have no more effect than dreams on our real condition, since virtue alone is the real end and enduring good."

It is to be regretted, as Dean Stanley admits, that with such a good right to the title claimed for him of "universal scholar," his prodigious acquisition of knowledge was not accompanied by a corresponding productiveness.

The calm of his second residence at Cambridge was broken by the outbreak of the controversy as to the admission of Dissenters to the Universities, and the publication of Thirlwall's memorable pamphlet in its favor. Indeed, to religious liberty he was, as a rule, always friendly, as was shown by his facing "The Mob of Bishops" in the House of Lords; and not only voting, but speaking in favor of the removal of Jewish Disabilities.

In this pamphlet the subject of compulsory attendance at the College Chapel services was treated "in a serious, deliberate, and decided manner," with a view of showing it had a detrimental effect on the students. In consequence of the liberal tone of the pamphlet, and what Macaulay called "the unutterable baseness and dirtiness" of the college authorities, Thirlwall had to give up the assistant tutorship which, up to that time, he had held under Whewell. As a well-deserved compensation, Lord Brougham, in the last days of his chancellorship, offered him the living of Kirby Underdale, in Yorkshire. Thirlwall accepted the offer, and terminated his connection with Cambridge. "Thirlwall's parochial work," wrote J. C. Hare to Whewell, "is perfect." In July, 1840, Lord Melbourne, a great theological student, who had read Thirlwall's translation of Schleiermacher and the Introduction—offered him the vacant See of St. David's. Melbourne avowed that he did not like heterodox bishops; they might, he said, be very good men, but he thought they had not any business on the bench. Suspicious of Thirlwall's orthodoxy, he had previously sent the book to the Primate (Archbishop Howly) and asked him for his candid opinion on it. That eminently cautious person replied that he did not concur in all Thirlwall's opinions, but saw nothing heterodox in the book. Thirlwall, accordingly, *non obstante Schleiermacher*, was consecrated Bishop of St. David's; and his episcopate of four-and-thirty years showed that Melbourne had put the right man in the right place.

His long episcopate was passed in as much quietness, indeed, in as much seclusion, as his public position allowed. *Deafness, to a great extent, rendered general society irksome to him.* A single man, and always much alone, to him well applied Bishop Copleston's description of Newman, "*Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus.*" In the absence of human society he delighted in that companionship of members of what he called "the much-maligned and often-persecuted race of cats, whose moral qualities he rated highly; and in observations of the habits of his geese,

the most singular choice of pets which we happen to remember." His happiest hours were those spent in Chaos—as he appropriately called the library at Abergwili Palace. During the last ten years of his episcopate he wrote to a young lady, a member of a Welsh family in which the Bishop took a great interest, the letters now published under the title, "Letters to a Friend." "It was felt," says Dean Stanley in his preface, "that they supply a side of the bishop's character which was not sufficiently appreciated in his life-time," and which is not shown in the correspondence with his contemporaries now published in the companion volume, "Letters of Bishop Thirlwall." Each of these volumes, but more especially the "Letters to a Friend," abound in valuable matter. His remarks on literary men and their works, particularly on novels, are highly interesting; his letters on religious subjects show how he had succeeded in fulfilling Dr. Johnson's injunction, "Clear your mind of cant." We have space left only for a few brief extracts. As specimens of his judgments on contemporaries, we give his estimate of Grote: "His intellectual greatness was brought out in higher relief to those who knew the man by the simplicity and amiableness of his character." Of another early friend, John Stuart Mill, he says: "I always considered him as a noble spirit who had the misfortune of having been educated by a narrow-minded pedant who cultivated his intellectual faculties at the expense of all the rest, yet did not succeed in stifling them." Of another friend, who could fairly claim with himself the title of universal scholar, he remarks: "It was Sir George Lewis who made that philosophical remark about life and its pleasures. It was the simple expression of his own lifelong experience. Very few other men could have said the same thing sincerely. To him the business of life was all that there was attractive in it. But I am not sure whether he was incapable of enjoying light reading. If so, I admire rather than envy him."

Of Pius IX. he wrote: "It was only through family interest that he passed his examination for Holy Orders. If he had not been a Mastai, the future infallible doctor would have been plucked. And he has never had need to study theology since he became Pope, for he has lived in the constant belief that he enjoys a special inspiration of the Virgin Mary, which more than supplies the place of study."

Discussing with his friend the question "whether it was not the fact that to the philosophers death was only a law, while to the Fathers it was not only a law but a punishment," he says: "You ask, 'Why should death—except the manner of it—be considered a punishment at all, when it leads us to better things'—to a somewhere without pain or perplexity or sin? How does it follow that death is not a punishment because it leads to better things? Suppose a man desires to reach some pleasant field lying on the other side of a field which is crossed by a good bridge. If he is prevented from going over the bridge and

forced to take the water, may not that be considered as a punishment? If an invalid, subject to sea-sickness, is compelled to take a voyage to Madeira because he is debarred from the use of medicine or a change of air which would have effected his cure at home, is not that in the nature of a punishment? Is it sufficient consolation to a mother of a young emigrant, under the anguish of parting, to believe that he is going to make his fortune at the antipodes; and would she not equally consider it as a punishment if he was debarred from an equally profitable employment in his own country? Is human life in general such a scene of unmitigated misery that every one should be anxious to hurry out of it with the certainty of being a gainer by the change of state? And are the ties which bind us to earthly relatives and friends so slight that they may be severed without any touch of pain? Surely these are monstrous paradoxes against which the common sense of mankind revolts. . . ."

On the cognate question of a future state, and referring to the well-known American book on that subject, "The Gates Ajar," he says: "I was exceedingly entertained with it, partly as a delightful picture of American life, and still more by its view of the future state. With regard to this, however, I can only speak relatively. How near it approaches to the truth I should not venture to say; but I am quite sure that it comes infinitely nearer to it than that which is represented by Deacon Quirle, and that it would be an immense gain if it superseded that of congregations which ne'er break up, and Sabbaths which have no end."

From one of the last "Letters to a Friend," we take this characteristic reference to the "steadily progressing failure of his eyesight:" "I learn to appreciate the good-will of St. Paul's Galatians, though suspecting they were not sorry to be unable to make the sacrifice." The reference in the letter is to Gal. iv, 15: "*I bear you record that if it had been possible*, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and given them to me." —Pp. 220–224.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1882. (London.)—1. Mohammedanism and the Ottoman Turks. 2. The Influence of the Italian Renaissance on the Elizabethan Stage. 3. Lucretius, Tyndall, Picton, Martineau: Some Theories of Matter and its Relation to Life. 4. Astronomical Explanations of the Force of Inertia 5. Of the Imitation of Christ. 6. The Sculptures of Pergamon in the Berlin Museums. 7. The Union with England of Scotland and Ireland. 8. Democracy in France in 1882. 9. The Imperial Elections in Germany.

So much has been said of the noble character of the Turks by Bosworth Smith, and others, that it may be well to notice, from the first article, the following description of the *sensuality, physical decline, and final destiny of that race in Europe.*

It must be confessed that the Turks are a sensual people, and that their sensuality takes the form, mainly, of licentiousness.

We do not refer to the practice of polygamy, for we are convinced that polygamy is much less common among them than is generally supposed. We refer to the degrading illicit intercourse which has generally been described as a crime against nature. We believe, moreover, that this sensual character of the Turks is derived from and nurtured to a very large extent by their religion. The personal character of Mohammed entered largely into the system which he founded; the weakest point of his character is the weakest point of his system. He was a sensualist, and his religion is a sensual religion. That this charge is well founded is shown by the almost convulsive efforts of his modern defenders to blunt its edge, and to apologize for their hero on account of personal peculiarities of temperament, or to throw upon surrounding circumstances the main responsibility of his confessed departure from the law of virtue and purity. . . .

No one of the Mohammedan races has carried out the license given to sensual passion by the Koran and the adhering tradition to such an extent as have the Ottoman Turks, and no race has suffered so much from that license. The evil consequences are far-reaching and baleful in the extreme. It is to feed Turkish sensuality that the slave-trade throughout the empire and in the interior of Africa is maintained. The beautiful, fair daughters who are purchased from the Georgians and Circassians also find their way at last to the harems of Constantinople, Brusa, Smyrna, Adrianople, Aleppo, Bagdad, and other towns and cities of Asia Minor. One of the direct results of this sensuality is that the Turks have degenerated physically during the past two hundred years. That the conquerors of Constantinople were a hardy race of great physical strength there can be no doubt; that the great majority of modern Turks are of an effeminate type is equally certain; very many of them are persons of fine appearance, but they are physically weak, without elasticity, giving the impression of men who have lost their vitality. The same may be said even more emphatically of Turkish women; they are small in stature, of a sickly complexion, easily fatigued by slight exertion, and become prematurely old. After the age of forty all feminine beauty is gone; the eyes have become sunken, the cheeks hollow, the face wrinkled; and there remains no trace of the activity and physical strength often seen in English women of sixty-five, or even of seventy, years of age. Another immediate result of the prevailing sensuality is the mental imbecility of multitudes of the Ottoman Turks; great numbers among them are intellectually stupid. Many, even of the young men, have the vacant look which borders close on the idiotic state. Severe mental application is for them almost a physical impossibility. It is well known that in all branches of business where considerable mental activity is required, the Turks employ Christians to work for them. This is owing, not so much to a lack of education, or to a general want of energy, as in many cases to a mental incapacity which often amounts to real imbecil-

ity. Obvious illustration of the special topic now discussed is furnished by the royal family itself. Sultan Abdul Mejid, Sultan Abdul Aziz, and the deposed Sultan Murad, were all men of depraved minds, vicious habits, intemperate and sensual in the extreme, and were alike devoid of moral character and mental capacity. Mental incapacity, however, from the causes alleged is not confined by any means to the wealthy and aristocratic classes; it is found in all grades of society.

Another resultant evil, generated by Mohammedanism among the Turkish race, is the degradation of women. Arabs, Kurds, Turcomans, and Circassians, all treat their women with more respect than do the Turks. It is not easy to draw a true picture of the condition and character of the wives and daughters of the Ottoman Moslems; even the outlines of such a picture would offend the taste of western readers. We can only, therefore, in general terms, say that Turkish women live and die in a state of moral and social degradation. The earnest efforts that are made to seclude the female sex from the observation of males, so far from promoting virtue among them, has a positive tendency in the opposite direction. The "harem," so sacredly secluded from the world, is the nursery of impure desires, the home of vile gossip; its atmosphere is tainted with pollution. The Turkish women, excluded as they are from the society of men, learn to think of all intercourse with the opposite sex as low and degrading, and this conviction or sentiment works like a moral poison at the very source of family and social life. In this impure moral atmosphere Turkish children are born and reared; the vile language which is heard from their lips as soon as they are old enough to appear in the streets is the language which they have learned from their mothers and sisters, and from the female servants of the harem. We question whether the children of the most degraded heathen tribes use language more thoroughly polluted than that commonly used by the Turkish children in their early years. An able French writer has recently said: "Nothing would contribute more to the regeneration and well-being of the inhabitants of Turkey and Egypt than the abolition of the harem system. Probably there are few who have paid attention to the effect of slavery in Eastern countries who do not see that its existence has much to do in producing the lethargy and sensuality so destructive of all the best intents of the people. It forms a sort of inclosure within which the Mussulman lives a peculiar life; an outwork behind which he finds a refuge from the influence of civilization and Christianity. Destroy this, and his existence will undergo a change, and he will become a different person altogether."

Joseph Cooper, the earnest and able advocate of the abolition of the African slave-trade, in a recent pamphlet on "Turkey and Egypt," well says: "It is to supply these countries that multitudes of Africans are still driven under a burning sun, and undergo the torture of thirst, hunger, and fatigue, over a large

portion of Northern or Central Africa, where the paths of the desert are to be traced by the bleached bones of human skeletons. . . . The principal demand for slaves is for the harems; to supply these, twenty, forty, and sometimes sixty, pounds sterling are paid for a slave, a price that would insure a supply in spite of the most stringent laws honestly enforced."

In a small volume, issued in 1875, on "Slavery and the Slave-Trade in Africa," the same writer has shown most conclusively that the internal slave-trade of Africa is maintained, to a large extent, in order to supply the demand for slaves in Turkey and Egypt.

Another sad result of the evils we have been describing is a marked decrease in the Turkish population. Reliable statistics are unknown in Turkey; in fact, there are no statistics at all in regard to births and deaths. Almost all travelers in the country are struck with the decline of the Turkish population. This decline is indicated by the small number of children seen in the Turkish towns and villages as compared with the comparatively large number of children seen in Christian towns and villages. It is also indicated by the deserted and ruined condition of the Turkish quarters in many cities as compared with the overflowing population of the Christian quarters. The heavy draft made on the Turkish population to supply the armies accounts, to some extent, for this decline, but this is not the only nor the the chief cause; the decline is, in the main, owing to the moral causes we have indicated. . . .

What, then, may we anticipate as the future of the Turkish people? In the *first* place, as an inference from the history of the past, we conclude that there is no probability of the Turks amalgamating with any of the Christian races. During the four hundred years of Turkish rule in Asia Minor there has been no approach to such an amalgamation; they never intermarry with the Christians; the races are as distinct to-day as when the first wild emigrants from beyond the Caspian pitched their tents on the banks of the Sakarius, in the plains of Bithynia. *Nor is there any hope* that the Turks will reform themselves on the basis of their own religious system. Writers like Mr. J. Bosworth Smith seem to indulge in a dream of this sort. Such an opinion would be worthy of consideration if it could be supported by facts. We think, on the contrary, that the teachings of history prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the religious system of Mohammed is the prime source of the political decrepitude, as of the moral and social evils, that so darken the entire horizon of the Ottoman Turks.

As we have tried to point out the sore spots in the life and character of this people, even at the risk of offending the good taste of our readers, we do not hesitate to intimate that the remedies to be applied should be in the direction of removing the causes of the direful disease. We have but little hope of the self-reformation of the Turkish race; if there is any hope at

all, it comes from the possibility of giving to them the elements of Christian education. Hitherto they have shown but little disposition to avail themselves of the educational advantages placed within their reach. The schools that have been established by foreigners, with a view to the civilization and reformation of the country, have been attended almost exclusively by Christian youths. Notwithstanding all that has been said by Colonel Baker and others in regard to the recent improvements in the school system of Turkey, the fact still remains that the masses of the Turks, old and young, are in a state of deplorable ignorance. The boasted improvements are in schemes proposed, not in plans carried out. The Turkish mind seems incapable of receiving any stimulus in the direction of intellectual activity. We search in vain for evidence of inventive genius, for machines made by native Turks, for factories, for works of art, for improvements in the most common methods of commerce and agriculture, for schools in which the most simple principles of modern science are taught. We are sorry it is true, but, being true, we think the fact should be known and acknowledged, that the Turks seem entirely content with their ignorance. A few who have enjoyed opportunities of study in Europe have shown considerable intellectual capacity, especially as linguists, and occasionally, in individual instances, some progress has been made in the study of natural sciences, but such examples only make more striking the prevailing ignorance and inaptitude. The results of recent investigations, and the modern methods of study, are as much unknown to the great majority of Turks as they are to the North American Indians. . . .

What prospect is there that the Turks will accept Christianity? We think, humanly speaking, the prospect is exceedingly slight. In saying this we do not question the divine authority and power of the Christian religion. We admit that nations more wild, savage, and vicious than the Turks have accepted that religion, and have been influenced by it in the most wonderful manner. We only speak of the probabilities of the case as drawn from a careful study of the history and character of the Turks themselves. Intellectually, the main obstacle to the acceptance of Christianity is the doctrine of the Sonship of Christ; practically, the main obstacle is the fact that the Gospel requires the entire, unreserved, and unconditional abandonment of the sensuality which has become to the Turk almost a second nature. The Turks often declare that "the Gospel is an iron *lebleb* (roasted pea) which we cannot eat." Dr. Hamlin gives a list of some forty or fifty persons in all who have been baptized from among this people by the American and English missionaries. We are sorry he does not give the history of these converts from Mohammedanism subsequent to this baptism. The number is small, but all would be glad to know how many of even this small number have remained true to their new faith, and have lived in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel.

Dr. Hamlin is of the opinion that the number of Turkish converts would have been much larger had there been more extended and more direct efforts made in the way of evangelization. This is possible, yet there can be little doubt that the widespread and publicly recognized efforts of the Bible and Missionary Societies in Turkey must have reached, to a considerable extent, nearly all classes of the population. Tens of thousands of Turks must have had opportunity to learn what are the fundamental principles of evangelical Christianity, either through the printed page or from the lips of the earnest and simple converts, who have been gathered in such large numbers into self-supporting and independent Churches throughout the country. We fear that the real difficulty is deeper than a want of knowledge, although it cannot be claimed that the Gospel has been preached widely among, and directly to, the Ottomans. They seem to be in a state of moral and spiritual collapse, in which all appeals calculated to arouse them to a higher life fall upon ears that are stone deaf.

In reviewing the whole case as it now lies before us—putting possibilities aside—we confess that the most probable result in regard to the Turks is that *they will become extinct as a race.* The causes operating in this direction are powerful and easily understood. The most potent cause is the one which we have already pointed out—the inherent corruption of the people themselves. Another powerful cause, operating in the same direction, is the external pressure from the advancing Christian races of the empire. Ignorant, superstitious, and degraded as the bulk of the Christians are, there is yet in them a basis for improvement. They have physical strength and dormant capabilities of moral growth; they are not radically corrupt, and they have the desire to improve their condition. No one familiar with Turkey for the past twenty-five years can have failed to notice what rapid progress has been made by the Christian races, while the Moslems, especially the Turkish Moslems, have either remained stationary or have rapidly retrograded. The testimony of the American Missionary, Rev. Dr. Hamlin, on this point is worthy of special notice: "The Rayahs (he says, 'Among the Turks,' p. 376) are working up to a knowledge of their power and their rights. The Porte can no longer carry on the government without their aid, and they are pressing in on every side. Their progress in education, their knowledge of foreign languages and foreign countries, the superior activity and energy of the Christians, are all in their favor, and twenty years more of accelerated progress like that of the past ten years, under the worst sovereign Turkey ever had, will change all these tens into hundreds of thousands.... The Christian element of the empire is steadily gaining power and influence, and even if bloody revolutions do not hasten the day of freedom, it is sure to come by moral forces."

But whatever the future may be, we cannot doubt that the fertile lands now under Turkish sway will be recovered to

civilization and freedom, and be made the home of human happiness. The Turk cannot stop, though for a time he may hinder, the onward march of modern progress; he may be regenerated and restored, or he may be left behind and overwhelmed; but we are very sure that, unless he at once begins to keep step with the nations of the world, he cannot remain the master of those fair regions over which he has so long dominated, but which he has neither governed nor improved.—Pp. 283–294.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1882. (Calcutta.)—1. Hindu Eclecticism; by Ram Chunder Bose. 2. History of Travancore; by the Rev. S. Mateer. 3. Psychology and Preaching. 4. An Excommunicated Nun; by Mrs. Robert Clark. 5. Missionary Letters. I. Japan. By Rev. T. S. Wynkoop. 6. An Oriental Interpretation of the Bible, a Factor in Christian Progress in India; by Rev. J. P. Jones. 7. Patna, Gaya, and Benares—Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity; by the Editor.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. BRIEGER. Vol. V., No. 3. *Essays:* 1. REUTER, Augustinian Studies, IV. 2. BARTELS, Contributions to Pietism in East Friesland and the Neighboring Provinces; Second Paper. *Critical Review:* Labors in Biblical Archæology in the Years 1879 and 1880; by VICTOR SCHULTZE. *Analecta:* 1. ERBES, History of the SS. Quatuor Coronati. 2. HAUPT, A Begharden Trial in Eichstädt in the Year 1381. 3. *Miscellanies:* by KAWERAU, NESTLE, HOFFMANN, and RÖHRICHT.

The most acceptable article in this number of the Journal is that by Victor Schultze on the Biblical Archæological Labors of the years 1879 and 1880, that is, of the present epoch. The various works that he quotes and criticises show a remarkable activity among modern scholars in this sphere of biblical investigation. And for convenient reference for experts in this line of study, we think it well to quote them: Kraus treats of the conception, extent, and history of Christian archæology, and the significance of these monumental studies for historical theology; Shultze, of the importance of the an cient Christian monuments for theological investigation, and also of the symbolics of the ancient Christians; Le Blant, a French author, gives a treatise on symbolism in the representations of the early Christians, and also the Christian sarcophagi of Arles; Kraus again appears in the "Encyclopædia of Christian Antiquities," on the same subject; Cassell writes

about the "Phœnix and its Era," a contribution to the study of art, symbolics, and chronology; and Shultze again appears in a monogram entitled, "*De Christianorum veterum rebus sepulcralibus.*" Armellini, an Italian author, treats of the Roman Catacombs, as does Merz, a German, in the "Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology."

Such an array of workers in this same line of investigation, within two years, proves the extent to which this study is gaining ground among modern theologians. In peculiar contrast to this zealous study of Christian archæology in the present period is the fact that even yet it is not easy to draw the boundary line within which the investigation shall be confined. Italian and French archæologists are inclined to fix the limits at the death of Gregory the Great, but Piper, the most distinguished German authority, would bring it down to the present era. However much Piper may be in advance, the former certainly place the barriers at too early a date. The symbolics and iconography of the Middle Ages, as well as that of the first three centuries of the Christian era, certainly fall within the limits of Christian antiquities. On the other hand, it seems quite inadmissible to confine the period to the years from the Reformation to the present, for such a procedure would exclude the important epochs above mentioned. There is also a state of indecision regarding the most appropriate name for the science; shall it be called "Christian" Archæology or "Monumental"? The former would indicate both monumental and literary sources, while the latter would seem to confine it solely to ancient monuments. But more important than these questions is that as to the results which this study promises to bring to theological science; and this will depend largely on the sphere to which it shall confine itself. This is mostly decided to be the external history of Church life as delineated on the ancient monuments of Christian communities or organizations, and thus the term "Monumental Theology" is gaining ground as the most fitting one to indicate the science. The reviewer of these various works finds much in them to criticise, and complains especially of the tendency to imaginative theories, such, for instance, as that the Phœnix was not an ancient Christian symbol of the resurrection, but rather of Christ, and that there was an identity in these symbols

between the peacock and the phœnix. The author also finds little to praise in the work of Armellini on the Catacombs of Rome, though a Roman might well be expected to be an authority on this subject. Armellini seems to have compiled his own work more from the pages of Rossi than from his own personal explorations. The article on the Catacombs in the new "New Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology" also comes in for a share of censure, as it is declared to be unworthy of the present status of information regarding these asylums for the Christian dead. We learn, therefore, from all this, that the science of monumental theology is zealously cultivated, and is destined to grow apace, so that it will not be long before the theologians and the schools must give it a place in the repertory of their studies.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1882. Third Number. *Essays:* 1. ZIMMER, Hebrews ii, 1–5. 2. HESS, Historical Investigations Concerning the Order of the Principal Sabbath Service in the Duchy of Saxe-Gotha. *Thoughts and Remarks:* RÖSCH, *Caput Asininum. Reviews:* 1. KÖSTLIN, Luther's Life. 2. SCHÖBERLIN, Principle and System of Dogmatics, reviewed by Häring. 3. SHULTZE, The Doctrine of the Godhead of Christ; *Communicatio idiomatum*, reviewed by Schmidt.

The Caput Asininum, or the Asinine Head, is a curious historical study concerning the worship of the ass among the Jews, and even among the early Christians, according to the assertions of their foes. Rösch terms it a peculiar historico-religious enigma, handed down to us by the polemics of Rome and Alexandria, forgotten then for a long period, and then revived in the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the attention and study of such men as Bochart, Jablonski, and Michaelis; and in later years by Movers, Daumer, and Pleyte. Müller, in his critical study of Tacitus on the Jews, has paid the most attention to this peculiar subject, and exhumes a good deal that had been well-nigh forgotten. The oldest charge made against the Jews of the worship of the ass comes from Apion. This Egyptian author, in his work on the Jews, seems to have treated the subject as a scholar in quest of truth, and to have had rare advantages to understand the matter because of his position between the Orient and the Occident, and his knowledge of Rome under the three emperors, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. From the writings of Posidonius and Apollonius he learned that the Jews in their temple

at Jerusalem had set up the head of an ass and made it the object of idolatrous adoration, a fact first made known by Antiochus Epiphanes when he plundered the temple, as he then found an asinine head of solid gold which he regarded as rich booty. A certain Damocritus also reports the worship of the asinine head by the Jews, though some believe this knowledge to have been gained through Apion, as above. Tacitus and his Grecian contemporary, Plutarch, relate that the Jews in their wanderings in the wilderness had learned to respect and venerate the ass, because it had guided them in their journeys and saved them from suffering and exhaustion, and had thus set it up in their temple as an object worthy of adoration. The accusation against the Christians of indulging also in this worship passed naturally to them as being but a sect of the Jews, and was cultivated by contemporary enemies, according to Tertullian, who regarded them as a "*genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ.*" The entire essay is learned and exhaustive, and again teaches us how great a fire a little spark may kindle.

An article of more practical and general interest is the life of Luther, by Köstlin, one of the editors of this Review. It is a *critique* of his own extensive work on Luther, in two volumes, recently published. One would suppose that even Martin Luther was long since exhausted by German scholars, but Köstlin claims to have written this for the laity as well as the clergy, and to have tried at least to make it the most perfect biography of Luther extant. In this claim he is supported by a recent critic in a Swiss review, who frankly declares that it treats every point, even the smallest ones, in the checkered life of the great Reformer. As we glance over this essay we perceive that the author pays a valuable tribute to Luther's entire experience in connection with the journey to Worms, and throws new light on some of the incidents of that famous event. He confirms the truth of the assertion of the sublime hero in his famous words: "I can do no otherwise; here I stand, so help me God!" which exclamation has been questioned. Köstlin finds it on a fly-leaf in an old work of the library of Heidelberg, which shows at least that it was contemporary with Luther, and not manufactured afterward for effect. He also finds the same expression in an old edi-

tion of Luther's entire works in Latin, published in 1546. The document of the proceedings at Worms also gives the same expression, but in order thus: "Here I stand; I can do no otherwise; God help me; amen!" This document was printed in 1521, and none is found between these dates. It was prepared before Luther's death, and printed shortly afterward, so that many were then living who could have refuted it, and would have done so had it not been strictly true. Melanchthon was also then watching over the memory of his deceased friend, and he was not a man seeking after theatrical effect, and would certainly have made the correction had there been an error.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) February, 1882.—1. SECRETAN, The Problem of Prayer. 2. ROBIN, Measures for the Repression of Crime. 3. Pastor and Priest, an Episode of Terror in Alsace. 4. German Chronicles, by LICHTENBERGER. Literary Notices by CH. B., and Monthly Review by PRESSENSÉ.

March, 1882.—1. SECRETAN, Problem of Prayer; Second Article. 2. MONOD, The Light of the World. 3. ALONE, A Psychological Romance. Literary Notices by ROBERTY, and Monthly Review by PRESSENSÉ.

April, 1882.—L. E., Origin of the Reformation in France. 2. SCHLOESING, The Criticism of Renouvier. 3. BENOIT, Means of Reviving Christian Life in our Churches. 4. SABATIER, Literary Chronicle. English Chronicles by E. W., and Monthly Review by PRESSENSÉ.

The *Revue Chretienne* is distinguished for the readiness with which it turns to matters of general import, and an article in the February number is wholly devoted to the measures for the repression of crime in criminals who have served their term of imprisonment and returned to the community. These are decidedly the most dangerous classes, for they soon become professional criminals, who know no other way of gaining a living than of preying on the community. This *vagabond class* is rapidly increasing in Paris, and is a subject of alarm to politico-economists. Eleven thousand of them were arrested in 1877, and thirteen thousand in 1880. One prisoner in ten, at least, is of this *vagabond* class, and these appear four times oftener than any other, so that vagabonds alone form about one half of those who appear before the courts. In the beginning these men are not dangerous, but when they have once

entered the fatal path, they go rapidly, and, classed as they are among released criminals, they soon enter a more depraved and wicked class, with whom they become acquainted in the prisons. The author believes that much of this evil might be cured by an efficacious protection before their first committal, or at least by admission into some protective institution for a while after their release from prison. Their very isolation from society renders them a prey to crime, and thus the grand recruits for the great army of criminals. Thus the article is mainly devoted to the recommendation for the establishment of asylums or homes where released criminals may go for a meal and lodging, and good advice and assistance in finding employment and leading an honest life.

In the April number Benoit makes a valiant appeal for the revival of religious life in the Protestant Churches. And this awakening in the French Churches was certainly never more necessary than to-day. The doors are rapidly opening in all parts of France for the preaching of the Gospel. It is very gratifying to learn of the success obtained by Protestant evangelists in Catholic centers. Hirsh is busy in the Creuse and the Corrèze, and Fourneau, Revéillaud, and Meyer, to name only these, are on the platform in other departments. All that is needed is to announce anywhere a *conference* or lecture on religious and moral subjects, be it in the theaters, ball-rooms, or Protestant temples, as the churches are called, and they are sure of a well-disposed and attentive crowd. And especially is this the case in the halls where popular meetings are organized for the *ouvriers*, or workingmen, whether in Paris or Marseilles, Bordeaux, Rochefort, or Toulouse. The question that French pastors and Christians are now asking of the world, indeed, is this: "Who will evangelize our country?" Who will furnish the workmen for this sacred work? This aid cannot come from even Liberal Catholicism, for this is more Catholic than Liberal, that is, more Romish than Christian. It is well to extend to such work a Christian sympathy, especially when it comes, for instance, in so respectable and attractive a form as from Père Hyacinthe, but his influence is confined to a very narrow sphere. No, the Church that must evangelize the France of to-day is that of the sixteenth century—the Church of the Reformation. It is to that Church that so

many hungry and eager spirits are now looking for light and truth. It is to the French Protestants that the masses in France, who are dissatisfied with the false or negative religion of the day, are extending their arms and uttering the Macedonian cry. And those, alas! feel their own weakness and powerlessness. These very Churches, who would need to consecrate themselves to the work of revival in the bosom of the Catholic masses, how much they need a revival in their own midst! How difficult it is for them to draw even a fraction of their professed followers to their altars. One of the pastors recently exclaimed: "I recollect with sorrow a Sabbath lately passed in a church in Vaunage. As I was going to the temple, I passed through a group of about sixty men, most of them Protestants, who were enjoying the sun and chatting. I thought, in my simplicity, that they were awaiting the passage of the preacher in order to follow him to the house of prayer. But the service was finished without their crossing the threshold. They would have thought themselves dishonored by such an act, though, in default of piety, curiosity alone might have attracted them to hear a stranger's voice." Many honest endeavors have been made to render Protestant services attractive to French hearers, and none of a more decided character than that of Pastor Bersier of the Temple de l'Etoile, so well known to all Protestant Christians who spend any time in Paris. Bersier has prepared a litany for the use of the Reformed Churches of France, and uses it in his church by means of a reader who assists him. It is very beautiful to read and to listen to, but it borders much on the service of the Episcopalian Church, and is thus judged by the author of this article: "One can use this only in rare cases, and mainly in congregations where religious life already exists. I do not believe that the experience is entirely favorable. I recall the painful impression that this Anglican service made on my own mind. These lifeless responses, this irreverent habit of reciting together the Lord's Prayer in the style of the schools, fairly scanning the sentences. One can attribute to various causes the relative success that it has obtained in the Church of Bersier. But the children of the Huguenots who so often worshiped in caves and forests find this portion of the service very long, and it is only made supportable by the thought of

soon hearing the eloquent and living words of the eminent preacher."

One of the gifted family of the Monods, in his article in the March number on "The Light of the *World*," runs into the same strain of sorrow and appeal to his colleagues in the great work of the salvation of France: "O members of the Evangelical Free Churches, will you deserve your beautiful name? Will you indeed be free, with not merely a negative liberty, which is not a favorable soil for the growth of true liberty, but with that liberty itself, the glorious liberty of the children of God? Will you be evangelical Christians? Will you be the *light of the world?* Then submit to the Gospel, not only in your heart but in your life. Be inspired with the feelings that were in Jesus Christ. In the midst of men, be new men; be the most generous, the most humble, and most just, for no kindness, no charity, is of value without *justice*. Be the first to forget wrongs suffered, the last to welcome or extend evil reports without motive. Show yourselves men of faith and courage; this will be the light to your feet. Perhaps it will not be seen, but what matters it? It is the artificial lights alone that burn to be seen; the Roman candle or the rocket dazzles for a moment and then sinks back into darkness. But the light you are required to be does not draw attention to itself; it illumines the path of men that they may reach the goal that is assigned them, and glorify your Father who is in heaven." This beautiful and saintly article was the substance of a discourse delivered at the opening of the seventeenth Synod of the *Evangelical* Churches of France; and this does not by any means include all the so-called *Reformed Churches*. Many of these, alas! have so far wandered from the true Light of the world that they are indeed false lights, whose light is darkness. But, fortunately, many others have looked steadily at the true light, though almost obscured, and they still see and recognize it, and are the leaven that shall inspire the lump. Among these the Monods stand out in bold relief, and seldom appeal to their comrades and followers without words so fitting, and thoughts so pure and godly, that we may yet hope for the evangelization of France from their efforts alone. But as the King's business bideth no delay, does it not behoove the Christian world to listen to their Macedonian cry?

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

HOME MISSION WORK IN GERMANY.

THE anti-Jewish raid and the political excitement in Germany threatened to swamp all true religious work, and many of the truest Christians have been suffering at heart at the gloomy prospect for German cities overwhelmed with socialism and infidelity. In the midst of this gloom and doubt, the very man who has been so active in opposition to the Jews and Socialists, the famous court chaplain, Stoecker, started a movement in the interest of "Christian Socialism," as he christened it, which is nothing less than an extensive home mission movement for the aid and regeneration of all classes destitute of friends and deprived of Christian influences. This has been working now for some time, and has recently made its annual report, which shows surprising results, that are the best proof of its need and acceptability. The statistics of its work tell a very significant story of the destitution of the lower classes in the most intelligent city of the world, as Berlin claims to be.

The first attention of the band of workers was devoted to the reformation of discharged criminals, and their success in this line has gained the thanks of the Consistory and the prison authorities. Three hundred and fourteen of this class have been under the care of the city missionaries, who have paid them frequent visits, and read the Bible for them and joined in song and prayer, besides finding them shelter and employment. One of the "brothers" is at the head of an asylum for this class on leaving prison, and before they have employment, the most dangerous crisis for the released criminal. This work is supported by voluntary contribution, and some light employment is carried on by those who are temporarily in the asylum. Court Chaplain Stoecker promises great results from this branch of their work. The twenty-three missionaries in the service of this cause have made more than sixty thousand visits in some of the most degraded quarters of the capital. About forty thousand families are in connection with the mission and aided or counseled by it; and the record of these is quite peculiar. Nearly forty thousand unbaptized children were found, which is, among the Germans, realized to be a sad neglect. About two thousand of these have been baptized with the consent of the parents, the others still hold back under Socialistic or anti-Christian influences. The startling fact is announced that five thousand unbaptized children die yearly. By the influence of the missionaries the figures of unconsecrated wedlock have also been notably reduced; for a few years it was seventy-five in one hundred; this is now reduced to fifty-seven. This neglect of the marriage ceremony was largely caused by the preliminaries and expense of a Church marriage. Under the civil marriage law the obstacles are in great part removed, and it is thus more easy to induce the parties to legalize their union and legitimate their children.

And again, the city mission is introducing the Sunday-school work into their sphere, hitherto scarcely known at all. They report an average attendance at their schools of two thousand one hundred and seventy-five. They have four thousand five hundred and thirty-four subscribers to religious publications adapted to their wants, and have distributed seventy thousand tracts, sold one hundred and eighty-seven Bibles, three hundred and sixty-five New Testaments, and donated eight hundred and twenty-two religious books. They have three large and several small halls where they give periodical biblical instruction of a simple and attractive character. In one large hall known as the *Friedens Kapelle* (Peace Chapel) they hold Bible meetings, prayer-meetings, children's meetings, a Sunday-school, and a sewing school for women and girls; and in addition to this there are singing schools for men, women, and children, and a people's library. A little while ago this work would have been regarded with an unfriendly eye by the city pastors as an infringement on their territory, as all these people are theoretically in their parishes and under their care; but the missionaries report two thousand visits made to the clergymen of the parishes, a proof of the friendly relation existing between them. Berlin has parishes containing from eighty thousand to one hundred and twenty-five thousand souls. No pastor can take care of these—they are not parishes, but chaos; and their very numbers prove how greatly the masses have been neglected by the "Establishment." The cry has now gone forth: "Let there be light in these dark places!" and the clergy in this period of irreligious activity begin to see the brink of ruin near which their cause now stands. They therefore now gladly receive honest and conscientious help from any quarter. And the masses now seem strangely ready for it. At the recent Easter festivities crowds of hearers thronged the churches where believing preachers were announcing the word of God. But there was no room for them. Thousands were obliged to turn away; and good men say that such a condition of things cries aloud to heaven, and welcome religious life and work even from a city mission.

AUSTRIA AND THE JEWISH QUESTION.

The Austrians now find themselves, *nolens volens*, involved in the Jewish question. The tens of thousands escaping from Russia and making their way to the United States mainly assemble in the cities of Austrian Provinces, just over the Russian border, and this brings out into activity the native and local Jews in the effort to guide them. Some two hundred rabbis, from Galicia and Buckovina have just held a convention in Lemberg, and have taken measures that make it appear that the Jews of these provinces, at least, would form a state within a state, which move is quite distasteful to the government and the people at large. The government has for some time been endeavoring to dissolve certain Jewish associations that were evidently of a political, rather than a religious, character, so that the Jews might become more

allied to and commingled with the other population. The orthodox Jews in the eastern provinces of the monarchy oppose this with great bitterness, seeming, in addition to the enjoyment of all state rights, to desire to remain still a peculiar, close corporation. In this sense the meeting of the rabbis was convened at Lemberg under the auspices of a delegate to the Parliament who is a Jewish rabbi.

The resolutions passed at this convention are a curiosity. The severest measures are to be adopted toward those Jews who in any way endeavor to introduce progressive ideas into the Jewish communities. No one may hereafter be elected to any body, be it Municipal Council, Diet, or Parliament, who does not strictly observe all ritual ceremonies. Even the right to vote is to be denied to any such offending person. Any Jews who violate ceremonial directions must be buried in that part of the grave-yards allotted to criminals and suicides. In social circles all such violators of Jewish ritual are to be avoided, and the verdict in all such cases is to be given by the rabbis. This savage and mediæval legislation has greatly exasperated the Progressive or Liberal Jews, who ask protection from the government in this trouble with their coreligionists, who have possession of the ground and the implements of their faith. This assumption over state laws is causing a great excitement in these provinces, which will soon, under such legislation, be ready to follow the example of the Russians. The masses are being enlightened on the matter by radical anti-Semitic sheets that indulge in low witticisms and caricature against the assumptions of the rabbis. In Vienna, and other large cities of Austria, radical papers are springing up in all quarters, and in Bohemia and Hungary the hatred against the Germans is giving way for the more active raid against the Jews. The Hebrew circles are alarmed to see an effort being made to hold anti-Semitic meetings in that capital, until now the stronghold of the moneyed Jews of all the empire. For the nonce, the government has tried to suppress these meetings, and thinks to have crushed the germ in the egg. But in reality this procedure simply places the anti-Semitics before the populace as martyrs. This Austrian movement against the Jews is so much the more dangerous because it is impelled by great hatred toward the Jews without any regard to their moral or religious status. The action of the rabbis makes it purely political. Even the most earnest voices that are raised against the Jews of Austria announce this, for the opposition is by no means confined to the low satirical sheets. A monograph from a professor of the University of Vienna, entitled "Babylon, Judaism, and Christendom," transposes into its exact counterpart the expression, "Salvation comes from the Jews." It contends that only the anti-Semitic and Gentile nations are on the right path, and should follow it more energetically. The God of the Jewish people was only the God of a race, and the enemies of the Jews are those alone who have the universal God of all. The author claims that the New Testament has not the least connection with the Old, and that Christ and the rise of Christianity in Israel are only to be explained by the assumption and pride

of the Jews in their race, causing a radical break with them, and the appearance of Christ among them as a protest. From the above it is evident that the imagination of some of the enemies of the Jews has got the better of their judgment, which goes to prove the exceeding bitterness of the quarrel. The watchword of this Austrian *savant* is, "Annihilation of Asiatic Demonism among Christian nations;" and it is much to be feared that this order will find acceptable soil among the multitude, who will be ready to realize it as soon as it is clear that police regulations can by no means settle the burning question. These orthodox Jews of Lemberg, with their ridiculous resolutions, are paving the way to trouble in Austria, and giving the probable solution to much of that in other European lands.

THE EVANGELIZATION OF PALESTINE.

This work continues to go bravely on, and is likely to be hastened rather than retarded by the rivalry growing up among different religious denominations in the foreign work, and the jealousy of the home powers. The Germans are taking a great interest in the work, and the "Evangelical Jerusalem Association" is just out with its statistics for the past year. It is now supporting in Palestine one hundred and thirty-nine foreign workers with four hundred and seventy-one native helpers. It reports one hundred and ten preaching stations, five thousand four hundred and fifty-five attendants, and one thousand three hundred and thirty-three communicants, and almost thirteen thousand children in its schools. The new Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem will be a German, appointed by the Prussian Crown, to succeed the deceased Bishop Barclay; and he may enter on his work with much confidence in his field of labor backed by his German supporters. This activity seems to increase the zeal of the Greek Church, for which there is ample room. This body has just established in Beyroot a "Benevolent Association," and a "Women's Aid Society." And even the Mohammedans there have founded a "Society for Useful Purposes." The Catholic Church is also becoming quite energetic under the guidance of the zealous and able patriach recently sent there, and since this Church commands great means, it expects soon to overshadow all other Christian workers in Palestine. These facts induce the German Jerusalem Association to call for increased effort for the coming year that it may not be left in the background. To stimulate German zeal it narrates the work of other non-German organizations in the East, and singles out the Americans as very active among the Copts of Egypt. It says that in the greater cities of Egypt are to be found Protestant congregations of natives that often number hundreds of souls, with large schools to which the children go in flocks, so that the buildings can scarcely contain them. In Upper Egypt there are already whole villages, priests and people, that have gone over to the Gospel. A celebrated German scholar and Oriental explorer, just returned from a long stay and labor in these lands, gives it as his opinion that at no very distant period the

Copt Christians of Upper Egypt will go *en masse* into the Protestant Churches. The German workers would gladly have this encouraging picture incite their people to greater zeal and vigilance. And this report makes no allusion to the so-called temple colonies, mainly from South Germany, which continue to work with all zeal and self-sacrifice in the evangelization of Palestine.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE French educators of the day are pursuing a very wise course in not despising their German neighbors, but rather looking toward them for what good they may get out of their Nazareth. M. Michael Bréal, one of the liveliest and most honest of them, has just given to his people a little work in duodecimo entitled, "Pedagogical Excursions." Bréal is greatly interested in the reform in the secondary schools of France, and to this end made a hasty visit to Germany to inspect the schools there, and confines his work solely to that object. He visits the schools from the highest to the lowest, makes the personal acquaintance of teachers and pupils, asks questions and patiently listens to replies, and thus treasures up a mass of practical and interesting knowledge which he gives to his countrymen in the book above quoted. He finds peculiar pleasure in the German gymnasium, and closely studies its organization, and contrasts this with the secondary schools of France thus: "Our French lyceum is the child of the doctrine and method of the Jesuits. Therefore we find in the conventual style of our schools the suppression of the family. This cloistral life, with the silence of its refectories, its prohibitions of every shade, its system of punishments and rewards, as well as of lessons and exercises, seems to make it its main object to kill all individual initiative, and confine the pupil to forms and ceremonies. To this formula of Jesuitical teaching add the military style of character imposed by the rule of Napoleon, whose main object was to make soldiers, and you have the natural explanation of the physiology of these establishments—half barracks and half cloisters—that we call *Lyceums*. Very different is the aspect of the German Gymnasium. There are few or no pupils in commons, a method calculated to excite rather than to suppress the impulse of young minds. They do not preach abstention, but responsibility; instead of mere verbal culture, where form seems to be the main purpose, they teach a practical culture whose aim is to familiarize the young with the things themselves. In France we make, or at least used to make, better Latin verses; in Germany they acquire a better understanding of the classic authors. Young people are put into the presence of difficulties and taught to conquer them. Their system of education is admirably adapted to the genius and the interests of Germany. The Reformation, which put the individual into possession of himself, has been the inspiration of German education. This has made a people so

strong that we may well say that they are to-day better armed for the great conflict of life than their neighbors." We submit that this is very sensible talk from a Frenchman in regard to Germany, and we consider the book of Bréal admirably conceived to aid France in throwing off the traditional spirit of Jesuitism that has so long ruled her pedagogics.

The infamous character of many of the French periodicals and novels of the day is arousing all classes of decent, not to say moral and religious, Frenchmen. The French Protestants especially are trying to get a bill through Parliament to suppress all palpably obscene literature, let it bear what name it may. The flood of filth has been rising of late from month to month, so that one dare not stop at the window of a bookstore, or the showcases of the newsman, for fear of encountering the most disgustingly obscene illustrations on the pages of popular sheets, designed mainly to allure and ruin the young. A popular daily journal that pretends to class itself with the respectable press, and has the reputation of being subsidized by the Orleans family in their political interests, now publishes in its daily literary department the foul trash of the ill-smelling Zola. Words cannot characterize the base colors in which this obscene author daily paints the home manners of the French trading classes, known in France as the *Bourgeoisie*. His libels are calumnies against France as well as against a large class of the French capital and the country, and decent Frenchmen hope that in some way the laws may be made to reach him and the peddlers of filth that display his putrid garbage to the eyes of the young and innocent, to inoculate them with the loathsome disease of which Zola is a type and a symbol. His so-called *naturalism* is simply another name for beastliness.

In Germany there is now appearing in considerable numbers a class of books known as popular literature for religious instruction, their aim being to pass beyond the wants of the pulpit and congregation into the sphere of religious pedagogics. Of these we name a few. First, the capital work on "Bible Knowledge," by Dr. Kübel, of Tübingen. This now comes out in its third edition, and thus proves its availability for popular religious teachers and assistants in the Sunday-school, now rapidly growing in Germany. The same praise may be awarded to the "Life of Jesus," by Prof. Weitbrecht, of Stuttgart, military chaplain at that post. The biblical matter is received by all as invulnerable to criticism, as simple though comprehensive, and given in pure language. Pastor Röntsch takes up a special problem in New Testament history in his work entitled, "Jesus Messiah, the Lord and his People." In it he treats the question: "How could it come to pass that Israel rejected its Messiah?" and draws his positions mainly from the Gospel of John. The famous commentator, Dr. J. P. Lange, comes forth with a very peculiar effort bearing the cognomen, "Outlines of Bible History." This later work shares all the well-known lights and shadows of the original theologian. An abundance of intelligent thought and delicate perceptions hover around the lines, which seem sometimes hardly to

comport with the solemnity of the subject. But when these are stripped of their sparkling vestments, an overwhelming light is cast on persons and events that fully repays the student for his labor, and leads him to be thankful to the venerable and indefatigable commentator for all his investigations in the field of exegetics and the life of Jesus. This so-called handy form of theological thought is daily becoming more popular in Germany, and it is quite a significant occurrence when the author and editor of the largest Bible work of the period, in his old age takes up his pen to converse in familiar accents about the Book whose exegesis has been his life-work.

A new volume of Herzog's great work, "Real Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology," has just appeared, and, like its predecessors, is welcomed by the German public with gratitude. This is the ninth of the series, and it contains some very important articles on the history of the Reformation. These are: LUTHER by Köstlin, MELANCHTHON by Herrlinger, and the CATECHISM OF LUTHER by Zezschwitz. Then come articles entitled MARY, MESSIAH, LUKE, MARK, and MATTHEW. That on Mary treats of the abuses of the Romish Church in connection with the mother of Christ. Several articles that introduce us to the evangelical bodies of the hour are of especial interest, namely, the LUTHERANS, by Wangemann; METHODISTS, by Schöll; and METHODISM IN AMERICA, by Schaff. And while the history of the Lutheran separation presents a sorry picture of discord and dissolution, that on Methodism, with its twenty million adherents in England and America, shows this Church to be among the most influential of the world, to the astonishment of the Germans, who are still in doubt as to who these Methodists are. The article kindly declares that they are laying aside some of their early eccentricities, but neglects to add, which would have been but just, that they are annoying the Established Church with their aggressive missions.

"Peace between Church and State" is the title of a valuable work that has just appeared in Germany from the pen of a theologian of Brandenburg. It is a thorough treatise of the development of the conflict in Prussia between the Papacy and the Evangelical Church. Volume First treats of Emperor William, Pius IX., Leo XIII., and Bismarck. The author places himself on a conciliatory platform, and will find, if possible, some means of attaining peace and putting an end to the tiresome and endless *Kultur Kampf*, so called, without, at the same time, doing violence to the conscientiousness of the Protestant population of the realm. He protests energetically against the attacks of the Pope on Protestantism; and with a wealth of illustration follows the events of the period into minute details and the needs of the Church. The second volume, now in press and soon to appear, promises a thorough investigation and systematic presentation of the later events from the testimonies of the Romish Church, and also the political relations of the Evangelical Church to the State. The Prussian clergy receive the work well, and wish it a large circulation with a view to throw the light of

history and reason on the present embarrassing relations between Church and State.

In the line of Old Testament literature, the latest work is the Commentary of Hitzig on the twelve Minor Prophets, enlarged by Steiner of Zurich, a loving pupil of the deceased theologian. The latter has added the rich material afforded by the studies of the last twenty years, but has not perhaps gone as thoroughly as he might into the work, out of love for the labor of his master, which he would treat with filial piety. This revision will keep this valuable work before the public, and the memory of its distinguished author fresh in the minds of his pupils. A Jewish scholar, Dr. Maybaum, in his work on "The Development of the Old Israelitish Priesthood," endeavors to prove that the Levitic priesthood was not formed till the period of the exile. In doing this he picks to pieces the Pentateuch, and leaves very little of the Mosaic period. A Roman Catholic author gives to the world another revision of Jeremiah, in which he pays special respect to the Vulgate, in contrast to Scholz. In this he gives a very practical exposition of several subjects of interest to the Catholic Church, such as celibacy, the unity of the Catholic Church, and he even goes into the discussion of cremation, attendance on Church, duties of servants, and the inevitable *Kultur Kampf*.

Herzog, whom we have already named in connection with the famous Encyclopedia, is a tireless Church publicist; he has just issued a Manual of Church History which excites considerable interest because it appears simultaneously with another of the same title by his colleague, Schmid. But the two works are of a very different ecclesiastical shade. Herzog is a liberal theologian, while Schmid is strict Lutheran. Herzog brings his narrative down to the beginning of the present century —Schmid comes down to the present period. Both are professors in Erlangen, and have long been active in academic work. Herzog occupies three times the space of Schmid, and brings the historical feature of his narrative into bold relief. Schmid's manual is rather designed for beginners in the study of Church History, while his colleague is more thorough and profound in the matter of historical development. Herzog is decidedly ahead in the fervor of evangelical conviction, and the vivacity and thoroughness of his mode of presentation. He promises another volume, or at least a supplement, which will bring his narrative down to the history of our century. This is to appear in about a year, and his friends hope that he may be able to keep his promise.

The latest statistics of the Prussian Protestant Church present some interesting features. It numbers, including Moravians, Old Lutherans, and Mennonites, 13,604,537; the Catholic Church, with its few variations of Christian Catholics, German Catholics, and Old Catholics, 8,517,150. The increase is on the Catholic side. The Protestant population predominates in Pomerania, Brandenburg, the city of Berlin, and East Prus-

sia. The pastorates number 6,608, the church buildings 10,393. In Berlin there is a church edifice for every 9,000 souls, and a pastorate to every 8,000; there are in all 981,813 Protestants, with 123 pastorates and 108 church buildings. The provinces of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Pomerania are best provided with church appliances. So far as clerical power and church buildings are concerned, Berlin is worse off, numerically, than any of the most unfavorably placed districts. A review of the last twenty years of their church work shows a falling off numerically and comparatively in buildings and pastors. Since 1858, 1,000 churches have been newly built or restored, and of these 268 are in places that were previously without churches. On the whole, these figures are by no means gratifying, and should serve to alarm and stimulate the Protestant and religious population to be up and doing.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Modern Anglican Theology. Chapters on Coleridge, Hare, Maurice, Kingsley, and Jewett, and on the Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement. Third edition, revised, to which is prefixed a Memoir of Canon Kingsley, with Personal Reminiscences. By Rev. JAMES H. RIGG, D.D., author of "Essays for the Times," "National Education," "The Living Wesley," "The Churchmanship of John Wesley," etc. 8vo, pp. 552. London: Wesleyan Conference Office, City Road.

Discourses and Addresses on Leading Truths of Religion and Philosophy. By Rev. JAMES H. RIGG, D.D., author of "Modern Anglican Theology," etc. 8vo, pp. 454. London: Published for the Author. Wesleyan Conference Office, City Road.

Dr. Rigg is personally known to a numerous circle of American friends, as more than once a visitor to our shores; twice in an official character, namely, as delegate to the Evangelical Alliance and British delegate to our General Conference. In English Methodism and outside Methodism he is known as a writer of great ability upon a varied range of subjects.

The first of the above volumes is mainly a collection of portraitures and critical estimates of the most eminent personages who were recognized as leaders of what was called the Broad Church. Prefixed (should it not have been added?) to these in the present volume is quite a full biography of Kingsley, between whom and the writer existed a personal friendship. This survey of the modern "Latitudinarian School of Divines" is critical but courteous, and forms a series of complete delineations, attractive to the thoughtful reader, and very satisfactory to those desirous of studying the Broad Church movement; a movement full of

interest, and instructive in its bearings upon our theological present and future. Several of these sketches were written in Dr. Rigg's earlier prime for our American Methodist Quarterly Review in the golden days of Dr. M'Clintock's editorship. But the absurd practice of concealing the names of the contributors, then maintained, deprived the writer here of his meed of fame, and rendered us ignorant whom we were to thank for the entertainment and instruction we enjoyed. In dealing with these brilliant men Dr. Rigg is faithful to his trust. He firmly maintains against them the "sacrificial theology." Perhaps he has a shade or so more of the "commercial" view of the atonement than we should prefer. But his volume is well worthy the perusal of our theological inquirers.

The record of these two volumes consists mostly of addresses to public audiences. The first three are upon topics of Christian philosophy. The next seven are discourses called forth by the events of the year in which Dr. Rigg was President of the British Conference. The third section consists of contemplations of the scenes of the earlier ministry of our Lord. A fourth is made up of Educational Addresses, a subject of which Dr. Rigg's educational position has made him master. Though mostly delivered in public, the style is not highly oratorical or ornate. Dr. Rigg is eminently master of a pure and elevated English diction; his spirit is courteous toward even the most opposite opinions; he is free from all mannerisms; his views of things, though not enthusiastically optimistic, are cheering and hopeful; his surveys of the age in comparison with the past and future bespeak the true Christian philosopher.

Perhaps the choicest specimen of the volume is his address delivered in 1878 before the Victoria Institute of London, Lord Shaftesbury in the chair, on the present state of English Christianity. Its retrospective glance finds antichristianity far more menacing formerly than now. He gives very much in description the same view as Dr. Dorchester has, with so much affluence of facts, demonstrated by statistical figures. "Ten years ago," he tells us, "infidelity was more confident in its tone, notwithstanding all that has since been published in the way of skeptical argument or speculation, than it is to-day. Ten years ago it was not suspected by many how much support Christianity could claim from philosophy, or how powerfully the defenders of Christianity would be able to maintain their contention against the usurpations and dogmatism of science." He

then traces the surging flood of infidelity as it rose in the eighteenth century, when it was met and overthrown by Berkeley, Paley, Butler, and Campbell. Yet these received a mighty reenforcement from the great Methodist revival among the humbler ranks, followed by the evangelical Calvinistic Low Church revival led by Simeon in Cambridge University. "Charles Simeon, entering into the field at Cambridge which his erratic predecessor, Rowland Hill, had helped to prepare, gave form and direction to the Evangelical Low Church movement. In this he was greatly aided by the authority and influence of Dr. Milner, Dean of Carlisle, and Master of Queen's College, Cambridge. Joseph Milner's 'Church History'—he was the brother of the dean—Scott's 'Commentary,' and even the 'Olney Hymns,' had furnished a necessary apparatus and basis for the work of leavening the Church of England with Evangelical ideas and life which Simeon organized. Earlier still, indeed, the preaching of Romaine in London and Venn in Yorkshire had also helped to prepare the way for an Evangelical revival in the Church; but of the Evangelical movement in its permanent organization Simeon's preaching at Cambridge and his personal intercourse with the undergraduates maintained the central energy and impulse, while his unbounded liberality in the use of his private fortune for the planting throughout the country of Evangelical clergymen, and the foundation of well-guarded trusts in the interests of Evangelical orthodoxy, especially in the most influential town centers and the most frequented places of fashionable resort, enabled him to lay wide and firm the basis of Low Church Evangelical revival and extension. He died little more than forty years ago, just, indeed, as the earlier preludings of the High Church revival were beginning to produce a sensible effect, not only in Oxford, but through a widening circle. During fifty years preceding he had been doing his work at Cambridge. John Wesley, for six years before his own death, had known him, and had hailed him as an earnest fellow-laborer. His labors thus occupied the interval between John Wesley and the rise of the Oxford High Church party. The movement of which he was the leading organizer must be reckoned as the second wave of religious influence which, during the past hundred years, has spread widely through the land." The third revival wave sprang from the influence of Wilberforce and his friends and allies, who was "in many respects the forerunner of Lord Shaftesbury." The last religious wave was the Oxford ritualistic

movement, which is treated by Dr. Rigg with a very dexterous courtesy, as well as a true comprehensive catholicity. "It cannot be doubted that in a sense the Oxford revival was the result, humanly speaking, of the Evangelical movement during the half century preceding. It was not merely in great part a reaction from that movement, it was in part a direct fruit of it; at least in this sense, that some of the leading souls in the Oxford movement were first quickened into spiritual life under Evangelical doctrines and in Evangelical homes." This movement, unlike its predecessors, awakened the aristocracy of England, and spread a spirit of religious earnestness and religious philanthropy. "High Church zeal has besides applied itself to the reclaiming and converting of the lowest classes of our large towns with great earnestness, and not without success. It works more by specific missions, by brotherhoods and sisterhoods, than the evangelical section of the Church; it makes less of doctrine and much more of ritual; it is great in services and in public demonstrations; it cultivates attractive music, and makes the Church the theater of much symbolism and much decoration; its donations are most generous and its charities profuse. Surely no Evangelical Protestant of a Catholic spirit, however strong in his Protestant and Evangelical convictions, can fail to recognize much good in a party which numbers among its leading men such preachers as Canon Liddon and such working clergy as the newly-appointed Bishop of Lichfield. There is large common ground between such men and earnest Evangelicals. Whatever their High Anglicanism may mean, whatever it may imply from which an Evangelical Low Churchman or a Nonconformist is bound strongly to dissent, it is certain that Evangelical doctrine forms the main staple in the ordinary public ministrations of such High Churchmen as I have named." These "waves" our orator holds to be all truly religious "revivals," with much that is human in them, yet with much from God in each and all. That in a portion of the Church subjected to so much sarcasm as the ritualists so much of zealous piety is found is matter of rejoicing; and we admire the bold catholicity that so amply and eloquently appreciates it.

And Dr. Rigg finds present English morals to be a high improvement upon those of the past. "We complain to-day of the wicked rudeness of our street-boys in certain parts of London, insulting passengers, and especially women, as they move to and fro. But what are the worst excesses of our street scum to-day

compared to the daring and customary outrages of the fashionable Mohocks of London, in the most frequented West-end thoroughfares, during the first third of the last century? To have put down with a strong hand those gentlemen Mohocks was counted one of the high merits of England's greatest minister of that age. Those were days in which famous highwaymen were favorites in fashionable society, kept their lodgings publicly in St. James-street and Jermyn-street, were privileged to fight duels with military officers, and openly played bowls on the best-frequented greens and in the company of the most highly titled of the nobility. Intemperance—the intemperance of the masses of the people—is often spoken of as one of the special curses and disgraces of our time; and curse indeed it is, beyond power of words to describe its shame and its horrors. Gin-drinking, in particular, is the peculiar disgrace and ruin of London and of our larger cities. Nevertheless, the gin-drinking of to-day is positively inconsiderable in proportion when compared with the gin-drinking of 1750. Even our lowest classes accordingly, the classes which we sometimes think have defied so obstinately and so hopelessly the ameliorating influences of our Christianity during the present century, have notwithstanding shared, more or less, in the general improvement. It cannot be doubted that the language, the morals, the manners to-day of the Seven Dials or Ratcliff Highway are very far less lewd, less coarse, less violent and offensive, than the language, the morals, the manners which prevailed in the days of Swift and Bolingbroke among the profligate classes of fashionable life in St. James-street and Mayfair. And as to all sections of reputable society of to-day—the better artisans, the middle classes, the higher ranks—who can doubt the immeasurable advance and improvement which has taken place?"

Similarly, in a later discourse, Dr. Rigg cheerfully anticipates from past victories the triumph of a pure Christianity over every opponent in the world. We have a higher and more powerful Christianity than that which overcame the ancient idolatries; why should it not conquer the modern? We have a Christianity mightier than that which won the Reformation; why should not the overthrow of Popery be complete? We have a more demonstrative Christian philosophy than that which vanquished Neo-Platonism, and that which subdued the infidelity of revolutionary France; why need we tremble before the latest skepticism? We respond with cheer to this cheery view.

Lectures and Discourses. By the Right Rev. J. L. SPALDING, D.D., Bishop of Peoria. 12mo, pp. 364. New York: Catholic Publication Society, 9 Barclay-street. 1882.

The first three Lectures of this eminent Catholic prelate are devoted to a defense of our common Christianity against the assaults of modern scientists and philosophers. So eloquently and ably is this done that in our reading the hearts of us two seemed to draw nearer together, and our own heart seemed to ask why should there be so fixedly a great gulf, a *χάσμα μέγα*, between us. We have "one Lord, one faith (in Christ,) one baptism." And yet this our Christian brother repudiates our communion, discards our worship, denies our human right to our own moral judgments, excludes us with horror from his consecrated cemetery, and pronounces us a heretic who needs correction and straitening into orthodoxy, even, if necessary, by physical infliction and force. Thus a *σχίσμα* and a *χάσμα μέγα* stand, as a moveless and mournful reality between us.

The reason and responsibility for this schism open upon us the moment we commence the fourth lecture describing "The Catholic Church." Dear to us, as a sweet music, is the very word CATHOLIC as inherited, not indeed from Christ, nor from his apostles, but from the Creed of the early ages, by all true justified maintainers of the "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." In that three-fold oneness is their Unity; in that broad, universal comprehension is their Catholicity; under the Divine Head of the Church are they recognized as salt of the earth and heirs of heaven. But as with an inflexible cleaver the learned prelate creates a direful schism. He takes a *section* of the holy body, cuts it out from the rest, and limits the name and attribute of Catholicity to that section or "sect." Not only are the younger sections, the Protestant, but sections older than the Roman, the Syriac, where Christ himself laid the foundations, the Greek, in whose language the New Testament speaks to us through all ages, both older than Rome, are excommunicated. All, save the communion of the bloody pagan capital, are

> "Shorn from the holy altar of the Church
> And offered up as sacred to perdition."

All this is done under the claim that Peter, endowed with the successional kingship of Christ, established his throne at Rome; an assumption unknown to and contradicted by the New Testament documents, and unaffirmed by any contemporary authority, and so utterly unhistorical and untrue.

In a chapter on the "Decline of Protestantism," the venerated prelate plausibly finds Congregationalism in a state of disintegration, and Episcopalianism a feeble, aristocratic minimum; but coming to Methodism, he acknowledges a "success" and a "preponderance." He honors us with several pages, in which, leaving out numerous depreciatory phrases, somewhat otiose in their character, we seem not seldom to discern that the religious emotion of Dr. Spalding kindles with more sympathy than he is quite willing to reveal. How profoundly, in so discerning, do we deplore the barriers he is obliged to set up that prevent sympathy from enlarging into communion! It is in this sympathy, in which we find traces of the inner oneness of all devout believers in Christ, which will be revealed when these temporal bars have vanished at the final revelation of the sons of God. If we are ever admitted to the vision of God we expect to find myriads of Roman saints in that transcendent glory. They are mistakes which divide us; mistakes not guiltless; but mistakes that will be cleared up at the grand upclearing. Dr. Spalding recognizes the true Catholicism in Methodism in the following frank statement of the secret of her success:

"The Methodist preachers appealed to sentiments which are part of our religious nature; and in this respect their sermons were but repetitions of truths which have been announced in the Church from the beginning. The necessity of salvation, the merits of the Passion and death of our Lord, the power of faith, the evil of sin, the need of repentance, the efficacy of prayer, God's mercy, and the joy of a holy life, are not subjects which Methodism, or any form of Protestantism, has [first] introduced into the Christian pulpit. But the Methodist exhorters urged these truths with a power and freshness which brought them home to those who were either ignorant of religion or accustomed to hear from the pulpit only moral essays and sectarian controversy."

And yet Dr. Spalding maintains that Methodism is contributing to the decline of Protestantism by reducing religion to a mere feeling to the neglect of doctrine and historic connection, that is, with the Roman papacy. But Methodism, however much she relies on emotion, and however much she has used moving machineries, has not made such her predominant aim or reliance. Dr. Spalding's own statement shows on what a body of vital *truths*, the vital *doctrines* of Christianity, she has made her success depend. The mere *emotion* has never been her aim, but such a change of heart and life as renews the man in Christ. Her avowed aim is not to diffuse shallow emotionalism, but to "spread Scriptural HOLINESS through the land." She aims to do this by vital truths, deep experiences, and efficient organisms, with, greatest specialty of all, Christ as our sole head and "cen-

ter of unity." In holding that head and center, we are one with the Roman, the Greek, the Anglican, the Reformed, Churches, and with Bishop Spalding. But when he or they attempt to insert a human head between us and the divine Head, we most promptly reject all such interlopers. The learned prelate's argument that a visible body should have a visible head is plausible but not convincing. The kingdom of nature is a visible body without a visible head. The very universe is a visible body with a divine invisible Head.

For the claim set up by Dr. Spalding, and conceded by the Episcopalian Bishop Seymour, that Peter possessed a "primacy" over the other apostles, is questionable. Peter did possess a *seniority* of age, and hence might occasionally speak as *spokesman* for the rest. He possessed also an impulsive over-forwardness which prompted him often to speak in a malapropos style which involved him in blunder and disaster. But, exceptionally we might say, once or twice, he spoke so pertinently for all that Jesus responded to him graciously for all. But no words of Jesus to him conferred such direct personal power over "nations" and "kingdoms" as Jer. i, 10 confers upon Jeremiah. And yet the powers conferred on Jeremiah were not *executive*, but simply *declaratory*, limited to the utterance of God's message to men, and they died with his person. There is nothing to show that Peter's powers were any more executive, or hereditary, or successional.

Dr. Spalding quotes the favorite texts in favor of Peter's popedom, and they are so strikingly inadequate that one wonders that he is not ashamed of the performance. They fail in many respects to affirm the claim; but we may specially note but three, namely: *explicitness*, *universality*, and *successionality*. They fail in *explicitness*, for surely it is preposterous to interpret such phrases as "confirm thy brethren," "feed my lambs," in behalf of a papal power. Any Congregational pastor fulfills the entire meaning of these phrases in his daily duties to his flock. They fail in *universality*, and to quote these words as conferring absolute power over *all future Christendom* is logical beggary. They fail in *successionality*, for not one word in the whole indicates that any such powers were to be transmitted to apostolic successors, any more than the commission to Jeremiah declared a prophetic transmission. And then to bolster up this weakness with the unhistorical "see of Peter" at Rome, is a pretension just on the level of the forged Decretals.

The Holy Bible According to the Authorized Version, (A. D. 1611.) With an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation. By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, Canon of Exeter, Late Preacher at Lincoln's Inn; Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen. New Testament. Vol. iv, Hebrews to Revelation. 8vo, pp. 846. New York: Scribner's Sons.

This great work, both Old Testament and New, is now complete in ten handsome volumes. The fact that two such great commentaries as Schaff's Lange, and this so-called Speaker's Commentary, should be prosecuted without fail or falter to completion by the Scribners is evidence not only of the enterprise of that eminent house, but of the prosperous and triumphing position of our biblical Christianity. Equally against the vaunts and menaces of rationalism and infidelity on one side, and of prelacy and popery on the other, it becomes more and more decisively clear that the sacred canon, in its completeness and its majesty, is going forth as a power and a victory as never before in the history of the world. "The grass withereth and the flower thereof fadeth away, but the WORD *of the Lord endureth forever.*"

The limitation of authorship to the English bishops and clergy has an air of High Church exclusiveness, and creates anticipations of perfunctory performance not verified in the result. The erudition exhibited is creditable to churchly scholarship, and shows the ability of the olden time of the Anglican body to maintain the cause of Christian truth amid bold and rank assault. Rich as the learning is, we are saved from neological extravagances; and the wild vagaries of rampant German speculation are checked and chastened by English solid sense. We are specially gratified with the firm and able maintenance of the Pauline authorship of Hebrews by Dr. Kay, and the Domitianian date of the Apocalypse by Dr. Lee, Archdeacon of Dublin. These able dissertations give hope that the timid submission of our evangelical scholars on these two points will be dismissed, and that their faltering surrender to the pseudo-criticism of arrogant rationalists will be withdrawn. The book of Hebrews is an immovable fortress against the whimsies of Kuenen, Dean Stanley, and Robertson Smith regarding the relations of Mosaicism to Christianity. Dr. Kay's demonstration of the Pauline authorship is specially strong in the department of *Internal Evidences*, arising from an extended and minute comparison of the peculiar words and phrases in Hebrew with Paul's peculiar words and phrases in his other writings. And this is especially

important from the fact that rationalizers have admitted the balance of external evidences to be against them, and imagined that their strength lay in the internal, as Samson's did in his hair. Dr. Kay summarizes his conclusion from his array of internal proofs with the strong terms which we italicize: "Consequently, on internal grounds, it is *nothing less than certain* that St. Paul was the writer." Dr. Kay, however, weakens the force of his argument from the historic testimonies by not separating the ancient testimonies which really testify to the *fact* of Paul's authorship from the mere *opinions* of the ancients, based on the style of the epistle. Rationalistic critics huddle these two together, and thus present a false appearance of force. Origen's opinions as to style were not half so good as Dr. Kay's, for they are based on no ultimate analysis; but Origen's statement of the historic knowledges of his earliest predecessors is decisive. Separating these two classes, the historic from the opiniative, and historic is nearly all on one side.

The authenticity of Second Peter is maintained with great force by Professor Lumly, of Cambridge, leaving by its varied proofs little doubt in a candid mind. Rightly the professor shows the priority of Peter to Jude, the former predicting the apostasies and sensualities of apostates near at hand, Jude describing some foul characters and scenes as already present. We seem at the present day to need to well study these terrible descriptions of depravity, for very similar phenomena are debasing the civilization, and even infecting the Christianity, of our day. How the apostles dealt with these diabolical indecencies St. Jude most vividly shows us. It is time for our preachers to study St. Jude, and our pulpits to reiterate his divine denunciations.

Coming to that grand monument of apostolic inspiration, the Apocalypse, we have a very rich and valuable Introduction by Dr. Lee. The great questions raised by the sharp research of the rationalists are met with a rich erudition, a keen logic, and a calm conservatism, fully alive to all that is good and true in the new. The authorship of the Apocalypse, the place and date of its writing, are momentous questions very easy to settle but for the modern sophistries of a class of critics who, with great scholarship, unwilling to admit inspired prophecy, employ all their powers to make plain things obscure and bring out predetermined conclusions. A full chapter is given to the doctrinal theology of the book. The Symbolical Numbers are discussed with fullness and measurable success; but the writer evidently is

not aware of that principle of symmetry on which the year-day method is founded. Plainly, if a kingdom is reduced to so small a symbol as a beast, the length of the life of a kingdom must be abbreviated in time to fit the duration of a beast. For a beast living 1,260 years is a monstrosity. There must be a time reduction to fit the object reduction. The reluctance he ascribes to the maintainers of the year-day view to apply it to the millennial thousand years we do not admit. The readers of our own commentary will note that we rejoice to adopt that view. We note with pleasure that the word "*souls*," in the twentieth chapter, he maintains to be truly disembodied *spirits*, and he deduces the true anti-chiliastic conclusions that result. We record this with pleasure. For we maintained that view more than thirty years ago in an elaborate exegesis on the chapter in this Review, when no writer, we believe, had ever suggested it; and no commentator so far has yet adopted it except Dr. Lee. We believe it will in due time become the established interpretation.

We wish we had found one more coincidence with our own views in Dr. Lee's notes. We wish that he had recognized the parallelism between chapters i, 10–19; iv, 2; and x, 9, and thereby have deduced the clear fact that John receives three Apocalypses: the first from Christ, the second from God, and the third from the Angel. This would disclose the true structure of the whole book. And then it would be seen that the third Apocalypse is the true consecutive and chronological survey of the spiritual history of the world down to the consummation. That survey (as we have developed in our notes) under symbol of a perpetual war between Jerusalem and Babylon, pictures the world-battle between holy right and worldly wrong, and in each great contest Right is triumphant. Then comes the millennial repose of earthly victory, preluding the final triumph in eternity.

On the whole, these ten volumes are, in our view, the best commentary for the great body of our Christian scholars extant in our language.

The Life Everlasting. What is it? Whence is it? Whose is it? By J. H. Pettingill, A.M. With a Symposium, in which Twenty Representative Men Unite in Expressing their own Views on the Question Discussed by the Author. 8vo, pp. 762. Philadelphia: J. D. Brown. 1882.

Mr. Pettingill seems to be the chief advocate of Conditional Immortality in our country at the present time. He writes with a

good deal of earnestness and sincerity; firmly believing that his view greatly relieves the mind of the Christian public from a great load, and Christianity itself from a great difficulty. He preserves by it the doctrine of irreversible penalty as against the Universalist, and removes the doctrine of divine injustice in refutation of the infidel. His view does undoubtedly disburden many a mind which cannot accept the doctrine of eternal suffering. We, personally, do not feel the same indignant hostility to this method of relief for its class of pious minds as is expressed in the language and action of many orthodox thinkers. Yet it seems tolerably clear that the great body of the Christian public do not take spontaneously to it, even when fully and fairly presented. The relief seems to be only sporadic, and hardly seems to compensate the labor it costs.

The volume would be better if it were smaller. It is the work of a somewhat wordy and redundant writer, and needs the virtue of conciseness. But the argument is fully and clearly presented and possesses considerable clearness and force.

The materialistic character of the theory, as presented in the book, is a heavy weight upon it. Is there a dualism of God and material nature? Then the dualism of spirit and matter is fully authenticated. Consciousness does not identify the thinking I with brain or organism. Almighty power may very closely *unite* thought and matter, but cannot *identify* them. In the "Symposium of the Appendix" Dr. D. H. Chase of Middletown, Conn., assumes to prove the non-existence of a soul from the fact that he has thrice in his life lost his consciousness for a brief period. Perhaps he does so every night. Against those who maintain that ever conscious acting thought is a necessary attribute of soul, his argument is, indeed, experientially conclusive. But, as we noted in our last Quarterly, soul is an agent and thought its action, just as body is an agent and motion its action. A thoughtless soul is parallel with a motionless body. A cessation of consciousness no more proves the non-existence of soul than a cessation of motion proves the non-existence of the body. An absolute and final non-existence of all power of thought in the soul would be a literal death of the soul, parallel with an absolute and final non-existence of all bodily function as death of the body.

The following extract from a lecture delivered by Professor Asa Gray, at Yale, furnishes a solution by a Christian Evolutionist of the problem of Immortality. It presents a "conditional immortality" on close affinity with Mr. Pettingills' theory; and when

evolutionism becomes the universal creed (a *when* we are unable to define) both theories will become identified. "Now see how evolution may help you, in its conception that, while all the lower serves its purpose for the time being, and is a stage toward better and higher, *the lower sooner or later perish*, the higher—the consummate—survive. The soul in its bodily tenement is the final outcome of nature. *May it not well be that the perfected soul alone survives the final struggle of life*, and, indeed, 'then chiefly lives' because in it all worths and ends inhere; because it only is worth immortality, because it alone carries in itself the promise and potentiality of eternal life? Certainly in it only is the potentiality of religion, or that which aspires to immortality."

That is, in both science and theology, the "survival of the fittest." And Greg, the author of the "Creeds of Christendom," suggests that of animals themselves, as many possess a noble moral character, so the noblest survive into a noble immortality. And herein we think it fair to record what the best evolutionists have to say for themselves on the dogma of immortality.

The Book of Enoch. Translated from the Ethiopic, with Introduction and Notes. By Rev. GEORGE H. SCHODDE, Ph.D., Professor in Capital University, Columbus, O. 8vo, pp. 278. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1882.

The quotation by Jude of a passage from the Book of Enoch has ever given the book an importance to Christian scholarship; but for centuries it was lost to European Christendom. Abundant references to it as an apocryphal book are found in the works of the Christian fathers down to the destruction of Christian literature by the barbarian invasions. The book remained a mystery until, in 1773, three copies were brought from Abyssinia by Bruce, the traveler, to Europe, and one was deposited in the Bodleian Library. There it lay neglected until 1821, when Laurence, afterward Archbishop of Cashel, issued a translation. Nothing satisfactory was accomplished until so late as 1851, when "the master-hand of A. Dillman" issued an Ethiopic edition, and, two years later, a German translation. The present English translation by Dr. Schodde, a pupil of Franz Delitzsch, to whom the volume is dedicated, issued from the Andover press, will be a very acceptable present to American scholars.

According to Dr. Schodde, after a full mastery of the dis-

cussions among German scholars upon the work, the Book of Enoch is really three books sewed together, written by different authors, at different dates, and upon somewhat different subjects. The first is the Book of Enoch proper, and consists of revelations made to him by angels in an excursion through the heavenly regions. Its object is to explain to the Hebrew people the mystery of God in their sufferings. It relieves the problem by pointing to the coming Messianic age, when a righteous prince, pre-existent before the creation, will set all right. The date Dr. Schodde fixes not far from the Maccabæan era.

The second book, consisting of "Parables," was written, it is supposed, during the reign of Herod the Great, in hostility to that royal house, as being a foreign and untheocratic usurpation. Still more vividly it portrays the coming Messiah as true king of Israel; so vividly, indeed, as to have furnished plausible argument for holding it a post-Christian production. Dr. Schodde, however, maintains that the traits resembling the Messiah of the New Testament found in the book are really drawn from the Old Testament, especially from the book of Daniel, and finished up by Jewish fancy.

The third is a revelation to Noah of the judgment of the flood, bringing it into a sort of parallelism with the judgment of the last day.

The entire Book of Enoch, as our learned translator well remarks, is deeply interesting as furnishing a strong impression of the times of our Saviour and of the spirit of the religious earnestness preceding his day. Dr. Schodde's work is, first, two very satisfactory Introductions, then the translation divided into sections, each section followed with full commentatorial notes. For the first time this ancient set of documents is brought into the English language in easily comprehensible and accurate form for the student and popular reader.

Sermons. By J. Oswald Dykes, M.A., D.D., author of "The Manifesto of the Kingdom," "Abraham," "Prayers for the Household," etc. 12mo, pp. 383. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

After reading these Sermons, twenty-six in number, one is not surprised to learn that their author draws crowded audiences around his pulpit in the National Scotch Church, Regent's Square, London. Like his predecessor, the Rev. James Hamilton,

he is a strong, original, independent thinker, with very decided idiosyncrasies. In this volume he treats various topics, ranging from "The doctrine of the Trinity practically considered" to "Consider the lilies," but discloses equal ability and clearness in the discussion of all. His method of treating his themes is characteristic, consisting not in dull elaboration of their minor commonplaces, but in discussions and applications of the principles they involve. His insight into the depth and sweep of those principles is such as to make his thoughts luminous and to impress them with convincing force on the reader's mind. His style, though occasionally abrupt and even careless, is vigorous, unconventional, and sufficiently rhetorical. His pages abound in happy turns of thought and in fine sentiments tersely expressed. The theology and spirit of these discourses are thoroughly evangelical. They are suggestive, and healthfully stimulating to the spiritual life. Dr. Dykes has a most lively faith in the supernatural side of the Gospel, and in the divine power which attends its forcible declaration, regarding it as "a fact come down from heaven which claims acceptance rather than courts criticism. Being God's message it asserts itself to faith, does not appeal to reason. It is a direct voice, from Him who made them, to the universal conscience and heart of men. . . . . Thank God, it does not shun to ally itself with the last results of thought or research, being, as it is, queen of all truth, served by all. Thank God, also, it needs no such alliance, for in its own easiest form apprehensible by a child or a simpleton, it is as complete as ever and as mighty—Christ crucified, the wisdom of God, and the power of God unto salvation."

Abbott's Young Christian. A Memorial Edition, with a Sketch of the Author by One of his Sons. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 131, 402. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Abbott's Young Christian is so familiarly known to Christian readers, and so generally recognized as a classic among books belonging to our practical religious literature, that its commendation in these pages would be deemed by many a work of supererogation. It needs no higher praise than the fact that it has been spiritually helpful to very many youthful disciples of the Christ, both in America and other lands. This new edition of what is probably Abbott's best and most valued book contains a modest sketch of its deceased author, which is a simple memorial

of filial affection by one of his sons. It briefly records the leading events in his active, though not especially eventful, life. He appears to have been a successful educator; his literary industry would seem excessive, but for the fact that it did not injuriously affect his health. He was exclusively the author of one hundred and eighty volumes, and editor or joint author of thirty-one others. One secret of his perfect health under unceasing literary work is found in the fact that "he was placid in the midst of commotion; kept ahead of his obligations, and so was never driven by them; walked, spoke, acted with deliberation, and never worried. . . The current of his life was deep, calm, and steady." The spirit which pervades his strictly religious works was the outflowing of "his deep faith in the unspeakable peace which Christ affords to the soul burdened by a sense of its past sins, and his strong conviction that faith transcends expression. . . He lived and died in the Congregational communion, but he belonged to the Church universal, the unbounded communion of saints."

Covenant Names and Privileges. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D., author of "The King's Highway," "Nature's Wonders," etc. 12mo, pp. 374. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Dr. Newton is favorably known as a writer of books for the young and for the edification of devout minds. In this volume he fully sustains his reputation. It contains twenty sermons, six on "God's Covenant Names" and fourteen on "Christian Privileges." While these discourses are neither profound nor marked by original thought, they are vivacious, practical, spiritual, and adapted to the needs of such as are seeking "to perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord." In the main, their theology is sound; albeit in one or two passages the author writes as though he "leaned too much toward Calvinism." Hence we find him saying, "the soul once justified is fully justified, and *justified forever*," a sentence which implies his unscriptural belief in the impossibility of falling from grace. Again, in a laudable attempt to exalt the grace of God, he impeaches his justice by affirming that the "honor of God's name would not have been tarnished, nor the integrity of his righteous government compromised, if he had stood aloof when man sinned, and had allowed the race of men, as he did the race of angels, to go on and meet the everlasting consequence of their transgressions." This sentiment partakes of that Calvinis-

tically exaggerated view of Divine Sovereignty which seeks to make it consistent with infinite injustice to helpless men; between whom and the race of angels there is no such analogy as Dr. Newton assumes. The good Doctor might have hesitated to pen this sentence had he weighed the remark of the profound Butler, who says: "Perhaps the inquiry, What would have followed if God had not done as he has, may have in it some very great impropriety." Nevertheless, with these and one or two other exceptions, we cheerfully indorse the opinion of a layman, as printed in the preface, to wit, that these sermons are "plain, short, lively, readable, and above all true to the Word of God."

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated out of the Greek: being the Version set forth A.D. 1611 compared with the most Ancient Authorities and revised A.D. 1881.——The Revision of 1881 compared with the Version of 1611: showing at a Glance what is common to both, and, by Diacritical Marks and Foot-notes, what is peculiar to each. By RUFUS WENDELL, Minister of the Gospel. Royal 8vo, pp. 616. Albany, N. Y.: Rufus Wendell. 1882.

Mr. Wendell has here built a very convenient bridge for passing over from the old to the new version. You have them in this volume both under your eye on the same page. He gives as the full-page text the Revised Version; and under the words that differ from the old version he draws a line, and places the old words at the foot margin. In giving the place of honor to the new, in spite of those who may say "the old is better," Mr. Wendell seems to anticipate its future acceptance by our English-speaking Christendom.

By a number of diacritical marks he answers at a stroke a number of critical questions in regard to the new text. The work of comparing the two versions in separate volumes would be decidedly perplexing, and most persons would omit the task. But with this compromise the work is easy and will be often done, not only by critical scholars, but by preachers who care to investigate the text they expound in the pulpit, and even by the popular reader. Indeed, few Bible readers but would find it a desideratum to have both texts at command. This, in fact, opens a new interest in the New Testament. We believe it will be found a work of rare accuracy. The type, paper, and execution are of high order. The numerical tables at the end indicate the great value placed by the author on the gold dust of the sacred word even in its English dialect. We may safely and heartily recommend this valuable work to a wide acceptance.

The Decay of Modern Preaching. An Essay by J. P. MAHAFFY. 12mo, pp. 160. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

"Thank God that's a lie!" ejaculated a good lady when she heard a slander upon her pastor. She was not polite, but logical. She was not thankful that the slander was uttered, but that when uttered it was no better than a slander. And thankful are we in the assurance that Professor Mahaffy's assumption of the "decay of modern preaching" is a fiction. We think that none but an unsound mind that imagines that our great preachers would have been more influential men in their day had they been lawyers—that is, lawyers not additionally *statesmen.* What mere lawyer of England sways public thought more powerfully than Liddon, Spurgeon, or Farrar? What lawyer of America overtops Beecher, or John Hall, or Bishop Simpson? What cause is moving forward to victory more powerfully than our evangelical Christianity? Yet the learned and eloquent professor has written a book full of suggestions well worthy of the perusal of pastor and people. He well describes the new rivalries the pulpit is obliged to encounter in these latter days, and makes valuable methods and cautions how to meet or evade them. His sentences and paragraphs, with wide spaces and margins, roll over the white pages with a true Celtic vivacity.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

What is Darwinism? By CHARLES HODGE, Princeton, N. J. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1874.

The entombment of Mr. Darwin in Westminster Abbey has awakened a very triumphant chattering among the enthusiastic claimants to a lineal descent from the "old world apes." When Wesley's monument was placed in that illustrious abbey we never heard that Wesleyans claimed that England had become Methodist. Men of common sense generally recognized that England, largely differing from Wesley in his specialties of view, acknowledged, nevertheless, greatnesses in his character that she was proud to honor. But somehow these worshipers of the dead scientist are exultant and blatant with the nitrous-oxide illusion that his honored entombment proves that England has resolved herself into a very unanimous monkeydom. They thus bring

dishonor upon his memory; both by the arrogance of their exacting demands upon our reverence for the deceased, and by compelling an emphasis upon those points that very seriously detract from his reputation. At the same time they expose their own egregious meanness. For the calm scientism that finds itself obliged to acknowledge that man was not, as Moses sublimely says, inaugurated as a new being "in the image of God," but that he gradually emerged from lower to higher brute, we have a decent respect. But these brutal vociferators that glory in that humiliation, and that open their onslaughts upon the deniers of this brutalism, deserve the contempt of the human race. And it is to the honor of the Christian clergy that they, as being the sublime assertors of man's origin and nature, are the special objects of these assaults. Now that Mr. Darwin has attained his "apotheosis," as they please to style it, they push the taunting query: What do the clergy have to say for themselves? And they assign pretended answers to some leading clergymen, just as if the poor clergy felt themselves chopfallen and disgraced, when in fact the disgrace all belongs to the blatancy of the brutalists themselves.

And this brings up the query propounded by Dr. Hodge's able little volume. We noticed the book at its first appearance, and we now call it forth again, to reaffirm its positions, to recommend it to public attention, and to do honor to that eminent theologian for its bold and truthful utterances. The query is: *What is* DARWINISM? This differs from the question, What is *evolution?* Evolution, as Dr. Winchell, (quoted in our "Synopsis of Quarterlies,") well says, is not identified with one man. Nor is it an inquiry as to the various discoveries made by the rare genius of Mr. Darwin, and for which we rejoice to do him honor. Taken in that sense, as it might well be, Darwinism is a grand word. But the folly of Mr. Darwin's worshipers compels us, as it compelled Dr. Hodge, to take it for the present in its narrower meaning, as designating simply those special points in which Mr. Darwin and his intense co-thinkers are distinguished from other classes of evolutionists. They are two: 1. *Our human descent from monkeys.* Darwin says: "The Simiadæ are divided into two groups—the Old World monkeys and the New World monkeys." "Man unquestionably belongs to the Catarrhine or Old World monkeys." And thence follows the following lovely picture: "Man is descended from a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in its habits, and an inhabitant of the Old

World." 2. *Natural and unteleological selection.* The variations of man from primitive monkey, as Darwin maintains, arise not from design nor "special creation" but from unintelligent causations, and are preserved and perpetuated by surrounding incidental environments. So that even in so wonderful a product as the human eye no designing causation can be recognized. These are the two points which specialize Darwinism. And when we speak in this notice of distinctive Darwinism we must be understood to speak not of those discoveries which constitute his title to renown among men, but of these two brutalistic and atheistic dogmas for which we pay him no honor whatever.

Notable among the manifestoes of the professed Simiadæ is the narrative of Mr. Darwin's funeral by the correspondent of the New York "Tribune," who signs himself G. W. S. He stands at the funeral ceremony to spot every heretic to his own high Simian faith. The unbelievers in their own brutalistic heredity are indeed complimented for being present, though it is "a token of defeat." He has not the intelligence to perceive that there is not a clergyman, nor a Methodist preacher, nor a scholar, in England that cannot consistently and heartily honor Mr. Darwin for his real discoveries in science, without the least indorsement of his brutalistic or atheistic elements. The so-called "defeat" is simply a maggot in the writer's own undeveloped cerebrum. The following passage is a specially unscrupulous statement: "It is is not twenty years since divines of the Church of England anathematized Darwin as a heretic—to use no harsher term. Her advocates said then what a Roman Catholic advocate has said since Darwin's death—that a man capable of inventing a theory that led straight to atheism must be knave or fool or both. The relative intelligence of the devotees of the two Churches—of Rome and of England—may be measured by the breadth of their divergence to-day on this point." In contradiction to these absurd mendacities it is sufficient to place the following testimony, written by a personal friend and follower of Darwin residing in England, and published in the "Nation." Speaking very truly of Mr. Darwin's candor and equanimity, the writer adds: "It was largely for this reason that so little of that invective and obloquy which is apt to be poured on those who first propound doctrines inconsistent with the prevailing theological views was directed against or incurred by him. . . . *Nobody attacked him,* and his name was scarcely mentioned, except by

the comic papers, when they humorously placed his striking head, caricatured, of course, on the body of an ape."

All these slanders can be borne from the character of the source that produces them. But it is more deeply humiliating to note that a professedly Christian paper, the "Independent," in a late article headed DARWIN, pours out upon the Christian Church and ministry a series of assaults far more reckless, and with a still more appalling inaccuracy of statement. Sentences pervade that article like these, (the italics and capitals are ours:) "The attitude of the Church toward him, more hostile than suspicious, is *an occasion of deep mortification.*" "No man of the age was so feared and HATED by the large body of Christian teachers, we will not say by all, as was Darwin." "But the attitude of a great mass of religious dogmatism to this new philosophy has been no less than *scandalous.*" "Those who CURSED it in the name of the Lord are now beginning to fear that their CURSES will come home to roost." "Their *notions* of the interpretation of the obscure part of the Bible." "Special creations." Now to all this we respond that our editorial life runs far back of the present corps of "Independent" editors; that we have had under our survey a large share of the religious, and especially the Methodist, periodicals, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, from before the time of Darwin's first volume upon "Species;" that our interest on the subject, as our readers know, up to our last Quarterly, has been deep and outspoken; and we affirm that every one of the above allegations is flagrantly mistaken. The tone and temper of ministry and Church are not matter of "mortification," but of pride and self-gratulation; Darwin has never been "*hated*," though his brutalistic pseudo-science and his denial of teleology have been and still are reprobated; and the "attitude of religious dogmatism" against the base "philosophy" founded on special Darwinism has been that of firm maintenance of the existence of God and the divine dignity of man. That atheistic philosophy we do "curse in the name of the Lord," as breeding much of the atheism, pessimism, blasphemy, and sensualization that have grown rampant since the publication of his special dogmas. During the whole of the period described, the tone of the religious press has been delicate and courteous toward Darwin's personal character, has eulogized his truly scientific productions and promulgations, has admitted all that was demonstrated, has sought to reconcile where there seemed a real issue between science and religion, but has stood

firm against those errors that bestialize man and undeify God. The Church does not admit that Genesis is a falsehood and Adam a myth; and that man is an overgrown monkey destitute of the image of God, and with a shadowy prospect for immortality. The Church does not admit that God breathed life into a few primordial particles and then left the futurity of the world's life to luck and chance. All honor to the Church for her firm, magnanimous stand for the vital truths of our humanity. If a few apostates make that base surrender, and "curse" the Church in the power of Satan for her courage, the reflex "curse" will not return upon her, but may find a permanent "roost" perhaps even in the sanctum of the "Independent."

Soon after the publication of Darwin's book on "Species," the great Quarterly Reviews of England, nearly every one of them, came out with articles adverse to its theory on scientific grounds, which remain unrefuted to this day. Why not issue a tirade against all these scientific opponents, charging them with "hate" of Darwin? Why these diatribes against the Church alone? Down as late as 1870, Appleton's Cyclopedia tells us that by a share of scientific men "Darwin's views are denounced as unfounded and absurd." Why does not the "Independent" launch a reflex curse upon their heads? Our own humble Quarterly immediately "book-noticed" Darwin's first volume, (previous to his book on Man,) respectfully stating its positions, and then giving a few objections upon points we had penciled, based on scientific grounds. It was a year or two after, we think, that we gave a brief exegesis of the Mosaic account of man's creation, professing to show that a Darwinist need not reject Moses. When Mivart's "Genesis of Species" came out we reviewed that book with approbation as revealing an evolution without the dogmas of special Darwinism. We called attention to the points that he fully disproved the theory of mere "natural selection" by its irreconcilability with geological chronology; that he removed the anti-teleology and thereby the Darwinian taint of Atheism; that he showed how a true view of human soul and spirit brought it so into accord with Mosaicism that even the Roman Catholic Church left his views uninterdicted. They were evolution but not Darwinism. In our very last Quarterly we endeavored to show at great length that the unbroken series of life could not be proved; that new Originations of life-forms were even authenticated by Darwin's own admission of a first Origination; and by the stupendous intervals and instaurations revealed

by the geologic record. Darwin personally, and the brilliant productions of his scientific genius, have never been treated by us with disrespect; and the same fact our entire recollections for twenty years past affirm of the course of the religious press in general. The "Independent's" charges, we believe, would be totally contradicted could there be a full review of the actual record.

With a curious infelicity the "Independent" writer selects the late Dr. Hodge as an eminent and crucial instance of theological hatred of Darwin. He tells us that, at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, Dr. Hodge "read a paper" maintaining the thesis that "Darwinism is atheism;" in which statement there are but two mistakes, for Dr. Hodge did not so "read a paper," and he never affirmed the proposition that "Darwinism is atheism." After that meeting Dr. Hodge published the book which we then noticed, and now notice again; in which he told truly and unanswerably what Darwinism is, showing by manifold demonstration that Darwin, although personally a theist, did nevertheless repudiate teleology, breaking down thereby the foundations of theism in the minds of the masses of mankind.

Says Dr. Hodge: "It would be absurd to say any thing disrespectful of such a man as Mr. Darwin, and scarcely less absurd to indulge in any mere extravagance of language," (p. 60,) and the "Independent" might safely, we think, be invited to point out the first disrespectful word. Dr. Hodge gives a fair statement of Darwin's "Theory," (p. 26.) He admits "Mr. Darwin a theist," (p. 48.) "Mr. Darwin is not a Monist." "Neither is he a materialist, inasmuch as he assumes a supernatural origin for the infinitesimal modicum of life and intelligence in the primordial animalcule." "A man may be an evolutionist without being a Darwinian," (p. 50.) Yet "his whole book is an argument against teleology." He shows this at length by unfolding Darwin's elaborate reasonings against design in nature as confessedly destructive to his theory. He confirms this view by the testimony of the most pronounced atheists in Europe, such as Hæckel, Carl Vogt, Büchner, and Strauss. And he might have added at the present time that there is probably not an intelligent atheist in Christendom who does not claim Darwinism as the clincher to his argument. It is an awful bigotry, in the view of G. W. S. and the "Independent," for bishops and other ministers to say that Darwinism is atheistic in tendency; but what have they to say to the unanimous testimony of all the atheists

in Christendom, from Robert Ingersoll downward, to the same appalling fact? Dr. Hodge does not say that "Darwinism is atheism;" but he does repeat, under due explanations, Dr. Asa Gray's dictum, that "Darwinism is tantamount to atheism," namely, by its anti-teleology. And that fact, honorable to Darwin or not, stands as firm as Gibraltar. The "Independent" thinks that the Princeton professors would not now "dare" to say what Dr. Hodge said. We have no measurement of the *daring* of the Princeton men; but we think it would require no immense courage to say what we now say, that Dr. Hodge's spirit is courteous, his statements accurate, his logic conclusive; and that the book does honor to the great Calvinist.

The "Independent" speaks quite contemptuously of certain "*notions*" held by the clergy and contradicted by Darwinism. We may perhaps safely assume that among these "notions" are the "special creation" and personal existence of Adam; the Fall of Man; the Messianic genealogy of Luke; and the parallel between the personal Adam and the personal Christ of Paul's Romans. These "notions" have had some momentous interest to the Church of all ages. They come from the Church of the Old Testament, they are embodied in the New Testament, they have been held fundamental by the whole Christianity of the past—these "notions." And we deeply suspect that should the "Independent" make the logical deductions from the premises it lays down, all the great truths of Christianity will have to be flung into the same basket of cast-off "*notions*." The "Independent" is a good Christian by being a bad logician. For with what consistency can a reasoner scout the idea of "special creation" and then tamely accept a "special" *incarnation* and a "special" resurrection of the Incarnate? And then where is the Christianity? In the basket of "notions." Darwinism is not only anti-teleological but anti-miraculous. As Dr. Hodge proves, it is claimed by Strauss to be the immortal merit of Darwin that he has shown the non-necessity of miracles. The dogmas of the "Independent," however unintentionally, are about as contradictory to the New Testament as the Old; as contradictory to the Incarnation as to the special creation; about as stout a denial of Christ as of Adam.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Making of England. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN. With maps. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

In this volume Mr. Green gives the history of Anglo-Saxon England up to the conquest of Northumbria by Ecgberht in 829, when all the Teutonic tribes in England were united under one ruler. His method in this is the same as in his other and larger work. He aims to combine with a narrative of the events a graphic picture of society and government; to give, as he phrases it in his preface, a living portraiture of the times. But the period is one not well adapted to that method of treatment, at once picturesque and philosophical, which has given to the author's "History of the English People" such wide and well-deserved popularity. The Anglo-Saxon conquest was nothing but a succession of incursions by rude bands of predatory semi-barbarians, who succeeded, after a struggle of centuries, in which every inch was contested, in forcing back to the fastnesses of mountain and forest another race of semi-barbarians a little less rude and a little less strong than themselves. The record of such a struggle hardly rises to the dignity of history; nor can it be very interesting, even though the conquering tribes were our forefathers. The historical data for the whole period covered by this volume are extremely meager, and for the fifth and sixth centuries almost entirely wanting. The "Epistola" of Gildas, the earliest authority, and the only one on the side of the conquered, cannot have been written earlier than 550; and the "History" of Baeda was written more than a hundred years later. Of the few names to which myth or tradition has given prominence in the earliest centuries of the English occupation, nothing is really known. All that interest which comes from the personal influence of great men, from the play of individual character, must be wanting to such a history. How great a loss this is to a historian like Mr. Green one may easily understand when he remembers how largely the interest of the "History of the English People" is owing to that series of brilliant portraits—Elizabeth, Spenser, Shakspeare, Milton, Charles, father and son, and the rest—that enliven its pages. The highest art of the historian can never make the struggles of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, as a mere series of events, any thing better to most readers than what they were to Milton—"battles of kites and crows."

It is, however, a much more interesting, as well as more important, study to attempt to discover in these rough invaders the germs of English national character, and to trace in their crude laws and customs the origin of English social and political institutions. And it is this, more particularly, that Mr. Green wishes to do. But even in this there is little room for the exercise of those qualities that have most distinguished him as a historian. The facts are so scanty, the glimpses of the old life so broken and transitory, the inferences of historical conjecture often so doubtful, that there is little opportunity to construct a picturesque narrative. From the few facts accessible it is hardly possible to reproduce the life of our first English ancestors in the vivid colors of reality.

Mr. Green, however, has done all that it was possible to do under the limitations of his subject. His narrative is certainly the first account of the Anglo-Saxon invasion at once clear, accurate, and to a certain degree popular. It contains perhaps little that is new; but the facts have never been so well told before. One source of information, moreover, Mr. Green has been the first to make much use of: the influence of the physical geography of Britain upon the course of the English conquest, and the history immediately following has never been so clearly shown as in this volume.

The most interesting chapter of the book is the fourth, in which the author discusses the relations of the conquering Anglo-Saxons to the conquered Britons, and the character of the early English civilization. He shows clearly—what, indeed, has not been doubted in recent years—that the Britons were not generally slaughtered, but slowly driven back and displaced by the invaders. In his account of the English folk and of the English township, in which lay the seeds of all future English political society, the author follows closely the researches of Stubbs, as, indeed, for the future, all writers inevitably must. But here, again, it is to be said that the facts established by the study of the past thirty years have never before been so effectively grouped within the compass of half a hundred pages. There is the same insight into the significance of particular events, the same grasp of facts and power of combining them, the same occasional felicity of conjecture, and the same luminous and forcible style that we have learned to admire in Mr. Green's other work. In dealing with the early ecclesiastical history he is, perhaps, not quite so fortunate. The type of Christianity in

England, between the seventh and ninth centuries, the influence of the clergy and of the Churchly ideas of social organization, the rise of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries—these are among the most important factors in the making of England; but in his attempt to gather from the troublous history of that time a clear estimate of their value, the author, it seems to us, has not been quite so successful as in his treatment of the political and civil institutions. There are, however, passages of rare excellence in his discussions upon these subjects. In point of mere style, Mr. Green has never written any thing better than the description of Whitby and the pathetic account of the character and the last days of Baeda.

The book, as a whole, must take its place as the best popular history of the period which it covers. Any lack of interest in it is the fault of the history and not of the historian. It is to be hoped that the health of the author will enable him to complete the additional volume upon which it is understood he is at present engaged. This will bring the narrative down to the Norman Conquest. C. T. W.

Autobiography of the Rev. Luther Lee, D.D. 12mo, pp. 345. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

Luther Lee's narrative is decidedly outside of the mere routine of Methodist preachers' biographies. Born in Schoharie, N. Y., more than eighty years ago, amid surrounding vice and ignorance, he learned his alphabet in the absence of books by letters cut on a shingle by his elder brother. He was at length promoted to the "American Spelling-Book," and even aspired, under the ridicule of his friends, to one day study grammar. As if providentially there did a Murray's grammar come into that region, which he bought for three days' manual labor. Being converted and then a sort of preacher, he was admitted as probationer to Conference. He learned, some weeks after Conference, from a "Christian Advocate" that he was appointed to Malone Circuit, a place he had never heard of. Memorable and funny is his narrative of his travels, adventures, and successes, in search of Malone Circuit. He had in Malone Circuit rare opportunities for enduring hardness as a good soldier. Nature had given him a remarkable intellectual muscle, and Malone Circuit trained him into a practical unshrinking stalwart. When he went to Conference he found the preachers anxious about their appointments, while he was

calm in the sweet assurance of being sent to the toughest battle-field in the Hardscrabble regions. And what manhood grew on this rugged discipline! Why should he who had nothing to lose fear to fight sin, heresy, and the devil? Calvinism, Universalism, and Unitarianism, shrunk before his solid logic in plain, terse, nervous language. He wrote controversial books (we read them in our young manhood) which in compact reasoning, free from all flower and fancy, remind one of Jonathan Edwards. All this "propædeutik" was prolusive to the great battle which was to try his high moral pluck and find it not wanting. When the slavery question arose, a question not merely of heresy and orthodoxy, in which his feelings were all accordant with his antecedents and dearest connections, but a question of right and wrong, forcing him to break with his past history and associations, he had braved too many crises to shrink from the path of adventurous truth and honesty. He placed himself on the ground of the *absolute* right in opposition to that compromise with great organic wrong which has often to be submitted to by the Christian Church in a corrupt world, but which in this case would have been a fatal submission. Through that whole moral war he seemed to feel exultantly that every fight was a victory. He led the secession from the Church of his love because she wavered in the battle for the right. He became a theological dignitary. A degree of Doctor of Divinity from Middlebury College, a Calvinistic and New England institution, lighted down upon his head with an unsolicited, unexpected suddenness honorable to both parties. The eventful years of civil war made him permanently victor, giving him an emancipated country and restoring him in honor to his own Church. Let every true son of the Church give honor to this noble veteran in his evening of life by purchasing his volume, and reading his story as a lesson of high-toned rectitude.

Bentley. By R. C. JEBB, M.A., LL.D., Edinburgh Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 221. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The greatness of Richard Bentley is not of the "popular" sort, yet this brief biography, containing much information not hitherto published, will be a very acceptable present to classical and New Testament scholars. His masterpiece, the "Dissertation on the Letters of Phalaris," written at his thirty-seventh year of age, vanquished the best classical scholarship of

Cambridge. Professor Jebb shows indeed that the tradition that his overwhelming victory was universally acknowledged at the time must be somewhat modified. The wits and popular *literati* still remained on the adverse side; but the scholars of England and Europe realized the immensity of his erudition and the sweeping conclusiveness of his logic. It has long been a settled faith that this Dissertation, essentially accidental as it was, and extorted from him in self-defense, marked an epoch. His manly frame was instinct with a Herculean vigor equal to any labor, and his powerful intellect reeked itself upon accurate research, voluminous study, and masterly reasoning. He was the hero of many an intellectual fight. His firm grasp of subjects made him very positive of his opinions; and though we may believe that truth and right were the object of his strife, yet he had no great objection to the process of driving his opponent out of the field. Of him a Niebuhr could say that he was "a giant among a generation of dwarfs." At the same time he had human littlenesses enough to console us for our own littleness. What is the use of being a great—a very great—man?

Ruth the Moabitess, the Ancestress of our Lord. By Ross C. Houghton, D.D., author of "Women of the Orient," "At the Threshold," etc. 12mo, pp. 365. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Few readers of the Bible can peruse the book of Ruth without feeling the charm of its idyllic beauty, and paying a tribute of admiration to the memory of the artless, affectionate, virtuous maiden whose name it embalms. Very evidently Dr. Houghton is enamored with the simple loveliness of her character, since he here portrays it with enthusiastic fidelity, and with an ardent painstaking which has brought together from many and varied sources every thing necessary to illustrate the times in which Ruth lived, the scenes in which she moved, and the characters with whom she associated. Hence we have a history of Bethlehem, the birthplace of her mother-in-law and of her husbands; some capital topographical descriptions of the route from that city to Moab, with graphic pictures of the latter land, of which Ruth was a native. The story of his heroine's love for Naomi, and of her decision to accompany her to Bethlehem, and to adopt her religion, is effectively related, as is also that of the incidents which led to her marriage with the noble-minded Boaz. To make his work complete, our author has made his heroine's

conduct and character the text of sundry practical lessons of life which may be read with profit, especially by young people, for whose benefit they appear to be introduced. Thus in this volume we have the "Rose of Moab," as Ruth has been called by a poet, placed like a beautiful picture in a frame suitably adorned, and fitted to bring out its distinctive excellencies before the spectator's eyes. Dr. Houghton wields a vigorous pen.

Educational.

A Manual of Historical Literature: Comprising Brief Descriptions of the most important Histories in English, French, and German, together with Practical Suggestions as to Methods and Courses of Historical Study. For the use of Students, General Readers, and Collectors of Books. By CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL.D. New York, Harper & Brothers. 1882.

"What histories shall I read with most profit? What historical books shall I put into the hands of my son and my daughter? What course and what methods will be most advantageous to our historical club? What histories shall we buy for our town and college libraries? What shall I buy for my own library?"

Professor Adams' excellent book is an answer to these questions quoted from the opening paragraph of its preface. And, so far as we know, it is the only book in English that *does* answer them. Without pretending to give an exhaustive bibliography of history, the author has brought together, in classified lists, the titles of about one thousand of the best books upon ancient and modern history. These lists are arranged by countries and periods, and are quite full enough to serve the purposes of all students save those who wish to make extended researches for themselves into the original materials of history. The lists upon the smaller nationalities of Europe and that upon the Political and Constitutional History of England seem to us especially judicious and valuable.

But the book does much more than give well-arranged lists of historical authorities. The title of every book is accompanied by at least one brief critical and descriptive paragraph, indicating its method, its characteristic excellences and defects, and the comparative value of different editions when there are more than one. It is not easy to give in a dozen lines such an estimate of the character and value of a book as shall be of

much value to readers; Professor Adams has succeeded in a very remarkable degree. These thousand judgments are pointed and discriminating; in almost every instance they tell the student just what he needs to know. They evince not only a very wide reading, but a clear practical judgment and a rare power of terse, summary statement. The paragraphs, for example, on Pepys' "Diary," on Carlyle's "French Revolution," and on Mommsen's "Rome," are models of brief and judicious criticism. Only now and then do we find an opinion that seems to be taken at second hand, or after but slight examination of the work described. It is not easy to see, for one instance, why John Hill Burton's rambling "History of the Reign of Queen Anne" should receive such high praise.

Each chapter of the book, after the introductory one, is divided into two parts. The first part contains the descriptive lists just mentioned; in the second, the author gives hints as to the use of the books named, suggests those best adapted to a short and to a longer course of reading, and closes each chapter with references, often very copious, to other matter illustrating the history of the period under discussion—public documents, historical biography, critical essays and magazine articles, historical novels. Many works of great and well-known value which one might have expected to meet in the author's classified lists, are grouped together here, such as the essays of Macaulay and Carlyle, and John Morley's studies on the French history of the eighteenth century. These "Suggestions to Readers and Students" are, perhaps, the best part of the book. They are evidently the fruit of a long experience in the teaching of history and an intimate practical acquaintance with the wants of such a class of readers as frequent a college library. The section on the history of the United States is much fuller than the others, and is by far the best guide now accessible to readers of our history.

The introductory chapter is an able essay upon the importance of the study of history and the ways in which it should be pursued. The index, upon which the value of such a book so largely depends, is carefully prepared and accurate; but, although it now fills thirty pages, it should be enlarged sufficiently to include all the titles of that large number of illustrative works mentioned in the last section of every chapter. These seem to have been capriciously included or omitted. We noted among those left out these titles, taken at random, to all which at least important

incidental reference is made in the body of the work: John Morley's "Voltaire," "Rousseau," "Diderot;" Luttrell's "Diary;" Baxter's autobiography; Sir William Temple's works; Klackzo's "Two Chancellors;" Dixon's "Free Russia."

But the volume presents few points for criticism. A more useful book has not lately appeared. Such a one years ago would have saved many of us weary hours of searching, and saved, too, what was worse, weary hours of reading which was worthless after all. It would be curious to know how many, like the writer, have to remember the chagrin with which, after going through, in their boyhood, with the four volumes of Rollin's "Ancient History," they learned that the book was rubbish. But such a book as this of Professor Adams could hardly have been prepared twenty years ago. It is only one of the many signs of the remarkable improvement, within a few years, in the methods of studying history as well as in the methods of writing it. This recent increase of interest in historical studies is, in reality, quite as important a phase of the intellectual activity of our time as the scientific movement of which so much has been said. C. T. W.

Literature and Fiction.

An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. By Rev. WALTER W. SKEATS, M.A., Elvington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 799. Oxford: Printed at the Clarendon Press, for Macmillan & Co. New York, 1882.

A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. By Rev. WALTER W. SKEATS, M.A., Elvington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 616. New York: Harper & Bros.

Comparative philology is pouring its amazing wealth of discovery into dictionaries. It has already transformed them into almost new things, and the transformation is not half finished. The fountains of Aryan speech have been opened and have made an epoch. Then the laws of changes from language to language have been developed, and investigators have been surprised at the large degree in which the apparently chance transitions from speech to speech have been made with all the uniformity of law. The languages of Europe are investigated to ascertain affinities. The progress of each language from age to

age must be chronologically traced. But as their records are obscure and difficult of access, associations are formed for printing old documents, and enthusiastic scholars are too happy in passing their years in poring over these remains of obsolete or obsolescent speech. Then comes first your dictionary for exact analytical definition of the meaning of the word you see or use, and Webster led the way in this work splendidly. Then we have a chronological dictionary, like Richardson, in which the definition is subordinate, but the nature of the word is disclosed by sentences quoted in which it is used by authors through successive centuries in order. Then comes the etymological dictionary, like this of the learned and faithful Cambridge professor, in which, as nearly as possible, the birth, relationships, career, present status, and perhaps death of a word are traced. A word seems born in the Aryan age. It may be traced down to our to-day's English, through perhaps Greek, Latin, French, ancient English, thence through varying fortunes down to our hodiernal lips. We have the biography of a word, forming a little narrative; yet often so tangled a narrative as to require some concise discussion.

Professor Skeats has in the present volume gone through an elaborate and very difficult process, and made a very decided step in advance of all predecessors in presenting the detailed life of English words. The volume, though a valuable acquisition for the scholar in English, is tributary to a great comprehensive dictionary, embodying all the objects of a complete work, now in preparation by the English Philological Society, which he hopes, under the presidency of Dr. Murray will soon commence publication.

We quote the following definition of a word in which Americans have some special interest, as a specimen of Professor Skeats' methods, and for the sake of interposing a query as to the accuracy of his decision.

YANKEE: We also find Low German *jakkern*, to keep walking about, certainly connected with Dutch *jagen* and *jacht*. Also Norw. *janka*, to totter, belonging to the same set of words. I have now little doubt that *yankee* is connected with these words, and not with *English* nor with Dutch *yankin*, both obviously guesses, and not good guesses. In his Supplem. Glossary, Davies quotes: "Proceed in thy story in a direct course, without yawing like a Dutch *Yanky;*" Smollett, Sir L. Greaves, chap. iii. Davies explains *yanky* as meaning a "species of ship," I do not know on what authority. If right, it goes to show that *yanky*, in this instance, is much the same as *yacht*. I conclude that *yanky* or *yankee* orig. meant "quick-moving," hence active, smart, spry, etc.; and that it is from the verb *yank*, to jerk, which is a nasalized form from Du. and G. *jagen*, to move quickly, chase, hunt, etc., cf. Icel. *jaga*, to move to and fro, like a door on its hinges, Swed. *jaga*, Dan. *jage*, to

chase, hunt. The Dan. *jage* is a strong verb with pt. t. *jog*. The verb *to yank*, meaning to "jerk," was carried from the north of England to America, where Mr. Buckland heard it used in 1871, and thought "we ought to introduce it into this country;" quite forgetting whence it came. In his Logbook of a Fisherman and Naturalist, 1876, p. 129, he gives the following verses, "composed by one Grumbo Cuff:" "A grasshopper sat on a sweet-potato vine, Sweet-potato vine, A big wild turkey came running up behin', And *yanked* the poor grasshopper Off the sweet-potato vine, The sweet-potato vine."

We think very few Americans will for a moment believe that the term *Yankee* for a New Englander came from the verb to *yank*. That verb we presume is known to most of our readers as a syllable sometimes uttered in a lower style of conversation, with a sense of its hardly being entitled to the dignity of a *word* in the language. It seems to possess a slight onomatopœic quality; its brevity and uncouthness somehow representing the quickness and roughness with which something is pulled, or, as it might otherwise be expressed, "snaked" out of your hands. If this word became "Yankee" it must have been by the act of the New Englanders themselves, and yet it was so little recognized there that Webster's dictionary does not know it. It is not conceivable that it should have obtained currency, consciously or unconsciously, as a popular denomination. On the other hand, the Indian attempt at pronouncing "English" might easily run from the border line and become popularly current in the center of population until it became fixed.

The second book in our rubric is an abridgment by the author of the larger work, as an accurate and handy manual for those who are satisfied with net results without going through the processes by which they are attained.

Miscellaneous.

Money-making for Ladies. By Ella Rodman Church. Square 18mo, pp. 221. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A lively little book, suggesting to women of limited means various methods by which they may increase their scanty incomes. To some its hints and facts may be beneficial; to others it will prove misleading, inasmuch as its writer generalizes too broadly from isolated and exceptional facts. Because one woman succeeds in this or that enterprise it does not follow that others will, or even may. There is a vast difference in women and in the circum-

stances which surround them. We, therefore, recommend all women of the class addressed in this volume to qualify its rose-colored pictures with this grain of common sense in one of its closing paragraphs, to wit: "One of the great arts of money-making consists in the gift of *knowing just what to do, according to one's power and circumstances.*"

The Indian Sunday-School Manual. Specially adapted to Sunday-School Work in India. By Rev. T. J. SCOTT, D.D. A Centennial Volume. 12mo, pp. 226. Lucknow Methodist Episcopal Church Press. 1882.

Catalogue and Report of the Bareilly Theological Seminary and Christian High School of the North India Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1881. 12mo, pp. 34.

English Men of Letters. Edited by JOHN MORLEY. John Milton; by MARK PATTISON. Alexander Pope; by LESLIE STEPHEN. William Cowper; by GOLDWIN SMITH. New York: Harper & Bros.

Anne. A Novel. By CONSTANCE FENNIMORE WOOLSON. Illustrated by C. S. REINHART. 12mo, pp. 540. New York: Harper & Bros.

Our Set. A Collection of Stories. By ANNIE THOMAS, author of "Denis Donne," "Theo. Leigh." New York: Harper & Bros.

The Heart of the White Mountains, Their Legends and Scenery. By SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE, author of "Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast," "Captain Nelson," etc. Forest Edition. With Illustrations by W. HAMILTON GIBSON. New York: Harper & Bros. 1882.

California for Health, Pleasure, and Residence. A Book for Travelers and Settlers. New Edition. Thoroughly Revised; giving Detailed Accounts of the Culture of the Wine and Raisin Grape, the Orange, Lemon, Olive, and other Semi-Tropical Fruits; Colony Settlements, Methods of Irrigation, etc. By CHARLES NORDHOFF. With Maps and Numerous Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 206. New York: Harper & Bros. 1882.

Reminiscences of my Irish Journey in 1849. By THOMAS CARLYLE. 8vo, pp. 227. New York: Harper & Bros. 1882.

Dickens. By ADOLPHUS WARD. 8vo, pp. 222. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Order of the Sciences. An Essay on the Philosophical Classification and Organization of Human Knowledge. By CHARLES W. SHIELDS, Professor in Princeton College. 8vo, pp. 103. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Quaint Folk of Haverly. By E. J. BOYD, author of "Rachel Cardingford's Book," "Hearts of Gold," "Stories of Diamonds," "Farmer Burt's Seed," "Prayer-Tests Series," etc. Two Illustrations. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

The Burden Lifted. By JOSEPHINE POLLARD. Two Illustrations. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

Shakspeare's Comedy of The Two Gentlemen of Verona. Edited with Notes by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. Formerly Head-Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Shakspeare's Tragedy of Timon of Athens. Edited with Notes. By WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

John Inglesant. A Romance. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

Thomas Carlyle. A History of the First Forty Years of his Life, 1795–1835. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. Formerly Fellow of Baxter College, Oxford. With Portraits and Illustrations. Two volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Charles Lamb. By ALFRED AINGER. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Plain-Speaking. By the author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Seventieth Annual Report of the Mission Stations and Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the North India Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Held at Moradabad, Jan. 11–17, 1882. Lucknow: Printed at the Methodist Episcopal Church Press. Rev. J. H. Messmore, Superintendent. 1882.

The Christian Orphanage. John 15. 7. A Faith Work; at Curreemnuggar and Mylarum, Nizam's Dominions, India. Second Report, March 12, 1880, to March 12, 1881. Bombay Methodist Book Concern. 1881.

Victor Hugo and His Time. By ALFRED BARBOU. Illustrated with 120 Drawings, by MM. Émile Bayard, Clerget, Fichel, Jules Garnier, Gervex, Giacomelli, Ch. Gasselin, Jean-Paul, Laurens, Lix, Olivier Merson, H. Meyer, Ed. Morin, Scott, Vogel, Zier, etc.; and a great number of Drawings by Victor Hugo. Engraved by Méaulle. Translated from the French by Ellen E. Frewer. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Bible Doctrine of Hell. Cincinnati: Elm-street Printing Co. 1882.

Unknown to History. A Story of the Captivity of Mary of Scotland. By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

Hunting Adventures on Land and Sea. Part II. The Young Nimrods Around the World. A Book for Boys. By THOMAS W. KNOX, author of "The Boy Travelers in the Far East," "The Young Nimrods in North America," "How to Travel," "Overland through Asia," "John," etc. Copiously Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Positive Evidences of Christianity. By Rev. B. W. BOND, of the Baltimore Conference, M. E. Church, South. Edited by Thomas O. Summers, D.D., LL.D. Revised Edition. Nashville, Tenn. Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1881.

Fortieth Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City and County of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1881. New York: Hall of the Board of Education. 1882.

Engd by H.B. Hall & Son, 13 Barclay St. N.Y.

Yours affectionately
J. McClintock

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1882.

ART. I.—JOHN McCLINTOCK, D.D., LL.D.

John McClintock was [illegible] of the Methodist preachers [illegible] in Philadelphia, October [illegible], 1814, before Conference, [illegible] he entered [illegible] new [illegible] contributed [illegible] of the country. His father's [illegible] ence of Mr. Wesley and [illegible] useful [illegible] of the Methodist [illegible] who came to this country in 1783, and [illegible] was a man of unusual intelligence, [illegible] pressed in temper, persistent, remorseless, [illegible] the one religious [illegible] very clear intellect, [illegible] prey; to whose [illegible] over was indebted for many of his most [illegible] qualities of character, the fondness and grace of words, to the brilliancy and strength of mind in self-conception [illegible] suggested on the case of John McClintock. The [illegible] of his childhood and youth was peculiarly unpretending, characterized by industry, frugality, temperance, and [illegible] into it shone one clear white light of virtue and religion.

Into the [illegible] of Dr. McClintock's [illegible] four [illegible]

Sincerely yours,
J. McClintock

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1882.

ART. I.—JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., LL.D.

JOHN M'CLINTOCK, a scholar, a divine, and the prince of the Methodist preachers that have appeared in my time, was born in Philadelphia, October 27, 1814. His father and mother, both from County Tyrone, Ireland, belonged to the Scotch-Irish race which has contributed so much to the vigor and energy of this country. His father's father early came under the influence of Mr. Wesley and his teachings, and was a zealous and useful member of the "Methodist Society." John's own father, who came to this country in 1806, and settled in Philadelphia, was a man of unusual intelligence, alert in movement, irrepressible in temper, persistent, tenacious, and a man of mark in the same religious communion. His mother was a woman of very clear intellect, placid spirit, and deep, though unobtrusive, piety; to whose rare purity and tenderness of character his own was indebted for many of his most sweet and attractive qualities. Not often are the loveliness and grace of woman united to the brilliancy and strength of man in so conspicuous a degree as happened in the case of John M'Clintock. The home of his childhood and youth was prosperous yet unpretending — ordered by industry, frugality, temperance, and method; and into it shone the clear white light of virtue and religion.

Into the homes of the M'Clintocks in two countries, for

two generations, the spirit and words of the Wesleys had come, and were the nourishment and inspiration of John M'Clintock from his earliest years. He was sung to sleep when a child by the strains of "Come, O, thou Traveler unknown"; and the cheek of the boy glowed, and his eye flashed with martial enthusiasm, as he joined with the great congregation in old "St. George's"—his father's church—while they sang with one heart and one voice, "Come on, my partners in distress." Solomon Sharpe, Ezekiel Cooper, Beverly Waugh, John Emory, and other men of renown belonging to the heroic days of Methodism—Mr. Asbury's sons in the Gospel, as he in turn was Mr. Wesley's son—were frequent guests at the house of John's father. It is not easy to portray the feelings with which a Methodist boy of that generation looked upon and listened to these venerable men as they sat beside his father's board. There was reverence, but no chilling fear; for they were most human-hearted men, and, remembering the injunction, "Feed my lambs," were exceedingly considerate and kind to the children of the household. Their labors, self-denials, hardships, and sufferings made them seem like war-worn veterans in the eyes of an ingenuous lad as he listened to the stirring stories of their privations and perils; and the interest of the narrative was heightened by the play of a quaint humor which they nearly all possessed. John's sensitive, vivid nature eagerly welcomed the impressions made by these fascinating men, who shone before him as saints and heroes at the fireside and in the pulpit; it is, therefore, not strange that as the years went on he should become an enthusiastic Methodist, and a preacher as well.

Philadelphia had good schools, and John was an earnest student. Then came a pause in his scholastic life, for his father's affairs fell into embarrassment, and John had to earn his bread, and do what he might toward helping the family. His capacity was even then so noted that he was appointed, at sixteen, chief book-keeper of the Methodist Book Concern in New York; and, while tied to the "desk's dull wood," did his drudging work in the alert, rapid, and accurate way characteristic of him through life. What time he had to spare was given to study and religion. He took his first lessons in harnessing the tongue to the brain in the Irving Debating Club;

and the friends he made there, who listened with wonder and delight to his maiden speeches, he kept throughout life—and this was also a characteristic trait: he rarely, if ever, lost a friend, except by death. Returning to Philadelphia in the summer of 1832, he entered the University of Pennsylvania as a freshman; when eighteen years of age, he took and held the first place in the class, and worked so diligently that, having passed a rigid examination, he became a junior a year ahead of his classmates, cramming the studies of four years into three, but only spending two at the University itself. His exercise books, both of school and college life, remain and bear witness to the thoroughness of his work. All is written out with most minute attention to detail. In analysis, translation, scanning, every point of etymology, syntax, prosody, mythology, and history was examined, and the fact or rule stated. In this exact discipline the foundation of Dr. M'Clintock's culture was laid. He did not leap to excellence, but rose to it by honest exertion. Rapid and brilliant at all times, he did not disdain what most young men call drudgery. His college note-books show evidence of activity in every department of knowledge. In the neatest of hands are preserved digests of lectures on chemistry, mathematics, philosophy, and constitutional law; sketches of problems in the calculus; drawings of parts of the steam-engine, and of philosophical instruments, with descriptions; in fact, nothing seems to have come amiss to him. As a school-boy, he had drilled into him the habit of doing every thing well, and the habit clung to him ever after.

He had learned by this time enough of his capabilities to be aware that he might expect to attain eminence in any profession. He was ambitious, had a keen sense of the value of wealth and the enjoyableness of a great fame. The Methodist ministry was, to his mind, a complete surrender of both. Its emoluments were then small, its opportunities of culture slender, its incessant change disheartening to a student. "The still small voice" within his own breast, bidding him go forth into the fields which were white unto the harvest, was mightier than the solicitations of pleasure, wealth, and fame; and at the close of his junior year in college he entered upon the active duties of a Methodist preacher, calling upon men to flee from the wrath to come, and lay hold upon eternal life. Side

by side with his pastoral labors the studies of the senior year in the university were kept up. He passed his examinations with distinction, and was graduated with high honor when less than twenty-one years old. He had even then much of the swiftness, dexterity, and grasp in laying hold of knowledge and making it his own, and what appeared to be an unlimited capacity for work, which so eminently marked him in later life; but his triumphs as a student, and in airily, gracefully carrying the double burden laid upon his youthful shoulders, were bought at a heavy price of illness, suffering, and, at last, death before his time. Such were his gifts, grace, and usefulness that his Church importunately called him, at whatever cost to himself, to enter the active ranks of her ministry: docile, sensitive, spiritually-minded, and trained to self-denial, he could not resist. One cannot but be saddened by the shortcomings of his *alma mater* toward this brilliant son, as well as the unwise haste, not to say unpardonable folly, of his churchly elders in not suffering him to tarry at Jericho until his beard grew. His college had taught him how to study, and given him the usual amount of intellectual food. And this still passes for education. It is safe to say that he received no instruction on the sovereign subject of health, the relation of the spiritual and animal parts of his nature, how the body may be conserved and improved, while the mind is fledging for its wider flights. The strain of his faculties, moreover, in his honest attempt to perform the impossible—the double duty of a painstaking and faithful undergraduate and at the same time of the zealous and laborious minister—undermined his physique, excellent as it was by nature, and opened the sluice for many an after-flood of sickness, suffering, and misery. His maladies, which became manifold, robbed himself, the Church, and the world of many of the best fruits of his ripest years. He sometimes described himself as a man dragging a log-chain by which he was bound.

His ministry began first on a circuit in New Jersey, then at Elizabethtown, whence he was transferred to Jersey City. The youthful preacher every-where awakened the deepest interest by his pastoral and public ministrations, and many a soul was indebted to him for light and inspiration, the quickening of a higher life.

Not long, after the failure of his health, had he to look for such work as he could do. Lagrange College, Ala., then presided over by the Rev. Robert Paine, now the venerable and beloved Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, offered him a professorship; and soon after the Chair of Mathematics in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., was opened to him. He chose the latter, and at once, in his prompt, earnest way, began to fulfill its duties. His stay in Jersey City, with its experience of disaster, had brought him an abundant blessing—the acquaintance of Miss Caroline Augusta Wakeman, who became his wife soon after he began the work in his new sphere. She was born the same day in the same year with himself; was in full sympathy with him as a student and scholar, animated and cheered him in the prosecution of his multifarious tasks, and made his home a place of rest to which he ever turned with joy. The new scenes into which he entered, the new work, and especially his new associates, were as a cordial, and his elastic health soon revived. Most fruitful years of a well-ordered peace were the twelve which he spent in the happy valley in which Carlisle stands, encircled lovingly by the Blue Mountain ridge, and enveloped in an atmosphere of crystal clearness, on which the play of light and shade produced every hour some new and striking effect. Only the hum of the great world's tumult could be heard in that still, secluded spot, not loud enough to disturb the calm of studious pursuits. The town preserved the tradition of the learned culture which has distinguished it from the close of the last century, when the great Dr. Nisbet ruled the college, and still later when the illustrious Dr. John M. Mason filled the same place, and when one of the chairs was occupied by M'Clellend, the marvelous rhetorician, the fame of whose power of speech lingered in the Cumberland Valley long after his time. The steady pace and even pulse of life seemed here to tone down the feverish excitement which is the usual condition under which American society exists. To M'Clintock, great as was his pleasure in imparting knowledge—for, like Dr. Arnold, and deserving to rank next to the head-master of Rugby, he was a born teacher—his delight in gaining it was even greater. He used to say, jocularly, that a college would be charming if only there were no students. He was a most faithful and laborious teacher;

his classes stimulated him and gave zest to his exertions. He had the art of connecting the work of the students with his own culture, and, if on a higher plane, was moving in the same lines with them. He was greatly aided by his social advantages, and made them helpful to his more serious occupations. It was not often that he could be induced to spend a whole evening in society. Time was too precious, he said; and he grudged the surrender of so many hours. Every day he took pains to see some friend, would beguile a half-hour with pleasant chat, and then be off again to work. In such pauses from labor he was playful as if his life was a long holiday. He had the magnetism which made him a charming companion, and if he drew much from society, he also gave much to it. His sympathies were catholic, and enabled him to touch his fellow men at many points. He could enter quickly into the life of others, come to an understanding of it, and establish agreeable relations with them without an unnecessary expenditure of time. His social power supplemented his talents, and contributed largely to his success. Swift and true as was his insight, penetrating to the very heart of things and men; full and embracing as was his charity, coupled with a deep and reverent faith, he would have lacked his highest charm without the glancing humor and overflowing love of fun which fused and mellowed all his powers, making him most dear to all his friends. To the end of life, despite all his infirmities and sorrows, while you saw him to be a great, wise, cultured man, he remained like a sweet and beautiful child. If Coleridge's definition of genius be true—carrying the sensibilities and affections of childhood into middle and later life—then was John M'Clintock pre-eminently a man of genius. Every clever student who entered his classes not only caught the inspiration of his enthusiasm for learning, but glowed with a kindling desire to be a truer and wiser man. Fear of the learned professor and critical scholar was disarmed by his frank and genial manner, and all the collegians came to regard him as an elder brother. Pretense was a thing intolerable to him, and he never failed to unmask it; but it was always done in a humorous fashion; he never inflicted a wound, but was none the less honest for all that. A crotchety student, whose brain was a kind of limbo, came to

him one day with, "Professor, I have got hold of the greatest thought that ever entered the mind of man." "Out with it," said M'Clintock in his prompt way, a merry twinkle in his eye. The gownsman struggled, stammered, boggled, at last said: "Words cannot express it; the idea is too vast and grand." "No," said the professor, his face radiant with fun, "No, you are mistaken; you think you have genius; that isn't what ails you, 'tis indigestion; you have eaten something at dinner which disagrees with you. Go home; take some soda to correct the action of your stomach, and you will soon come all right. Go, my boy." The student joined with the professor in the hearty laugh, and the wind, at least for the time, was let out of that bladder; and the lesson was worth many a recitation in Greek and trigonometry.

His fellow professors formed a rare group of men. Among them was Dr. William H. Allen, now and for many years the noble President of Girard College, Philadelphia; then, by his versatility and thoroughness, passing from chair to chair in the institution, as the needs of the new management required, achieving the highest success in all, and giving sure presage of the eminence which he has since won and deserved. Another was Merritt Caldwell—like Allen, a graduate of Bowdoin—in whom you scarce knew whether most to admire and love the ardent, simple Christian, the scholar, teacher, or friend. The President of the Faculty was the Rev. Dr. John P. Durbin, whose fame and power as a preacher were at that day second to those of no man in the country. Born, toward the close of the last century or the beginning of this, in Kentucky, when it was the "Far West," he grew up on the frontier with few advantages, save such as pioneer life could furnish; but if the Roman fable be true, even wolf's milk is not bad nourishment for men of genius and heroic mold. Beginning his ministry upon the vast circuits of the West, preaching in log-cabins, school-houses, and at camp-meetings; sleeping on the ground many a night, in winter as well as summer, his horse hobbled near by; his fare parched corn or "dodger," bear-meat, venison, or bacon; inured to the privations and hardships which belonged to the career of a backwoods itinerant, with indomitable energy he pursued, not only his theological studies, but academic as well; came up for the collegiate examinations, and was

honorably graduated A.B. To his energy and love of knowledge there was added that strange, fascinating power called eloquence. His fame filled the West, and in time crossed the Alleghanies. Among my own earliest recollections are those of the appearance, voice, and manner of Dr. Durbin as he stood in the old-fashioned high pulpit—on a level with the gallery, and a sounding-board above it—of the "Academy," a Methodist church which had been built by Whitefield on Fourth-street, below Arch, in Philadelphia. There I sat, an eager, questioning child, amid the dense, hushed throng that had gathered to hear the renowned preacher. Though I could understand little of what was said, I still remember the monotonous, almost drawling, tones with which Dr. Durbin began the service in the hymn, prayer, lessons, and opening of the sermon. Those who had not heard him before were always keenly, not to say bitterly, disappointed by his manner and appearance. His frame was almost slight, his face well-nigh dull, nor was there any thing noteworthy about the appearance of his head; even the eye was inexpressive. The discourse, begun upon an ordinary conversational key, proceeded with the unfolding of the subject sometimes for half an hour, without a hint of what was coming. The language was plain; the style, unlabored; the thought, ingenious rather than profound, and though sometimes subtle, was usually on the hearers' plane. When all expectation was subdued, and it seemed as if the sermon was to continue upon the accustomed level of commonplace, the preacher would appear for an instant to undergo a transformation, and the lifeless manner, the drawling tone, the dull face and eye, were changed—and such a change: a kind of electric shock ran through the assembly. The change was only for a moment, but was soon repeated and continued for a longer time; and then the new manner and the new man remained. It seemed as if his spirit had dropped the garment of the flesh, was embodied of its own substance, naked and visible to mortal sight. The voice grew round, full, flexible, sonorous, the exquisite vehicle of every emotion; the action was full of power, and his form seemed to dilate to gigantic size; his face became mobile, dramatic, radiant, and his eye shone with an almost insufferable splendor which well-nigh dazzled and overpowered all beholders. The trance of the hearers was complete; life

was absorbed in hearing, sight, and emotion; they leaned forward, stood up, forgot to breathe, and the silence was so awful that the preacher's voice sounded as if in a place of the dead. When it seemed as if they were all caught up into the heaven of heavens, and had heard things unutterable, the rapture tempered by awe, the preacher ceased, and slowly men regained their consciousness. As the congregation dispersed, men and women spoke with bated breath, saying, with the patriarch, "Surely the Lord is in this place. How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." All this I came to know and feel in later years, but even as a child I was subject to the great orator's spell, felt the thrill of his power, and trembled before the almost transfigured majesty of the man. How extraordinary was his mastery may be divined from the fact that he affected a little child thus, as well as gray-haired sires and matrons. His appearance in a Philadelphia pulpit was always hailed by multitudes as a kind of pentecost. Singularly enough, this great orator, differing from most men of his class, was a man of affairs, possessing wonderful capacity for the common business of life.

Whatever he undertook his penetrating intelligence, foresight, and prudence enabled him to grasp, while his attention to details and unwearied industry brought it to a successful end. He filled every position to which he was called by the Church with consummate tact, energy, and victory. It can, therefore, be understood that Dickinson College was most fortunate in the administration of its president. With these men young Professor M'Clintock entered into the most friendly and loving relations; but the tenderest and strongest tie he formed was that which bound him to Professor Emory, at that time filling the chair of Ancient Languages. Their age was nearly the same, and while the influence of a Methodist inheritance in common had nourished in them the same tastes, habits, forms of thought and faith, their difference of temperament and character was complete, and thus the ground was formed for a union as perfect as that between David and Jonathan. Emory was the son of a bishop, and possessed every advantage of position and culture; had been graduated with the highest distinction in Columbia College, trained in the most thought-

ful and exact manner by his wise and gifted father, and even as a youth was exemplary, mature, and grand—large in every quality and virtue, but largest of all in perfect self-abnegation—the complete surrender of himself to his Master's work. The soundness of judgment and maturity of wisdom which characterized him and made his counsel sought on great questions, even by the fathers, seemed as if they could only be the result of wide and long experience. He was in truth a most kingly man, fitted to administer and rule in all grave, high things; self-contained, reserved, discreet, always looking before and after. M'Clintock was mercurial, spontaneous, exuberant, off-hand. Yet in one thing they were alike, perfect ingenuousness, transparent simplicity of character. They were likewise brave men, abhorring cant, and having the courage to speak what was in their minds, "whether men would hear or whether they would forbear." The almost romantic devotion between Robert Emory and John M'Clintock, from the day their friendship was formed to the end of Emory's life, sheds a soft and beautiful luster over both, and makes one believe that even yet the love "which passeth the love of woman" may exist. In this new theater and these congenial occupations, and with such friends, the radiant young professor betook him to his work with a will. He had taken "all knowledge as his portion," and he needed only nerves of steel and a frame incapable of exhaustion to secure full possession. While teaching college students mathematics, his own studies spread out in all directions. Though with a good appetite for all learning, he had a choice. To physics he seemed somewhat indifferent; but languages, logic, metaphysics, and theology, with history, poetry, and *belles-lettres*, had for him charms he never wished to resist. He had no notion of becoming a mere mathematician, "his eyes glazed o'er with sapless days." He early planned a broad range of intellectual pursuits, and adhered to his plan with fidelity. His lamp, among the many lighted at the college, was by hours the last to be put out. Swift as were his mental processes, vast and sure his appropriation of knowledge, his intellectual hunger was insatiable; but he had scarce completed his second year as professor when his health again gave way. Thus it continued with him through life: seasons of prodigious intellectual activity were followed

by seasons of enforced abstinence from all serious work. The heroic medical treatment to which he was subjected made him almost understand what is meant by the tortures of the rack. Ten years after this he supposed himself to be subject to disease of the heart, and lived under a constant apprehension of sudden death. He had frequent swoons; dared not trust himself to the length of his tether, and was "easily upset." And all this might have been avoided if his college had, with its other teachings, only taught the most important thing of all—how to care for and handle himself.

After many months of languor and pain he regained strength enough to go to work again, devouring all kinds of literature, indexing, filling common-place books, garnering his harvest that it might be bread for after years. Children were born to him, and thus his education was carried higher, for nothing deepens, enriches, and hallows a man's nature like the little ones, of whom is "the kingdom of heaven." In those Carlisle years, likewise, there came the solemn mystery, Death, "that cloudy porch oft opening on the sun," in which we sit "muffled round with woe" in the great darkness, until at last, lifting the eyes, still half-blinded by tears, we see One like unto the Son of man, "his countenance as the sun shineth in his strength," and hear him say, "I am the resurrection and the life." As he surrendered his first-born, a beautiful little girl, he heard the great voice say, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." Later his revered and tender mother passed on before, and he heard the voice say, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; for they rest from their labors." "Thus build we up the being that we are" by brave labor, indefatigable energy, the earnest fulfillment of daily duty; by the purged eye of faith, a tenderer charity, a more deep and reverent piety, and a meek submission to the will of Him "who doeth all things well."

Hebrew, German, and French were added to his Latin, Greek, and mathematical studies. Coleridge and Wordsworth were an early passion with him, and did much to mold his tastes and affect his ways of thought and vision. Carlyle's voice, which in those days was a trumpet-tone to young men, reached his ear and profoundly stirred him. Then came Goethe, "that Titan in court dress." Auguste Comte soon

engaged him, and I believe he was the first, certainly among the first, to introduce the Positive philosophy to American readers.* He made himself acquainted with the German metaphysicians, from Kant to Schelling; was among the first on this side of the water to know what Strauss and the Tübingen school of theology had to say. Together with Professor Blumenthal, he translated "Neander's Life of Christ," and placed that invaluable book within easy reach of English readers, furnishing them with a victorious answer to Strauss, and a refutation of the whole Tübingen school of that day. The work was admirably done, and won for him a correspondence with Neander, in which he expressed his loving thanks, and afterward the warm personal friendship of the great Church historian. In Neander he found German learning coming, after traveling a wide circuit, to the position taken by Wesley, that Christianity is more than all else a life—that it is "a power which, as it is exalted above all that human nature can create out of its own resources, must change it from its inmost center."

How he bore himself amid all his studies, and what was the temper of his inmost life as he came into fuller acquaintance with what is called modern philosophic thought, may be seen from this letter written to his brother:

CARLISLE, *February*, 1841.

I believe, and therefore speak. So said St. Paul, and so say I. Don't ask me what I know, for I know nothing that is not grounded at bottom upon a simple act of belief. The man who talks about understanding his nature or his destiny may be very wise, but either he or I must be a madman. Your letter shows no feelings or thoughts, I believe, that have not formed part of my own experience. You need not think you are alone in such things. They form no part of my present existence. Why? Because I have reasoned myself out of them? Nay, I should have reasoned myself into Bedlam first, but because I have rested myself in simple trust—so simple that any child might exercise it, yet so profound that all philosophy cannot fathom it—upon the Great Divine Man, the pattern of purity and sorrow, Jesus Christ, the only perfect being of whom I have heard in the whole history of the world. I have no other secret to impart.

* It is, however, due to historic truth, and to Dr. M'Clintock, to say, that he never claimed the authorship of the Articles on Comte. All of them, if we mistake not, were written by Professor George Frederic Holmes, now of the University of Virginia.—ED.

I believe in Jesus Christ. Am I tempted? So was he; I resist, and there is no sin. Have I suffered? So has he, who glorified sorrow in his life and death. Pain is not evil, pleasure is not good; faith alone is good, and sin or unbelief alone is evil. Such is my simple creed; all the universe could not drive me from it. All bastard philosophy (and God knows I have pestered my brains with it as much as most men) cannot shake it. No temptation can overturn it or overcome me so long as I bide in it. Do you ask me whether this belief has saved me. It has. How? All I know about it is expressed in these words: It is the power of God unto salvation for all them that believe. That is all I know about it. How do I know that I am saved, then? Why thus: If I relax this faith an hour the universe becomes a shoreless, crazy whirlpool, and my brain runs giddy as I look into it. Look into it I must, for I am in the midst of it. But with this faith that universe is for me a firm, rock-built city, a dwelling for my soul. All the discords, dissonances, the mad storm of human voices, the angry curses of guilty men, the inarticulate wail of wide-spread anguish, the noise of wars and murders—think you that I have no ear to hear these things? I do hear them, and I feel that they would drive me mad almost if I did not believe. The image of Christ rises up before me, pure, perfect, mild, serene, sorrowful, yet with power beyond all else that I can conceive. It is the image of God. My salvation beams from those gentle eyes; it is spoken from every lineament of that placid countenance. Look upon him, my brother, and see how mildly and kindly, with sweet tones, sad yet earnest, he asks you to give over your vain strivings and rest in him. Look upon him and you are saved. Some people think religion is a kind of bargain-and-sale business, a barter of so much happiness in this life for so much in the next; a mere working for wages, not deep, inward, heart-subduing reverence, but low, sordid hope of advantage or fear of pain. And yet they recognize Christ as the model of religion. Just think for a moment how widely different all this is from his character, and you will see how deeply they have sunk below the purity of his faith. What advantage did Christ look for? What could he look for? What pain had he not to fear? I tell you honestly that I see but little of the faith of which I speak among men. Many substitute the vulgar motives to which I have just alluded in its stead. Many have their paltry souls crammed full of cant and hypocrisy. What of all this? I know that I believe; I know that my religion is not cant. I am determined to be honest for myself; I believe, and therefore speak. Read that beautiful parting address of Christ contained in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of John. Recollect his words recorded in Matt. xi, 28: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Nowhere else can rest be obtained. Take those sweet words to your heart in simple confidence, and all will be well. My mind is cleared, my heart is

freed, not because I am free from care—I am full of it—but because I believe. Believe, and it shall be done unto you. You will find in the end, as I have found, in the language of the French philosopher, Cousin, that "Christianity is the perfection of reason."

This may stand as the statement of his faith throughout the rest of his life.

By the aid of the Germans, too, he entered the rich fields of philology and comparative grammar, and kept informed of their finds in the Sanskrit. After a few years he was transferred from the chair of mathematics to that of the ancient languages, for which he qualified himself in an eminent degree. With his friend and associate, Professor Crooks, he set himself to the preparation of a series of Latin and Greek elementary books on the method of "imitation and repetition." It was the first of the kind in the United States, and the books found a ready acceptance, and their plan has since become universal. Though more than thirty years have elapsed since the appearance of the first volume, they still retain an honorable position in the schools.

His interest in the affairs of the Church and of the nation was vivid and profound as in his scholarly pursuits. He had a quick and comprehensive eye for all that was going on in the political and ecclesiastical world, as well as for the researches of archæologists and the speculations of philosophers. He was gentle, but not timid; his kindly nature was tinctured by the conservatism of the true scholar, but in him there was no cowardice. He never brawled as a partisan, nor shrieked himself hoarse for the sake of standing well with a majority. He early embraced antislavery views, and although Dickinson College was near the Maryland line and drew many of its students from that State and Virginia, he never disguised his opinions, but on all fit occasions made them plainly known both by tongue and pen. He strongly opposed the admission of Texas into the Union, because it would add to the power of slavery, and bore the testimony of his conscience whenever and wherever he was called on to do so: but he ever spoke what he felt to be the truth in love, never with bitterness. His sincerity was in due time put to a better test by his incurring the risk of fine and imprisonment. He had

formed his opinions cautiously, but was ready, when the time came, to jeopard all he held dear for their sake.

At about five o'clock on a pleasant June afternoon, in 1847, Professor M'Clintock, as was his wont, walked from his home to the post-office for his letters, quite ignorant of the stormy excitement which was at that moment agitating the usually sleepy borough of Carlisle. The postmaster asked him if he knew what was going on, and when told that he did not, informed him that the case of some fugitive slaves was on trial at the court-house.

Three negroes had escaped from slavery in Maryland, and, reaching Carlisle, were pursued by their masters, who caused them to be arrested and thrown into jail until they could arrange to carry them back to Maryland. The negroes of the town were naturally wrought to the highest pitch of excitement; a writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained, the fugitives brought by the sheriff before Judge Hepburn, who, having heard the arguments of counsel, declared that the slaves were illegally in the hands of the sheriff. At that moment Professor M'Clintock entered the court-room and met an Episcopal clergyman, who expressed a doubt of the testimony which had been offered to prove that two of the fugitives, a mother and her child, were slaves. He had a rude greeting from some of the excited whites, who made up a large part of the crowd in court. "There," shouted some one, "goes the d—d abolitionist!" "Look at M'Clintock," shouted another voice, "the d—d abolitionist!" Taking his seat inside the bar with the counsel, he asked them if they had seen the new law of 1847, forbidding the judicial and executive officers of Pennsylvania to bear any part whatever in the capture of fugitive slaves. They had not even heard of it. It was then mentioned by the counsel to the judge, but the judge was not advised of its existence. As far as could be ascertained a certified copy was not to be found in the borough, and the only newspaper copy was in possession of Professor M'Clintock himself. The State capital where the law was enacted was within twenty miles of Carlisle.

Passing on to the door of the court-room, in obedience to the judge's order to clear it, Professor M'Clintock saw a white man raise a stick threateningly over the head of a negro, saying at the same moment, "You ought to have your skull

broke." The negro protested that he had done nothing. "Then," said the professor, "if any one strikes you, apply to me, and I will see that justice is done to you." Filled with the idea that all the proceedings were illegal, the professor hastened to the college to get his copy of the act of 1847. Returning with it, he joined a number of the lawyers who were standing in front of the court-house, as the owners with their slaves came down from the room above and endeavored to place them in a carriage standing by the edge of the side-walk. A rush was made by the crowd of negroes; two of the fugitives were carried off, and Mr. Kennaday, one of the owners, followed in hot pursuit, crossed the street, tripped on some loose boards, and fell heavily. Before he could rise he was struck repeatedly by the negroes as they rushed past him in their flight, severely hurt, and rendered helpless. It was all done in the twinkling of an eye. The lawyers stood upon the court-house steps, Professor M'Clintock among them, but without the slightest power to check or prevent the outbreak.

As the news of the rescue and the hurt done to Mr. Kennaday spread through the borough, the population, especially its less intelligent portion, was ablaze with excitement. It was M'Clintock, was the outcry, who had instigated and led the riot; it was M'Clintock who had cheered the negroes on to the commission of violence, assuring them that he would take the risk of all consequences. The unreasoning anger of the moment fell heavily upon him. He was immediately arrested, as were many of the negroes. When the news spread through the country the excitement became intense. As usual, the distorted story was the first to reach the press, and elicited the severest comments. In a letter to his brother-in-law he said:

> You are perfectly right in supposing that I have done nothing illegal or wrong. If to sympathize with the oppressed be a sin, I plead guilty; if to aid them without violating the law be a sin, then I am a transgressor; but not otherwise. I have had my mind in peace and comfort through the whole affair, and do not wonder at the tranquillity of other men in worse contingencies.

Three weeks after the riot Mr. Kennaday, who had been well cared for and seemed in a fair way to be soon well of his wounds, suddenly died—not from his hurts, but from injudicious eating. His death increased the excitement a hundred-

fold. A fierce effort was made to send Professor M'Clintock to the penitentiary. The trial came off in August; the array of counsel against him was imposing; no skill or pains were spared to secure his conviction; there was hard swearing by many witnesses for the prosecution; and even when the jury brought in their verdict the presiding judge so far forgot his duty and the dignity of his place as to read them a sharp lecture upon their wrong-headedness and the injustice of their finding—so intense was the prejudice against M'Clintock. He was, nevertheless, acquitted. Some of the negroes, however, were found guilty and sentenced to the penitentiary. The professor, not content with his own safety, satisfied that they had been illegally condemned, bestirred himself in their behalf, and after the expenditure of much time and great pains secured a hearing from the Court of Appeals, and thus a reversal of the lower court's decision and the discharge of the prisoners. His bearing throughout the whole business was in keeping with his character—that of a thorough, fearless gentleman, scholar, and Christian.

He was soon called upon to endure a much heavier trial in the loss, by death, of his beloved and revered friends, Robert Emory and Merritt Caldwell, the latter the senior professor of Dickinson College. He felt that the strongest ties which bonnd him to Carlisle had been severed. A great light had gone out of his life in the death of Emory, and he determined to find a home in New York or its neighborhood.

About this time, in May, 1848, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church elected him to be the editor of the Methodist Quarterly Review, and in July he undertook the duties of his new position. During the eight years of his editorial life he brought the Review to the front rank of such publications, gave it a high reputation abroad as well as at home for depth and range of scholarship, catholicity of temper, soundness of orthodox theology, coupled with philosophic and Christian fairness to adversaries. The line of policy which he determined on was a bold one. Before he entered upon his work the General Conference had directed him to make the Quarterly "more practical."

"But how?" he asks, in his first address to his readers. "Not, surely, by lowering its tone in point of literature and

scholarship; that could never have been meant." He understood that the practical religious interest had, hitherto, almost complete dominion in American Methodism; but he saw clearly that this interest would be safe only so far as it was illustrated, defended, and protected by a corresponding literature. As all life which is destined permanently to affect the world finds for itself fitting literary expression, so he was confident the great vital force of Methodism would, in time, issue in appropriate literary creation. To stimulate other minds to the exercise of their best activity was, therefore, the chief duty which he laid upon himself during these years.

Methodism was born in a university, and cradled by men of sound learning; but upon the death of Mr. Wesley the administration of its affairs in England passed, for the most part, into the hands of men good and true, full of faith and the Holy Ghost, but whose knowledge of letters and science was narrow and small; while on this side of the water Mr. Asbury used to say to his preachers, "You may read books; I read the Bible and men," and the favorite watchword of his helpers was, "Getting knowledge is good, but saving souls is better." Bishop Emory, Dr. Fisk, Dr. Few, Dr. Durbin, and Dr. Olin gave the Church an impulse in the right direction, and did much to develop and foster among Methodist preachers the ardent desire for a higher education and broader culture. Greatly also is the Methodist Church indebted to John M'Clintock for its progressive scholarship and great advance in good learning. His mental energy was felt by all with whom he came in contact as an inspiration. His growing acquisitions made him always fresh; his geniality disposed him to communicate freely what he knew; his imagination colored and magnified the objects of his interest, and his warm feelings gave them life. It was in these years that he first planned the "Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature," the publication of which was begun in his lifetime, and has since his death been so admirably carried forward by his associate from the beginning, Dr. James Strong. It is the most comprehensive, thorough, and complete book of its kind in the English, indeed, in any language. Even the Germans have nothing superior to it for width and depth of scholarship. It possesses an inestimable advantage over Herzog's, or any other work that may

challenge competition with it, because the latest and fullest results of learning have passed through the brain and faith of English-speaking men. It thus gains a practical value, and is at the same time free from every taint of a low, degrading rationalism. It must remain for many years the best representative of biblical and theological erudition. Here is an extract from a letter of our brilliant young editor to his friend, Dr. Olin, which gives us a glimpse of some of his experiences after mounting the tripod:

> I am pestered to death with volunteer contributions for the Review. Men who have just learned the Greek alphabet send me critical and exegetical remarks on passages of Scripture. Others give original sketches in Church history, made out of Mosheim and Dr. Ruter. Others discuss final perseverance in series of elegant extracts from "Watson's Institutes," and "Fletcher's Checks." Others give me copious analyses of good Bishop Asbury's journal. Others send in Dr. Clarke's ideas on disputed Scriptures—whereof Dr. Clarke knew nothing. Is it not delightful? Such zealous, painstaking, thorough, scholarly work going on in so many different quarters at once! Hope for the world.

Despite these profuse offers from volunteers, Dr. M'Clintock gathered for the Review the ablest staff of writers that could be found in Europe and America, in his own Church and out of it, scholars, divines, philosophers, and essayists. In treating public questions he rejected, as he heartily despised, the "false conservatism, at once domineering and timid, despotic and servile, which would stand still when all the world is in motion;" but no less did he disdain the "morbid appetite for new measures which forms some men's substitute for virtue." He had the conservative instincts which come of large scholarship; but loved progress, too, as every one will who has a "forward-looking mind." To raise the literary character of the Review he added departments of Theological and Literary Intelligence, and extended the Critical Notices so as to include the best English and foreign books. Essays on biblical and philological criticism and the highest themes of philosophy rounded out his editorial scheme.

The following extracts from the letters of Auguste Comte are curious as coming from the founder of the Positive Philosophy to a Methodist preacher and editor:

To Dr. M'Clintock. Paris, 7, Homer 64, *Wednesday, Feb.* 4, 1852.

Sir: In the number of your "Methodist Quarterly" for January, 1852, which I received last Thursday, I have just read a conscientious review of my principal work, written by an eminent adversary, containing, indeed, numerous involuntary mistakes, which are, however, but trifling, and may, therefore, be spontaneously corrected hereafter. This generous proceeding to which I have been but little accustomed from the French press, induces me to extend, even to such adversaries, my personal "appeal to the western public," which, indeed, merely supplements that of 1848, so generously referred to in this memorable article. . . . I cannot but congratulate myself upon this momentary infraction of the happy rule of mental hygiene which for many years closed to me, systematically, all papers or reviews, even scientific ones, and has permitted me no other habitual reading than that, ever new, of the masterpieces of western poetry, both ancient and modern.

Paris, 24, Dante 64, *Saturday, Aug.* 7, 1852.

I have been deeply touched by the inclosure in your letter of June 29, received July 15. This noble participation of two eminent philosophical opponents tends to characterize more fully the true nature of the free subsidy which is to shield from undeserved poverty the conscientious thinker whom they are unwilling to combat, otherwise than by fair arguments, free from all material pressure, either active or passive. However, from the true religious standpoint where love is higher than faith, we feel that a certain brotherhood unites all those who, at this time, are sincerely striving to overcome intellectual and moral anarchy; whatever may be the opposition otherwise existing between the doctrines they hold with this common aim.

In the second year of his new life calamity dealt him a staggering blow in the sudden and unexpected death of his devoted wife. Mrs. M'Clintock united warmth and purity of affection with a calm temper and extraordinary capacity of endurance. In times of trial her firmness was invincible. She entered fully into her husband's pursuits, and, by cheering, lightened his labors. Their home was sunny and happy, a center of attraction to the many friends who came within the circle of its beautiful life. This is what he says about the event:

March 17, 1850.

Two weeks ago yesterday my dear Augusta died. I cannot yet realize it. Every thing wears a strange aspect. A sort of mist seems to hang over every thing. Even streets, houses, and all familiar objects appear thus. I work, work hard, but it seems mechanical and even unreal. Is it not well that this earth is

thus shown to be not our home? By and by we shall be strangers in it as our fathers were, and shall feel our kindred and our home are in heaven above. So one can become a stranger, even in the home of his youth and love, as all that made it home for him vanish into darkness and silence. There, and there only, where Christ is and where our loved ones are, is our continuing city. I did not think she would die soon until a day or two before her end. Nay, on the Thursday I thought she had turned a crisis and would rally. Her fortitude and firmness were so indomitable that never a fear, complaint, or an anxiety escaped her lips. In respect to that quality of endurance I never saw man or woman that approached her. To the last she was more careful of others than of herself.

To recruit his health, Dr. M'Clintock determined on a trip to Europe in the summer of 1850 in company with a number of friends. In Germany he was received with the utmost cordiality by many distinguished professors and theologians, and his trip was in every way a memorably pleasant and beneficial one, although it lasted but a few months.

Notwithstanding the unchallenged excellence of the Review, the wide and eminent reputation he had made for it, his management met with severe criticism from many of his brethren. He was informed that it was not practical; his official directors, the Book Committee, advised him that it was "not sufficiently adapted to the practical and utilitarian tastes of the people." They requested him to change its character accordingly. To all such objections he replied invariably that he was not appointed to edit a magazine or a newspaper; that it was his duty to present to his readers a sound Christian judgment upon the living questions of the age, and that the Quarterly had a distinct work before it—to educate especially the rising ministry. In a circular which he sent to the Conferences, he said to the preachers: "Were my judgment convinced I should at once alter the plan on which I have heretofore conducted the Review; cut out its foreign Literary Intelligence, refuse all profound discussions of metaphysical and other learned subjects, and fill it with biographical articles and papers on fugitive topics. Such a course would save me much expenditure of thought, time, and labor. But I cannot do this with a good conscience." His editorship of the Review ceased in 1856.

My acquaintance with Dr. M'Clintock began when we were

boys, (for our fathers were neighbors,) he a large and I a little one; there was a difference of nine years in our ages. His younger brothers were my playmates. I still vividly remember the round-faced, rosy-cheeked, big boy with the high, broad forehead and the eyes with an ineffable light in them, glancing on all sides, yet looking steadily at every thing and every body, who brought sunshine with him—for there was that in his face and manner which made all about him, even the little fellows, happy. Alert and swift, yet steady, in movement, gay in temper, with music in his voice and laughter, and such a reputation for cleverness and learning, he charmed me as did no other big boy of my acquaintance. We parted and went our several ways, and did not meet again until I too had become a Methodist preacher, when, in 1846, he came to officiate at my marriage. From that day forward our friendship became close and intimate, and I learned to love him with a depth and intensity unequaled in my life save in the case of two other men.

In the spring of 1857, Bishop Simpson and himself were going to Europe as a delegation from the General Conference to the Wesleyan Conference in England, and upon Dr. M'Clintock's invitation I went with them. It was his third visit to the Old World and my first. You must travel with men to know them. Great as had been my admiration and love for the illustrious Bishop and the doctor, these feelings were increased a hundred fold by the experiences of this journey. Together we saw Liverpool, London, Paris, and many another place, and drank deep draughts of joy from the hospitality which was every-where extended to us. The fun we had was boundless, for the doctor's sense of humor was most keen, and even the dignified Bishop enjoys a joke.

Here is a droll bit over which we had a hearty laugh. The Sunday after the doctor and I reached Liverpool, while we were waiting for the Bishop, who sailed from New York two or three days after us, the doctor went to a Wesleyan chapel, dressed as he had been on the ship, and at the close of the morning service entered the vestry-room. The preacher who had officiated, a tall, dignified person, was, after the manner of the time, taking a glass of wine which had been deferentially handed to him by the chapel's steward. The courteous doctor approached, and said in his most bland tone, "The Rev-

erend Mr. ——, I believe." "That is my name," answered the other, with some asperity of manner, "have you business with me? If so, pray state it at once." "None whatever," said the doctor; "I simply called to pay my respects." "Respects, indeed," said the Englishman, somewhat tartly, "and what may be your name?" "M'Clintock," said the doctor. "M'Clintock!" exclaimed the other, with a slight touch of contempt in his tone; "Irish, I see." Then, musing a moment, he added, "Do you happen to be related to the Rev. Dr. M'Clintock who is shortly expected in this country with the American deputation to the Wesleyan body?" "That is my name," said the doctor, bowing. "You Dr. M'Clintock?" exclaimed the Briton, as he held the half-emptied glass in his hand, and a mingled expression of incredulity and amazement overspreading his features, as he rapidly ran his eye over the Doctor from head to foot, surveying the slouch hat in his hand, his blue body-coat, his brown waistcoat showing the shirt front, the brown trousers, pausing longest upon the black neck-tie, and adding, "You Dr. M'Clintock? I never could have believed it!" Recovering a little from his astonishment, the Englishman went on, "Really, if you are the Rev. Dr. M'Clintock, one of the American deputation, you must preach for us at our evening service; but where is the Right Rev. Bishop Simpson?" "He hasn't arrived yet," said the doctor, "we expect him this afternoon." "Then certainly," said the other, "if the Bishop should reach here in time, we shall wish him, as the head of the deputation, to preach; otherwise we shall insist upon your doing so." "It will be quite impossible for me," said the doctor, pointing to his throat, which, by the way, was so seriously affected that he had not spoken in public for many months. "O, that can be easily managed," said John Bull, totally misapprehending his meaning; "you must certainly have a clerical suit in your baggage, and as to the white cravat, I will lend you a fresh one with great pleasure!"

Our English cousins were not then so used to the visits of their Yankee relatives—for they style all Americans Yankees, no matter from what part of the continent they come—as they have since grown to be, and there was something of a disposition to eye their transatlantic kin critically, if not askance. It was supposed by many that all Americans must speak

through their noses and talk bad English; and it was the fashion to stamp "locality, reliable, realize," "to progress," and so forth, and so forth, as American neologisms, therefore vulgarisms, beneath the contempt of good writers and speakers. Webster's dictionary was pooh-poohed as the work of a quack, and Worcester's considered to be no better. Here is an illustrative story over which we had great amusement. I sat one day at the dinner-table with an eminent English divine and scholar of the high conservative type, who, with Mr. Disraeli, was determined, if possible, to resist the tendency to Americanize England; after the cloth had been removed, and the ladies had retired, the talk turned upon good English, and the authorities for its use. "Do you ever refer to Webster?" I asked quite innocently. "Webster!" he answered in a tone of almost ineffable scorn, "do you think we propose to speak and write Yankee English?" "O," I said very meekly, "who is your highest authority?" "Dr. Ogilvie," he replied, with much animation; "his Imperial Dictionary is considered the standard in the Houses of Parliament and the Courts of Westminister, where the best English is spoken, and by all scholars and gentlemen on this side of the water. We use English, not Yankee. None of your Webster for us!" "Have you the book at hand?" I humbly inquired, as became the learner at a great man's feet, and as if I had never heard of it before. "Certainly," he rejoined; "it always lies on my library table." The first volume was sent for, and I said, as if in pursuit of information, "Will you kindly read me the title-page?" He adjusted his glasses and read from the book, "The Imperial Dictionary, English, Technological, and Scientific; Adapted to the Present State of Literature, Science, and Art, on the Basis of Webster's English Dictionary." "Upon my word," he exclaimed, "that is most extraordinary! I never dreamed of that before." Affecting not to observe his confusion, I went on, "Will you be good enough to read me the preface, that I may know what the author claims for his work?" He read steadily until he came to the following sentences, when his voice faltered for a moment; but clearing his throat and taking himself well in hand, with genuine English pluck he went on, "Webster's Dictionary, which forms the basis of this work, is acknowledged, both in this country and in America,

to be not only superior to Johnson's and Richardson's, but to every other dictionary hitherto published. It is more copious in its vocabulary, more correct in its definitions, more comprehensive in its plan, and in the etymological department it stands unrivaled." "Really," said my "high and dry" friend, as he laid down the book and put up his glasses, "really that is the most extraordinary thing I ever heard. There is nothing else for it: the Courts of Westminster and the Houses of Parliament must put the book out, or our language will be corrupted." The fun we had over this and many a similar incident I leave my readers to imagine.

The English Conference sat, in the end of July, that year, in Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, a spacious house of worship that would hold several thousand people. It was an imposing body of men, few, if any, more so could be found in the world. The proceedings were marked by great deliberation, decorum, and dignity, yet a frankness and freedom, not to say bluntness, were indulged in by the members, in speaking of and to each other, somewhat startling to us. Few of the Wesleyan preachers had the social status which entitles an Englishman to use the hesitating "Aw, aw, aw," so often heard in the Houses of Parliament and among the upper classes in society. The platform was occupied not only by the president and secretataries, but by all the ex-presidents who happened to be in attendance, and other venerable and eminent men.

The Conference sat with closed doors until the day on which the Bishop and the doctor were received, when time-honored precedent was set aside, the doors thrown open, and an almost suffocating crowd thronged every part of the building. The Bishop, who was the first to speak, could not but be conscious, as he looked over the vast assembly, that, kindly disposed as they might be, there was a barrier to his success, for the hospitality of mind in his hearers was tinctured by a slight distrust and undervaluation of him as an American, undefined it might be, but none the less real and potent. It was a trying moment for the great orator who had achieved so many triumphs in his native land, and he at first seemed almost to falter, while the doctor and I, who sat near at hand, were tremulous, even feverish, dreading lest our champion might fail for the first time in his life on a great occasion. For ten

or fifteen minutes we were kept in most painful suspense; our breath came hard and fast, for the Bishop was hampered and ill at ease, or appeared to be so. It may have been his art, but I think it was genuine embarrassment. Just as we were giving up all for lost, the speaker seemed to forget himself for a moment or two as a happy illustration fell from his lips; his face lighted up, his eye flashed, and every eye in the multitude answered him, and there was a murmur of "Hear, hear," from all over the house. The Bishop's legs were no longer unsteady; he seemed to erect himself above himself; his voice lost its wavering inflections and uncertainty of tone; his sentences flowed freely in clearer and higher form. The speech became earnest, effective, poetic, impassioned, thrilling. The silence was at times oppressive, but relieved at the end of every paragraph, sometimes of a few sentences, by deafening, overwhelming shouts of "Hear, hear! good, good!" English reserve is proverbial, and the mercurial stranger from this side of the water is sure to feel it as a chill most repressive, well-nigh paralyzing. This is true of individuals as well as of great assemblies; but if there be power and heat enough to melt the ice, when the thaw comes it is accompanied by a flood. As there is no private hospitality in the world superior, if equal, to that of England when one has gained a welcome, so there are scarcely any audiences on the earth so responsive, demonstrative, enthusiastic, as the English when they once yield themselves to the spell of a great master. Bishop Simpson has made many great and powerful speeches in the course of his long and brilliant public life, but I doubt if his marvelous strength and magnetic sway over thousands of his fellow-men was ever more signally displayed than in this speech in Brunswick Chapel, except upon one other memorable occasion, when he preached before the Wesleyan Conference some years later at Burslem, when the effect upon the congregation was indescribable, unparalleled in this generation. As the Bishop took his seat the dignitaries upon the platform, the ministers upon the floor, the laity, and the ladies, were in a tumult of excitement, and it was many minutes before the thunders of applause ceased. It was no easy task to follow such a speech. It was a tide which, taken at the flood, would not lead on an ordinary man to fortune, but to be bound in shallows and in miseries;

and as Dr. M'Clintock arose I could not but feel the deepest solicitude. My anxiety for him, however, was soon relieved. His singularly handsome person and engaging manner, noble head, beaming eye, attractive face, mellow and beautiful voice —for he had regained the use of his throat—enlisted the audience on the instant. The rhythmic flow of his perfect English, the luminous statement of his subject, "The State and Prospects of Higher Education in the New World;" his vivid and masterly presentation of it; his melodious tones rising to full sonorous power, every accent, inflection, modulation, controlled by an almost infallible taste, delighting the ear while every mental faculty was charmed and the emotions stirred by the spells of this most accomplished scholar, orator, human-hearted man. There could scarcely be a greater contrast than that between these two great speakers, each admirable, almost perfect, in his way. The effect of the doctor's speech was as satisfying and profound as that of the Bishop; nothing more can be said. I could have hugged both my friends for joy, and never on English soil felt prouder of my country and my countrymen.

Upon Dr. M'Clintock's return to his native land he took charge of St. Paul's Church, at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second-street, New York, the edifice for which was just then building. His health had been much improved by his sojourn abroad, and he entered upon the first pastoral work he had done since his breaking down in Jersey City more than twenty years before, in the highest spirits and with prodigious power. It is safe to say that no Methodist pastor before his day, or since, has produced so profound an impression upon the thoughtful and cultivated people of the metropolis, or wielded so wide an influence, as did Dr. M'Clintock in the two and a half years of that ministry. His social charms and fascinations for all sorts and conditions of men were as remarkable and exceptional as were the learning, culture, and polish he brought to the pulpit. To the finished manners of an accomplished man of society he added the most sweet, unaffected, spontaneous sympathy which welled up in his great and beautiful soul. His presence in the families of his people was like a burst of sunshine; little children loved him as a father, young people confided in him with absolute trust, old men and women regarded him with a mixture of reverence

and affection. He never brought gloom nor inspired awe, but entered so naturally into the concerns of his flock that he became a most dear and cherished member in every household of his church. He was equally simple and natural in the pulpit. His was the perfection of art, which hid itself so that you never thought of it until afterward. His immense learning was digested, assimilated, never paraded. You had its essence, its aroma, never its husks. His preaching was eminently scriptural and practical; the materials for it were chiefly drawn from the word of God, his own life, and the lives of his fellow-men; while the illustrations came from his omnivorous reading and the creations of his own genius. Nothing could be more simple and direct, at the same time hearty and tender, than his manner; while the style was so crystalline that it never suggested criticism.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that, before the arrangements were completed for him to be appointed to St. Paul's, some of its officers seriously doubted whether his preaching would meet the demands of the place. It was doubted whether he was popular; whether he was brilliant; whether he had force enough; whether he would draw, and so forth and so forth; and it required a good deal of skill and insistance on the part of a few of his friends to satisfy these wise critics that he was the man for the position. Sometimes the pews mold the pulpit; occasionally the pulpit uplifts the pews. His ministry was a liberal education for the spiritual life of his people.

In 1860 he went abroad to take charge of the American Chapel in Paris. In that gay capital his labors were not less distinguished and influential than at home. When the civil war here broke out in 1861, his whole fervid nature was roused to the highest energy, and his brain, tongue, and pen were untiringly given to the cause of the Union. At the very outbreak he made a brilliant and powerful speech in Exeter Hall, London, and spoke with great effect in Paris. He afterward organized the European Branch of the Sanitary Commission, acting as its chairman. His faith as to the success of the Federal cause never wavered, his courage never flagged, nor did he bate a jot of heart or hope even in the darkest days of the struggle. Inspiring numerous pamphlets and newspaper articles, he exerted a powerful influence on that public opinion

which prevented the rulers of France and England from aiding the Confederacy; yet the earnestness of his convictions and the intensity of his devotion hurried him into no bitterness of spirit nor intolerance of conduct toward those from whom he differed. Many Southerners remained in his congregation throughout the war. He visited them as their pastor, comforted their sick, and buried their dead. Later, when the cutting off of communications from home had brought many of them to want, they turned to him with a confidence that was nobly justified by his untiring efforts to relieve them. To the honor of our countrymen, it may be said that he found the hearts and purses of the most loyal Americans open to all such appeals. Wherever he could hear of Americans in trouble or distress of mind, body, or estate, even in prison, he was sure to come, bringing help and comfort. His house was common ground, where all who came laid aside the real or fancied distinctions insisted upon elsewhere. The passing traveler here met the American-Parisian, who seldom visited his native land; active men of business, ministers on their vacations, students of art, medicine or of theology, men of leisure, mingled together, while now and then a chance visitor from England succeeded in provoking and amusing all the rest by his unaccountable inability to understand American affairs.

Returning to New York in the spring of 1864, he again became the pastor of St. Paul's Church, threw himself into the work with his accustomed ardor, but found that his health was giving way, and at the end of a year retired to a farm in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, where he could exchange the pen for a hoe, watch the growth of his fruit, and occupy himself with the little nothings which beguile the hours of an invalid's day. The next year he removed to a farm which he had bought on the banks of the Raritan, near New Brunswick, New Jersey, and where he hoped he was settled for life. In 1867, however, he was called to the Presidency of the Drew Theological Seminary at Madison, N. J., and obliged to make one more removal. Notwithstanding his shattered health he bore many burdens and performed countless labors as chairman of great and important committees in the Church—among them that in charge of the celebration of the Centenary of American Methodism—organizing and opening the seminary,

keeping up a wide correspondence in Europe and America, carrying on the work upon his "Cyclopedia," and many other literary undertakings, large and small. Hoping to gain a longer lease of life, he made another voyage to Europe in the spring of 1869. I met him for the last time that summer in London, when I had the sad foreboding that the end was not far off. In the autumn he again took his place in the classes and management of the seminary, but after a brief illness on the 4th of March, 1870, when less than fifty-six years of age, his long duel with disease and death was closed. "It is all right, it is all right, it is all right!" were his last words. A braver, truer, nobler, sweeter, and tenderer human heart than John M'Clintock's never ceased to beat. Notwithstanding his early death, cut off when he should have been entering upon the fullness of his prime, before the glorious promise of his early and middle life was half fulfilled, I reckon his among the very largest and finest brains that have appeared in American theology and scholarship; certainly the very largest and finest in Methodism, whether of the Old World or the New. His "Cyclopedia," only the third volume of which was published before his death, has now reached its tenth and concluding volume under the pious care of his worthy friend and co-laborer, Dr. Strong. It is a noble monument to his memory, but his best memorial is to be found in the undying effect he wrought in the intellects, hearts, and lives of nearly all the men, women, and children with whom he came in contact. His munificent nature held its boundless wealth subject to the instant draft of all who came to him, and in every thing he was the follower of Him, our great Teacher and Example, who said, "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away." His gracious life and lovely character were the flower and fruit of the imperishable and universal truth, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

His death made a mighty void in the lives of many friends; in none greater than in my own. It is a gap that will not close till growing winters lay me low.*

* It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt for such material as I have drawn from the life of Dr. M'Clintock by the Rev. Dr. G. R. Crooks.

ART. II.—FLORIDA: ITS PEOPLE AND ITS PRODUCTIONS.

FLORIDA ranks among the largest of our States, having an area of nearly sixty thousand square miles. It stretches from the Georgia line southward about four hundred and fifty miles, and the peninsula has an average breadth of nearly a hundred miles, with at no point an elevation above tide-water of over five hundred feet. Its twelve hundred miles of shore line have such shallow waters that few good harbors exist. The surface of the State is, however, pleasantly cut in all directions by navigable rivers, and lakes favoring internal travel and commerce. Its lands, classified as swamp, savanna, low hummock, high hummock, and pine, embrace a fertility and adaptation not surpassed, if indeed equaled, in America. Its pine forests are majestic and park-like, rich in choice lumber, and in its hummocks grow the cypress, the red, live, and water oak, the hickory, magnolia, bay, gum, palmetto, dogwood, and other varieties. There are numerous mineral springs scattered through the State, and its subterranean streams are truly marvelous. The rain-fall and the watershed of the State are not sufficient to account for the abundant lakes and rivers, these being supplemented by enormous fountains bursting up through the limestone crust, sometimes forming navigable streams at their fountain heads, with waters so deep and blue as to be objects of perpetual study and wonder. The swamp and "waste" lands of Florida are not as extensive as was formerly supposed, and its relative acreage of productive soil compares favorably with any of the Middle or Eastern States. Nearly all the lakes and rivers are skirted with belts of hummock land often rich to the last degree of fertility, covered with ponderous forests hung with wild vines and fringed with moss.

The pine lands vastly predominate, and bid fair to become the most prized and useful part of it. These are easily cleared and subdued, are healthful, with sightly eminences for building places, their soil, when moderately fertilized, being quick and well adapted to every agricultural and horticultural use. The chief rivers are the St. John's, a long, broad, imposing stream of a thousand miles; the Indian River, a narrow lagoon on the

eastern coast; the Ocklawaha, the most crooked and weird stream on the globe; the Appalachicola, the Ocklochonnee, the Perdido, the St. Mary's, the Suwanee, the Hillsborough, the Withlacoochee, the Kissimmee, and the Caloosahatchie. Its chief lakes are Orange, Eustis, Griffin, Harris, Apopka, Monroe, George, Jackson, Santa Fé, Pansoffkee, Butler, Tohopekaliga, Cypress, Marianna, and Okechobee, besides a legion of smaller ones scattered throughout the center of the entire peninsula. These sparkling bodies of pure soft water abound with fish of great size, and the forests with game.

The Florida peninsula lies in the exact latitude of northern Mexico, Central Arabia, Hindustan, and China, but it has a climate entirely different and vastly more enjoyable than any of those countries. To one reared in the Northern States it seems at first absurd to suppose that human life below the twenty-ninth parallel can be rendered truly enjoyable during all the seasons of the year. Peninsular Florida is in its climate singularly unlike every thing else in America. It has more rain and less cold than Southern California, and is never scalded by such heated waves as are of annual occurrence as far north as the city of Albany. The insular position of this narrow belt of country, extending southward between vast bodies of salt water, washed along its entire eastern border by the Gulf Stream, and on its western by the equally tropical waters of the Gulf of Mexico, renders winter in any severe sense quite impossible. And the alleviations from excessive heats are equally marked. The humidity of the atmosphere, favored by abundant inland lakes and forests, the constant sea breezes, resulting from this proximity to vast oceanic currents, the sweep of the trade-winds, and the usual local aerial disturbances, breathe through this entire region a moist, agreeable, pure, but modified sea atmosphere. The storms are not usually severe. The sun comes close over head at mid-day with fire in its ray, but a slight shade amid such a breeze affords the condition of comfort. Sun-strokes are entirely uncommon, and laboring men from any part of the world pursue out-door toils the entire year with impunity.

Florida is coming to be recognized as the sanitarium of America. A discerning military chieftain who had examined all the Indian tribes of the country, declared years ago that the

Florida Seminoles possessed the finest physique of them all. There are scarcely any chronic diseases found among families who have resided a dozen years in the State. There is a gratifying relief from rheumatism, neuralgia, catarrh, asthma, bronchitis, diphtheria, cholera, small-pox, measles, malignant fevers, and pulmonary consumption. Hydrophobia is not heard of. Some light types of a few of the above-named diseases may occur, but they are unusual. Lime being an omnipresent factor in the substratum of the soil, existing in solid blocks through the stony districts, in the vast unmeasured marl-beds, and in more subtile compounds, we see a natural cause for the absence of miasma, and for a soil of wondrous fertility. The salubrity of this district is further augmented by a dry, porous soil, bright sunshine, pure sea atmosphere, equable temperature admitting of open-air pursuits every day of the year, and the facilities for a varied diet of fresh vegetables and fruits. Climatic changes produce much of the sickness of the world. Two sevenths of all deaths are said to result from pulmonary troubles, and statistics show that phthisis steadily decreases from Maine to Florida. People dwelling in a climate that rarely produces a frost, and where the mercury seldom reaches ninety-five, are not much afflicted by climatic exposures. Florida has its low malarial districts where "chills and fever" reign, but the high pine ridges with their balsamic breezes are cheerful and salubrious above every thing else yet found.

Colonies began the work of settlement in Florida forty-two years earlier than at Jamestown, and fifty-five years earlier than at Plymouth. But for two long centuries it was the football and trading stock of tyrants and the lurking place of pirates. In 1819 it was ceded to the United States, but was not advanced to the dignity of a State until 1845. An effort to remove the Indians beyond the Mississippi on the part of the United States Government led to the bloody and expensive Seminole War, which dragged its weary length from 1835 to 1842, and retarded the settlement of this fair district for a generation. In 1861, like its contiguous sister States, it seceded, and lay for several years the battle-ground of contending forces. A reconstructed State government began its reign July 4, 1868, so that the State has enjoyed only fourteen years for free and proper development.

Previous to the war of '61, though sparsely populated, it was a slave State, and made some progress in the prevailing southern industries of that period. In its northern counties, (the Tallahassee region,) settled by many cultured families from North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, were many extensive cotton plantations, yielding a bale to the acre of the famous sea-island variety, requiring the toil of a negro for the production of each bale. Along the St. John's, the Indian River, around the great lakes of Sumter County, and elsewhere, the rich hummocks were cleared for the production of the sugar-cane. On the gulf coast, in the region of Manatee, was the Gamble, afterward known as the Cofield and Davis plantation, the most extensive and best-equipped sugar plantation in Florida. Fourteen hundred acres of rich hummock land had been cleared at an expense of seventy-five dollars per acre, and inclosed in one field of cane, which was worked by two hundred slaves. A sugar refinery, with all needed appliances, costing half a million, completed the outfit. All these large enterprises collapsed with emancipation, and many of the proprietors left the State. The partially grown forests on these rich bottoms, and the ruins of vast structures, with shattered machinery, tell the tale of the past.

Florida has no large cities, but it has many rising, interesting towns. St. Augustine, founded by the Spaniards fifty-five years before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, with its narrow, crooked, shell-paved streets, its ancient structures and sea-wall of coquina stone, its old cathedral, its gates of wood three hundred years old, is an interesting point. Jacksonville, near the mouth of the St. John's, and the *entrepôt* to that part of the State, is the largest and most city-like of all its towns. Its streets, though not paved, are well arranged, well lighted, and lined with neat, and, in some parts, with massive, structures. There are many large hotels and business houses, with good churches and schools. The population is so cosmopolitan that the stranger coming from any place in America feels himself at home. This is destined to become a very large and prosperous business center. For a hundred miles up the St. John's River are scattered in close proximity neat little towns, Palatka, with a population of about fifteen hundred, being the largest. Gainesville, on the line of the Transit Railroad, with a popula-

tion of nearly two thousand, and containing the United States Land Office for the State, is a pleasant, modern-built town. Fernandina on Amelia Island, and Cedar Keys on the Gulf, one hundred and fifty miles apart, form the termini of the Transit Railroad, the former being a large, thriving seaport town, and the latter, though not large, is still the theater of a very considerable wholesale trade. Tallahassee, the capital of the State, founded in 1821, is situated on a cluster of hills, with old, substantial structures, stately trees, and the best-kept flower gardens of the sunny South. Key West, the most southern United States town, claims to be the largest in Florida. It stands beside the track of all the steamship lines running to and from Mexico, Central America, Texas, and all the gulf coast cities. It is only eight hours' sail from Havana. The buildings, nearly all one-story structures, are painted white. Aside from the government dock, barracks, and fortifications, cigar manufacture attracts the greatest attention. Over eighty licensed cigar manufactories are in operation, producing at present thirty-five million cigars annually. Tampa, Ocala, Sanford, Orlando, and Leesburg, are all rapidly rising towns, the latter having more than doubled its population and commerce during the last two years. The architecture throughout the State is generally plain and simple, and a two-story house outside of large towns is the exception. The climate is so mild that any structure that sheds rain is comfortable, so that a house thoroughly well finished and furnished is rarely found. And as there are no demands for housing cattle and fodder, barns are smaller and more meager than houses. But what is lacking in architecture is usually made up in plants, flowers, and rare trees. The swamps, hummocks, and pine ridges abound with wild flowers of great beauty. Nothing is richer than the pure, white, waxy flower of the magnolia-tree, perhaps ten inches in diameter, blooming in the forest forty feet above the soil. The pond-lily, the climbing yellow jessamine, with its golden bells; the woodbine, with its crimson clusters; the flaming Virginia trumpet-creeper, and many others, need only to be seen to be admired. In the cultivated yards are seen the domesticated lilies "arrayed" in all their glory, violets, geraniums, cactuses, the century plant, with its long, thick, sword-shaped leaves, and which blooms but once

and dies; the cape jessamine, the white and the pink oleander, the Spanish bayonet, the India-rubber tree, and a profusion of roses that bloom every day of the year. The useful plants and trees, hereafter described, form a sort of outside circle to the grounds, and are themselves specimens of the rarest beauty, rendering a well-cultivated Florida home a very Eden of loveliness.

In the matter of politics, Florida is about evenly divided between the two great parties, the State being usually, for a considerable period before and after the elections, claimed by both. It has no "third party" issues, no burdensome debt, no war of races, is not disturbed with the Chinese, the Granger, or the tariff question, and hence enjoys as great political quiet as any State in the Union. Two thirds of the people are so absorbed in their improvements that they never mention politics. The State being the winter visiting-house of the nation during one third of the year, forms thereby a middle-ground for the neighborly interchange of sentiment, and is doing practically more to harmonize the conflicting interests of North and South than any other of the States. It is eminently a place of free thought, free speech, free ballot, and affords in all respects as much protection to opinion, property, and life as any State of corresponding population. Its vast forests and genial climate afford the means of escape to an occasional miscreant, who can subsist for almost any period outside of the bounds of civilization. The State has a liberal constitution, (susceptible of improvements which time will introduce,) and has been presided over by enlightened governors. Its school system, though not perfect, is still a century in advance of the old-time Southern State. All the Church denominations have a foothold in the State, and are rapidly multiplying edifices and Sunday-schools.

Some of the old-style Floridians form the most contented and conservative class on the continent. Like the early Dutch of New York, who seized all the rich "flats" along the Hudson and the Mohawk, so these in many instances have taken the rich hummocks of the interior, avoiding usually the margins of lakes and rivers, providentially leaving these centers of influence for a more progressive population. Beginning when the country was in its rudest condition, they erected

cheap log hovels for their residences, splitting materials for floors and roofs from the trees of the forest. Their houses often consist of a single room, with an outside fireplace for cooking food. Poultry, hogs, and horses stand around their doors, the hens leaving their eggs under their tables or on their beds, the swine sleeping under their houses. That saw-mills now afford plenty of good, cheap lumber is nothing to them—they are contented as they are. A pony or mule with rope lines, chain traces, a two-wheel cart, an ax, a plow, and a hoe, comprise most of their highway and farming utensils. In a region where cattle thrive all the year without fodder they live all their days without milk or butter. Though vegetables could be grown all the year for the table, they seldom have any thing but sweet potatoes, and these less than half the year. In a climate like Palestine, where all the fruits of the globe may be matured, they spend their years with an occasional dish of wild berries, persimmons, or plums. They are generally skillful anglers and "mighty hunters," and woe to the poor animal when one of these falls in his wake. Going to town is quite an affair with them, as the store is often forty miles away. The cart, moderately loaded with produce for the market, containing also corn for the beast, with provision and blankets for several nights of camping-out; the proprietor astride the mule, and some members of his family in the cart behind him, make up the interesting procession. That neighbors of recent settlement on the "poorest lands" have beautiful yards, fruitful gardens, and orange groves bending with abundance, suggests nothing worthy of consideration to this conservative class.

A new era, with steadily increasing brightness and promise, has dawned on Florida during the last fifteen years. The abolition of slavery, leaving vast deserted plantations, the exquisite beauty of the country, its equable climate, general salubrity, and the wealth of its native and cultivated products, began, about the close of the war, to attract the attention of soldiers and tourists. New settlements and towns have been springing up with great rapidity in all parts of the State for a number of years, and the signs of promise are now very numerous for the speedy cultivation of its entire territory. About a year and a half ago, Mr. Hamilton Disston, of Philadelphia, associating with himself a few capitalists, purchased

of the State government four million acres of unimproved lands, situated in the counties of Orange, Sumter, Polk, Hernando, Manatee, and Hillsborough. The State received for the same one million dollars, which sum was given to the treasury for internal improvements. A few months after this purchase the Disston Company sold to an English and Dutch company, headed by Sir Edward Reed, M.P., two million acres of this land for one million dollars, thus recovering all the money invested, leaving them in possession also of half the land. These two wealthy, influential companies now vie with each other for the speedy settlement and development of their vast tracts. The Reed company has purchased the half-constructed broad-gauge railroad extending from Waldo to Tampa, and have turned its course from Leesburg to Indian River, promising its early completion. Large colonies from England and the Low Countries are expected to soon make the ax and hammer heard in these forests. The Disston company, with its head-quarters in Philadelphia, and numerous branch offices, are also certain to introduce a large industrious class from Pennsylvania and the other States. New railroads connecting the lower St. John's (Atlantic side) with Tampa and Charlotte Harbor, (Gulf side,) with branches extending to the great lines in Georgia and Alabama, are being rapidly constructed to meet the demands of transportation, thus opening to pleasant settlement the entire peninsula. This steady march of great internal improvements has opened the eyes of capitalists, and wealthy speculators, accompanied by skilled engineers, have penetrated every part of the State, purchasing vast tracts of fertile soil.

A project to connect Key West by rail with the great trunk lines of the North is much discussed, and is pronounced by engineers entirely feasible. It has only narrow passes and shallow channels to cross between Cape Sable and the numerous keys leading to its termination. Should this be completed, that portion of the immense travel and traffic between the United States and the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America which seeks rapid transit and desires to avoid the dangers that attend a water passage around the Bahamas and the Florida Reefs, would be turned through peninsular Florida, and the golden dreams of the greatest visionary would be more

than realized. One of the wealthiest companies in the Union has taken the charter, and the engineers have surveyed the route on the line of Palatka and Punta Rassa.

The "Florida Ship Canal" project is a proposition to connect the Atlantic with the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea in a straight line across the peninsula, and is a matter of such vast national importance that its construction cannot long be delayed. Surveys have been made by order of Congress and by the Disston company. This route would put the United States Government in easy condition to defend its territory on the Gulf coast; it would avoid the present hazards of the Gulf Stream, which has cost shippers along the Florida coast five millions during the last ten years; it would greatly shorten the time and sailing distance from all Atlantic ports and of Europe to and from the ports of the Gulf and of the Caribbean Sea. It is estimated that two hundred million dollars' worth of produce perishes annually in the heart of our country for want of suitable means of transportation. The Government is improving the Mississippi River, and by the construction of this ship canal an outlet to the Atlantic and the European markets would be established. The Russian Government has already declared that the opening of this canal will cheapen the transportation of grain from the Mississippi Valley to Europe more than fifty per cent., and that it will give the United States the absolute control of the grain market of the world, driving completely Russian cereals out of the markets of Western Europe. The Disston company, in their dredgings near Okechobee, claim to be making this canal, but it cannot be supposed that a corporation undertaking another scheme will accomplish this. The enlargement of the Okechobee canal will perhaps result in the ship canal. Its speedy construction is inevitable, and will be attended with great results to Florida.

Another immense scheme of internal improvement likely to greatly benefit the State is that undertaken by the "Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal and Okechobee Land Company." This company was chartered by the legislature with a capital of ten millions, in 1881. It proposes to open a steamboat canal along the eastern coast of the State by such excavations as shall connect Mantanzas, Halifax River, and Mosquito Inlet

with Indian River and Lake Worth, so that three hundred and thirty miles of inland steam navigation will be obtained; and also to connect Lake Tahopekaliga with the Kissimmee River, thus opening a line of navigation from Orange County to Lake Okechobee. But its greatest scheme is the partial draining of Lake Okechobee. This lake is forty miles in length and twenty-five in breadth, covering an area of more than a thousand square miles, and has no natural outlet. It receives the waters from a number of lakes brought down by the Kissimmee River, also by Taylor's, Fish Eating, and by several nameless creeks, which vary from twenty to one hundred and fifty feet in width each. Lake Okechobee is twenty-five feet above tide-water. During eight months of the year the inflowing waters escape by evaporation, filtration, or by underground channels, so that the surrounding country is a wild pasturage. During the rainy season the waters back in these streams, overflowing and rendering unfit for cultivation at least half a million acres of the richest land in America. The company is to receive half of all the land reclaimed. The work is now going forward rapidly. Dredge-boats of great excavating capacity are cutting the channel to this inland sea, and expect to soon connect it by deep canals with tide-water on both the Atlantic and the Gulf coasts.

This immense enterprise, now so nearly completed, will be soon followed by the draining of much of that portion of the State known as the Everglades. This vast tract (the present abode of some three hundred Seminoles, the last of the tribe) is not an irreclaimable marsh, as was once supposed, but is a rich, prairie-like region, covered with pure, shallow water, of from three to forty inches deep, studded with a profusion of beautiful green islands. It has been ascertained that the basin of the Everglades is seven feet above tide-water, and that the waters are held over this vast tract by an outside narrow rim of coral rock, admitting of artificial drainage at no great expense. The State has recently ratified a contract for this undertaking, which, if completed, will open for sugar and cotton cultivation millions of acres of rich territory. The sugar-cane planters of Cuba are watching with great interest these projected improvements. Other organized companies, such as a "Timber Company," to handle the valuable lumber of Florida,

companies for the establishment of starch manufactories, rice mills, etc., give evidence on every hand that a period of bustling activity has at last dawned on this Florida wilderness. But the chief hope of the State lies in the high character of the families now so rapidly pressing into it. The early craze of searching for a bonanza and deserting in disappointment has passed, and the adventurous classes have turned their feet to other haunts. Sober, studious people of American birth, who know what they are in search of, most of them in middle life and with means to purchase or make their improvements, are now crowding all the lines of travel. Thrifty, genial families from the North, East, West, and from the Southern States, are mingled every-where. One will find as choice society in Duval, Volusia, and Orange Counties, and around all the great lakes of Sumter County, as can be found in America. One very noticeable feature, also, is the success of literary and professional men. In nearly every community will be found a clergyman, lawyer, physician, teacher, or some other specialist, who has failed in health and fled to the sunny wilds of Florida to save his life. The world long since voted every minister a *failure* outside of his pulpit, and every physician outside of his practice. Florida has afforded the theater for the reversal of this verdict. The production of the tropical and semi-tropical fruits of Florida belongs so emphatically to the realm of skilled labor, that these gentlemen have possessed just the genius for success. Besides wielding a large intellectual and moral influence every-where, they have the finest yards, gardens, and orange groves in their localities. One could almost say, in the language of the "street," "There is not a lame duck among them."

As the State extends four hundred and fifty miles north and south, it affords considerable variety in the matter of climate. A late writer has very well said, "There are three Floridas." But the frost-line, so often mentioned in print, is an imaginary something that does not exist on either the mainland or the peninsula. The truth is, that a few times in a century frost is felt to the lowest point of the peninsula, though its damaging effect is steadily lessened in its march southward. In 1835 full-grown orange-trees were killed by frost at St. Augustine, and others greatly injured below Tampa. The climate,

all over the State, is simply charming, being colder in winter and warmer in summer on the mainland. In locating, one should simply decide what he wishes to cultivate. The fruits of the temperate zone thrive best in the northern sections, and there are no objectionable cold seasons there to one reared in higher latitudes. The citrus family and the complete range of semi-tropical productions succeed best in the lake region, or, to speak liberally, in that peninsular belt extending from Orange Lake to Tampa. This is the true home of the orange. All the truly tropical productions, such as the banana, the coffee-plant, the plantain, the sugar-apple, the alligator-pear, and the cocoa-nut, are more certain on the extreme southern portion of the peninsula. The first view of Florida is often disappointing—the visitor wearies of too much sand—but a prolonged examination is reassuring. Beyond all dispute it is a wondrous district. It may not be compared with the rugged grandeur of mountainous districts, with dashing cascades and picturesque valleys, or with the appalling cañons of the Yellowstone, but is there no sublimity in beholding nature in repose, holding in her hand the wealth of a sub-tropical clime adorned with perpetual verdure and bloom? After all the jeering of the Florida sand-bank, it is found that no soil on the globe is more susceptible to the attentions of industrial art. Florida is a land of great productions. On Lake Pansoffkee stands a live-oak tree twelve feet in diameter, and the spreading top of another at Drake Point, on Lake Harris, measures one hundred and fifty-two feet in diameter. Wild grape-vines six inches in diameter grow in her forests, and a cultivated vine at Orange Bend covers one fourth of an acre. A rose-bush at Tallahassee is twelve feet high, and its trunk as many inches in thickness. A peach-tree near Orange City has a top seventy feet in diameter, and peaches in Leon County have been plucked weighing twelve ounces each. A cabbage-head raised at Fort Meyers weighed forty pounds, and at any of the fairs can be seen single cassava roots weighing often seventy pounds, beets and radishes two feet long, garden turnips weighing eight or ten pounds, melons and squashes weighing from forty to seventy pounds, and every thing else from the garden and farm of a corresponding proportion. It only requires time and a display of that adaptive persistence known the world over as "Yankee

genius," to convert Florida into one of the richest States of the American Union. The State is rich in wealth in almost every form. In the item of timber it excels every other State both in volume and variety. From its live-oak are constructed the strongest hulls of the American navy, and its pine is admired in the finish of the richest palace. But, in addition to strength, its wood is susceptible of the highest finish. Along the peninsula and on the keys grow the magnolia, bay, lignum vitæ, mahogany, crab-wood, dog-wood, mangrove, krale, torch-wood, poison-wood, palm, tamarind, gumaliba, mastic, hickory, white-wood, button-wood, gum, maple, cypress, and spice-wood. Its cedar furnishes about all the pencil timber used in the country. The present pursuits, embracing cotton, cane, cereals, gardening, cattle, and the rarest fruits of the globe, do not at all exhaust her abilities. Other sources of wealth, too numerous to mention, which will some day yield abundant incomes, are slumbering on every hand. A much larger number of productive industries than exist in any other State is spread before the settler in Florida. One very profitable enterprise hitherto has been the cattle range. Taking possession of the moist districts in the green forests, the ranger simply brands and watches his flock until it multiplies into vast proportions. One man in Monroe County recently paid taxes on fifteen thousand head, and one family on thirty thousand head. In Brevard County are forest ranges where one can ride on horse three days without meeting any trace of civilization. Here are found "cattle men" living on horseback, camping in little cabins, cooking their own food, and owning five or seven thousand cattle each. The ranger records his brand and mark at his county seat, brands the young calves, and is thus able to distinguish and claim his property. These men lead a wild life, separated from family and society, but they are contented and hardy, and they amass fortune. Five men will guard as many thousand cattle. These cattle are mostly shipped to Cuba for beef, and net the owner from five to fifteen dollars per head. The common Florida cow is a small milker, but her milk is rich and pure. She feeds on wild grasses only, and receives no care. The abundant forests and lakes still afford, through the best cultivated districts of the State, opportunities for small flocks of cattle, which thrive and multiply

without feeding, giving an annual return of thirty or fifty per cent. on the investment. Sheep-raising is another remunerative industry. In districts where cattle thrive sheep invariably do well. In addition to the native variety, the merino, southdown, and cotswold are kept. Sheep are sheared in April and September, and with a little watching are made to yield a return of one hundred per cent. on the investment. Horse-raising is also profitable. Horses are scarce, and bring large prices. An ordinary one brings a hundred dollars, and a choice one much more. Breeding horses, like cattle and sheep, live all the year in the wild ranch. Colts graze in the forests until large enough for use, when they are sold for good prices. Swine in great numbers roam abroad, fattening on acorns and palmettos, sometimes attaining great size. But as wild swine never make marketable pork, it is a question whether the State would not be richer if all its wild swine were "choked" in the sea. Florida is specially adapted to poultry. Its small lakes, with their green banks, afford an Eden for ducks and geese. Pease, which are almost indigenous to the soil, afford the richest living for turkeys and hens, and can be grown all the year. The intelligent owner of a poultry-yard may, therefore, enlarge his enterprise to any extent with the assurance of ample reward. The production of honey, by the keeping and breeding of bees, is also remunerative, affording a livelihood where it is pursued as a business. Bees are said to thrive best near large waters.

The northern sections of Florida, known as the mainland, are probably best adapted to the growth of the cereals, and to all ordinary farming. The sandy soil rests on a red-clay subsoil, at from six to twenty-four inches beneath the surface, and in some places the soil is a rich vegetable mold. This thin soil sods more readily with the cultivated grasses than the deeper sands of the peninsula, and holds nearer the surface the fertilizers applied, giving the appearance of greater fertility. While Florida cannot at all compete with the great West in the production of bushels, still the Floridian can beat his western neighbor in the cash returns per acre. The western man raises sixty bushels of corn per acre, sells it at twenty cents, and realizes twelve dollars; the Florida farmer fifteen or twenty bushels, which bring at his barn as many dollars. Corn

is a successful crop all over the State, and in the richest lands the yield is not exceeded in any part of the world. Wheat is not much grown, but oats, rye, millet, pease, and a variety of ground nuts are very successful. But little forage (hay) is needed, and in the absence of timothy, pease, cured at the right time, upland rice, preserved in the straw. Corn fodder, the green leaves stripped and dried, and a variety of native and cultivated grasses, furnish an abundant supply. Upland rice yields sixty bushels per acre, and sells in its uncleaned state at one dollar per bushel. With the establishment of convenient rice-mills this would become one of our leading industries. Sweet potatoes are every-where a safe and remunerative crop, yielding from one hundred to four hundred bushels per acre, and are of a superior quality. Irish potatoes do moderately well and grow best in the winter, maturing just in time for the early Northern market. But the melon just revels in the Florida soil. It is almost indigenous, and when once planted in a plowed field it continues to propagate itself from year to year. A single vine, self-planted, will sometimes spread densely over a plot thirty feet in diameter, yielding fifteen or twenty melons, several of them weighing thirty pounds each. In the Lake Region they mature regularly from May to November, and are of a superior flavor. Long-staple or sea-island cotton is successfully cultivated all through the State. This famous variety, used in the manufacture of our best thread, in admixtures with silk and in all the finest uses, was grown chiefly for many years on the islands bordering on South Carolina and Georgia. The larger portion of it is now grown in Florida. Cotton culture is still one of the leading industries of the State, and bids fair to be much revived. Sorghum was much grown here during the war, as was also tobacco. Sorghum has now yielded to the more remunerative plant, the sugar-cane, which in the rich hummock often attains a height of twelve or twenty feet, maturing a rich tassel, such as not seen in any other American State. The cane requires a rich soil, about the same amount of cultivation as corn, and yields an average of perhaps one hundred dollars per acre in sugar and syrup. In planting, about four thousand stalks, three feet long, and which cost five dollars per thousand, are used per acre. These are covered in furrows. They rattoon (put out annually

a new crop from the old roots) for three years, and in some fields for ten years. The cane is planted in the early spring, worked two or three times, cut and converted into sugar in the fall. Hitherto Louisiana has produced most of the sugar manufactured in the United States. Her soil is becoming exhausted, and she has never been able to meet the national demand. The importance of this single production as affecting the wealth of a country will appear from the following statement: The import duties on sugar and allied products between 1847 and 1879 in the United States amounted to eighteen hundred million dollars. Our Western mines during the same period produced in precious metals seventeen hundred millions. So that in thirty-two years, for a single article of family consumption, the nation expended, in *duties* only, one hundred millions more than the bullion gathered from all our mines. With the draining of South Florida a belt of soil identical with that of Cuba and Louisiana, and an area unequaled by any country on the globe, will be opened for this remunerative industry. Market gardening has within a few years, also, grown into a towering business. It is prosecuted with success in all parts of the State, the different localities vying with each other in the production of the entire range of table vegetables for the Northern and Western markets. At single inland shipping points the increase in two years has been from five hundred to fifty thousand crates. The Florida gardener can sell most of his products at a large price before one in Carolina, Delaware, or Jersey has any thing grown, and a barrel of vegetables in March brings more in New York than a cart-load in October. Key West and the neighboring islands, between January and April of this year, shipped a hundred thousand crates of tomatoes. The production of early strawberries is another rising industry. The berries are carried to New York in refrigerator cars, and enter the market in perfect condition. A thousand dollars per acre have frequently been realized. Florida is the only State in the Union that has ever grown a pound of coffee. A widow lady at Manatee, in 1876, planted some coffee-seed received from Mexico, and in February, 1880, sent to the Agricultural Department at Washington the first pound grown in the country, for which she received ten dollars. She is enlarging the

business and her neighbors are planting coffee-seed. It can be grown with success in the extreme southern portions of the peninsula. Ginger, pepper, cinnamon, pimento, and cloves, can also be readily grown. Grapes succeed well all over the State. The black and the white Hamburg, the Muscat, Hartford Prolific, the Delaware, Concord, Ives, Hibiscus, Scuppernong, and the Flaming Tokay of California are the leading varieties. The writer saw fourteen varieties in one field, all growing vigorously. The Scuppernong is the most vigorous and long-lived. A gentleman on the Withlacoochee River made one hundred and fifty gallons of wine from the grapes that grew on two vines. The pineapple grows in South Florida to great size. Four or five thousand can be cultivated on an acre of rich soil. Though a tropical plant, it is easily protected from cold by a slight covering of moss, and succeeds as far north as St. Augustine. It is propagated by sprouts taken from the ripe apple, and suckers from the stalk, yielding fruit the second year, and after the fruit is cut the root yields a second and often a double crop. Two thousand dollars have been realized from the fruit of a single acre. Key Largo ships to New York annually about thirty-six thousand pineapples. The banana, another tropical plant, is seen in every county in Florida, growing from ten to twenty feet high, with graceful, translucent leaves, often eight feet long and two feet wide, forming a pleasing garden ornament. This is essentially a water plant, a most rapid grower, and, in a rich soil protected from frost, a most prolific bearer. One has said that an acre of bananas will yield as much food as forty-five acres of Irish potatoes. It never requires a second planting, and the seed roots are not expensive. It yields with tolerable regularity as far north as the twenty-ninth parallel; but to make it a regular and certain business one should plant on the extreme southern portions of the peninsula. The planting of the cocoanut began about five years ago in Monroe County. One gentleman planted twenty-six hundred and forty, and every one grew and is now maturing into a fine tree. A cocoanut tree grows with little care, and comes into full bearing in ten or twelve years, when it yields three or four hundred nuts annually. These sell at from one to three cents apiece on the tree, and the business is considered so hopeful that many extensive

groves are being planted. The guava, trained in the form of a large bush, and growing to greater size than the northern quince, comes into bearing in two or three years from the seed, yielding a delicious dessert fruit. In size the guava resembles the quince, in flavor the peach, and in its abundance of seeds the tomato. It is a tropical tree, but more hardy varieties are being introduced. The fruit is a favorite in all families, and from it is manufactured one of the best-flavored jellies of commerce. The tree thrives in ordinary soil, and in warm, sheltered localities guava culture is profitable as far north as the twenty-ninth parallel. The papaw-tree grows to the height of thirty feet, has a soft, herbaceous trunk with limbs and large leaves bursting out near the top. It yields fruit as large as a musk-melon the second year from the seed. The mulberry is a prodigy of rapid growth, valuable for shade and ornament, yielding a wholesome fruit, resembling the blackberry. The prune and apricot, species of plums, though not much cultivated, may be grown with success and profit. Two varieties of the pomegranate-tree are grown, which are highly ornamental, with rich foliage and beautiful crimson flowers and fruit. It excels all fruit in the number of its seeds; but these have a fleshy-pink covering with flavor resembling the red currant. The juice mingled with water and sugar makes a superior beverage. Plums grow wild in the hummocks, and several cultivated varieties are grown; the Japan, whose fruit has a creamy-white coloring and a sub-acid, pleasing flavor, is the most prized. The persimmon grows wild, yielding fair fruit, and is now being budded from the Japan variety, which is a great improvement. The soft-shell almond begins to bear at five years from the seed, and continues to increase in size for fifteen years. The olive-tree and the pecan thrive perfectly in the sands of Florida, coming into bearing at ten years, and continuing to a hoary age. They grow with little care on well-selected plots of unimproved land. Several varieties of the apple are found in the State yielding some fruit; but this tree requires a colder climate and can scarcely be counted a success. The peach-tree attains great size, and in the northern counties yields an abundance of choice marketable fruit; but as it descends the peninsula its fruitage becomes more and more uncertain until it gets beyond

frost, where it becomes an evergreen and ceases to bear. The amsden, honey, alexander and pean-to (the flat China peach) are the shipping varieties ripening in the early summer. A cold winter that destroys pineapples is invariably followed by a large yield of peaches. The quince grows to a large tree, and yields abundantly. Several varieties of the pear are cultivated. The sand pear and the alligator pear are much prized, and the Le Cont is certainly an extraordinary fruit. The original tree came from Prince's nursery at Flushing, Long Island, in 1840, and had been accidentally hybridized there. It was transplanted in a garden in Georgia, and supposed to be the sand pear, until it began to yield fruit. It was then discovered to be a new and greatly improved variety, and was named after its new owner. The fruit is large and luscious, and the tree long-lived and prolific. The date-palm, a tree of slow growth, but of wondrous symmetry and beauty, yields well after patient cultivation. Its trunk resembles the cabbage palmetto, with long, green, pointed branches. The fig is a great success in Florida. Propagated from cuttings, it fruits in two years, and yields almost perennially for half a century. In the drying, pickling, and preserving of fruits and vegetables, and in the manufacture of jellies, starch, tapioca, etc., Florida is rich in opportunities.

Last, though not least, we mention the citrus family. This includes the orange, lemon, lime, shaddock, grape fruit, citron, and all similar fruits. Whether this rare family of trees, embracing the choicest fruits of the globe, is indigenous to the Florida soil, or whether the seeds were introduced by the Spaniards or by prehistoric hands, historians have not certainly ascertained. As the Seville orange was extensively grown in Spain at the period of their Florida conquests, it is probable that they introduced the seed here, which, growing wild for several centuries, has deteriorated into the present sour-orange tree. Wild orange-trees in great numbers were found in Florida growing in the unbroken wilds, mostly on moist hummock land, and chiefly between the twenty-eighth and thirtieth degrees of latitude. The largest wild grove in the State was at Orange Lake, covering several hundred acres, and the next largest was on the peninsula separating Lake Griffin from Lake Harris. Others were found at Lakes Weir, Bryant,

Dunham, Pansoffkee, Jessup, George, Apopka, along the banks of the St. John's and of several other rivers. Some of these were greatly injured by the ante-bellum cotton-growing population in preparing the rich hummocks for their favorite crop. Nearly all the wild groves of the State have been budded, and are now yielding sweet oranges. These groves are improved by cutting and piling such of the forest trees as can be felled without injuring the orange-trees, after which the orange-trees are cut off several feet above the ground. In about a month after they are cut off, and when the shoots begin to start from the stumps, buds from a sweet tree are inserted under the bark through an incision. Two or three weeks later the sour sprouts are carefully taken off, and the bud, thus receiving the entire flow of sap, grows rapidly, and sometimes yields fruit the second year. Nearly all the families that were wise enough to purchase and improve a wild grove have amassed fortune. Five hundred dollars have sometimes thus swollen into fifty thousand. The trees in the wild groves grew in such proximity that transplanting was a necessity, and thousands of acres have been set with these budded sour stumps. Having grown all their years in moist hummock land, they succeed well when transplanted in similar soil, but they are not a success when planted on dry pine ridges. But before the improvement of the wild grove began the orange business had its beginnings in Florida. Seeds and a few roots, at intervals, were brought from orange-growing countries, so that scattered trees yielding sweet fruit grew in widely separated localities. A young man from North Carolina, in 1847, gathered orange seed from sale fruit at Charleston, which he planted by Lake Harris, in Sumter County, and from this planting was set the old grove at Yalaha, the first in the now famous Lake Region. A grove in Leon County was planted about the same time, as was also the Dummit grove on Indian River. The famous Gwinn grove, in Orange County, was planted before the war by a woman as an appendage to the house over which she presided, and as a matter of fancy simply. It consists of seven acres with eighty trees to the acre, and now yields from eight hundred to eighteen hundred oranges per tree, and which sell on the branches at from fifteen to twenty dollars per thousand. The sweet-seedling tree

(grown from the seed of a sweet orange) is several years later in coming into bearing than the budded tree, but it makes in the end the largest and best-formed tree, yielding its rich harvests, under favoring conditions, for a century or more. A fine tree, still green and youthful, in the northern part of the State, is known to be over eighty years old, and the "Grand Constable," in the orangery of Versailles, is four hundred and fifty years old. A number of old trees in the State yield from five thousand to eight thousand oranges annually, and thus furnish their owners an income of from fifty to one hundred dollars per tree. The orange is a hardy tree, with fragrant evergreen foliage, pure white odorous blossoms, and is extremely sensitive to care and neglect. The orange business was not really undertaken in the State until within the last fifteen years.

The commercial panics and other misfortunes in the country during the last few years have turned thousands to Florida to engage in the orange business, which, when conducted with personal industry, is attended with few risks, giving promise of permanent reward. It is now conceded that Florida is the finest orange-growing country on the globe. Trees transplanted from any other orange country to Florida are noticeably improved, showing conclusively that this peninsula possesses just the climate and soil for its rarest production. The orange-tree grows vigorously on suitable soil all through the State, but in the northern counties the cold injures the crop a part of the time, and on the extreme southern point of the peninsula the climate is a little too tropical for the rarest growth of this queen of fruits. It is a sub-tropical tree, and succeeds to admiration about midway of the peninsula, in the belt we have before described. It is not easy to estimate the number of groves; these are scattered all through the State, and are receiving large annual additions. Hitherto Florida has furnished less than one in twelve of the oranges consumed in our own country, so that over-production is not probable. The increase in population and wealth will more than keep pace with orange production.

The lemon-tree grows wild also in Florida, yielding a fair fruit, and this tree, by budding, is susceptible of the same improvements as the orange. The lemon is one of our most use-

ful fruits, its oil, essence, or acids, finding place in our food and medicines, in the arts deepening or discharging colors, and in acidulated beverages suited to every stage of sickness or health. The lemon-tree is not as beautiful as the orange, nor has it here received the same attention. Its study is now, however, being vigorously prosecuted. The Sicily lemon-tree thrives here, and as the lemon comes into bearing sooner than the orange, it is now considered equally profitable. The lime grown in Florida is pronounced by old travelers the largest and finest grown on the globe. Several varieties are cultivated. The fruit is smaller than the lemon, but it is more acidulous, contains little pulp, and is covered with a very thin peel. It is in no sense inferior to the lemon, and seems almost destined to supplant it. The tree comes into bearing sooner than the lemon, is astonishingly prolific, is perfectly vigorous and healthy, and forms one of the richest ornamental trees in Florida. Planted closely in rows, it forms a perfect hedge against man, beast, and fowl. Its cultivation for the production of citric acid alone would be profitable. It is almost a tropical tree, and thrives best in the Lake Region and a little southward. The shaddock and grape-fruit trees are akin, prodigies of rapid growth, yielding rich fruit of great size, not much, as yet, understood or prized in commerce. It was certainly meet that Florida, so long neglected, misunderstood, and concealed by untoward providences, should finally excel all her sister States in the modest beauty of her scenery and in the wealth of her numerous and exquisite productions.

Art. III.—JESUS A TOTAL ABSTAINER.

[Fourth Article.]

3. *Third Specification: Jesus* used *intoxicating wine, and* commanded it to be used *until the end of time.*

It is assumed that he used such a beverage at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee, and as he sat at the table with publicans and sinners; although no mention is made of his personally partaking of wine of any sort in these or in any other

instances, save in the two about to be considered.* And as we have already examined these other cases, we may omit any further reference to them. The two occasions on which it is recorded that Jesus did make use of wine, and on which it is asserted that the wine used was fermented, are (1) the Last Supper and (2) the Crucifixion. We shall separately consider them.

I. Chancellor Crosby,† Dr. Moore,‡ and Professor Bumstead,§ all claim that Christ employed fermented wine at the Last Supper. Dr. Moore frankly says, "He instituted the Holy Supper in wine on which unworthy communicants could get drunk, (1 Cor. xi, 21.)" We have to examine this charge, and see whether it can be substantiated. All the evidence bearing upon the case may be gathered from three sources, namely, (i) The circumstances under which the Supper was instituted, (ii) The language in which the event is recorded, (iii) The practice of those by whom the rite was perpetuated.

i. *The circumstances under which the Supper was instituted.*—The celebration of the Jewish Passover was the occasion of the institution of the Christian sacrament. (Matt. xxvi, 19; Mark xiv, 16; Luke xxii, 13.) The elements of the former furnished the emblems of the latter. The drink of the one constituted the drink of the other. ‖ But what was the drink of the Passover? There is no mention of any beverage in the many statutes concerning the festival, or in the frequent references to its observance found in the Old Testament. It had become an established custom, however, to use wine at the Passover, "at all events in the post-Babylonian period." ¶ In none of the allusions which the Old Testament makes to the use of wine for religious purposes, is a fermented article indicated;** and in the only reference which it contains to the use

* It is taken for granted that Christ himself participated in the meal of the Passover and the Last Supper. This is settled, we think, by Matt. xxvi, 29, etc. *Vide* Meyer, "Comm.," *in loc.*

† "A Calm View," etc.

‡ "Presbyterian Review," January, 1881, p. 88.

§ "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 87.

‖ The same, of course, is true of the bread, and for ourselves we should not hesitate to follow out the argument to its legitimate consequences.

¶ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," art. "Wine."

** Two terms are employed in the requirements and references concerning drink-offerings. They are the generic *yayin* (Exod. xxix, 40; Lev. xxiii, 13; Num. xv, 7; xxviii, 14; Deut. xiv, 26; Hos. ix, 4) and the generic *shechar*, (Num. xxviii, 7; Deut. xiv, 26.) The first drops that reached the lower vat

of wine at any of the great religious festivals an unfermented sort is distinctly specified.* The practice of the Jewish Church in this particular, during the transitional period between the close of the Old Testament canon and the opening of the New Testament dispensation, is illustrated by a passage in the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus. Speaking of the high-priest Simon, probably that Simon who bore the surname Just, (B. C. 310–290,) † this book says, (l, 14, 15,) "And finishing the service at the altar that he might adorn the offering of the most high Almighty, he stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of the blood of the grape, (ἐξ αἵματος σταφυλῆς;) he poured out at the foot of the altar a sweet-smelling savor unto the most high King of all." All the analogies of the case, therefore, would lead to the conclusion that the wine of the Passover was an unfermented drink. But we are not confined to analogies for our argument. It was the law of this feast, enacted at the beginning and never annulled or amended, that nothing fermented should enter into its observance. It was called the feast of "sweetnesses," or of "unfermented things." (Exod. xxiii, 15.) ‡ Its law ran thus, (A. V.:) "Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day shall be a feast to the Lord. Unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days; and there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee in all thy quarters," (Exod. xiii, 6, 7.) Nothing could be more emphatic or explicit. Not only were unfermented things alone to be eaten during the festival, but every thing that had been fermented, or that was capable of producing fermentation, was to be rigidly excluded from sight. That this was the import of

were called the *dema*, or tear (A. V.) "liquors," and formed the first-fruits of the vintage, which were to be presented to Jehovah, (Exodus xxii, 29.) This was unquestionably a perfectly fresh and unfermented article, like the Latin *protropum*.

* Neh. viii, 10. The Feast of the Tabernacles is referred to, and the fact that this occurred during the grape harvest confirms the unfermented character of "the sweet," *mamtaqqim*, already noted.

† *Vide* Lange, "Commentary on the Apocrypha," Introduction, p. 279.

‡ אֶת־חַג הַמַּצּוֹת, *eth-chag ham-matzoth*, does not signify "the feast of unleavened *bread*." That requires לֶחֶם, *lechem*, "bread," to be expressed, as in Exod. xxix, 2. Cf. *challath matzoth*, "an unleavened cake," Num. vi, 19. *Vide* "M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopedia," art. "Leaven."

the command, and that it covered liquids as well as solids, wine as well as bread, appears from the following considerations:

a. The word twice rendered (A. V.) "unleavened bread" in the passage just quoted is מַצּוֹת, *matzoth*. It is the plural of מָצָה, *matzah*, (r. מָצַץ, *matzatz*,) which signifies "sweetness, concr. sweet, *i. e.*, not fermented."* It is used indefinitely and substantively—there is nothing in the text corresponding to "bread"—and means "sweetnesses," or "unfermented things."

b. The word twice rendered (A. V.) "eat" is the verb אָכַל, *akal*, which is frequently used in the same general sense as the English eat, including the taking of all kinds of refreshments, both meat and drink, (*e. g.*, Genesis xliii, 16; Deut. xxvii, 7; 1 Sam. ix, 13,) and may be rendered in this instance, "to partake of."

c. The word rendered (A. V.) "leaven" is שְׂאוֹר, *seor*, (from the obsolete root שָׂאַר, *saar*, cognate with the verbs שָׂאַר, *shaar*, סִיר, *sir*, to become hot, to ferment, and akin to the Anglo-Saxon *sur;* Germ. *sauer;* and Eng. *sour*.)† It means literally "the sourer," and is applicable to any matter capable of producing fermentation—to all yeasty or decaying albuminous substances—and so may be translated "ferment."

d. The word rendered (A. V.) "leavened bread" is חָמֵץ, *chametz*, from a root of the same form, and signifying to be sour, acid, leavened.‡ It denotes, generically, any substance which has been subjected to the action of *seor*. Like *matzoth*, it is used substantively and indefinitely, with nothing in the context corresponding to (A. V.) "bread." It may be translated "fermented thing." That it is as applicable to liquids as to solids is proven by the use of the kindred form *chometz*, vinegar, or sour wine.§

* So Gesenius, "Lexicon," *s. v.* But Fürst assigns to it the idea of *thinness;* Kurtz, of *dryness;* Knobel and Keil, of *purity*. Gesenius' explanation, however, is most generally accepted. Sweetness, in this connection, has the sense of uncorrupted or incorruptible, and so is easily associated with the idea of dryness and purity. The Arabic word having the sense of pure, to which Knobel and Keil refer *matzoth*, is a secondary form. The root has the same meaning assigned by Gesenius to *matzoth*. (*Vide* "Speaker's Commentary" on Exodus xii, 17.)

† Gesenius, "Lexicon," *s. v.* ‡ *Ibid.*

§ "In Num. vi, 3, *chametz* is applied to wine as an adjective, and should there be translated fermented wine, not vinegar of wine."—*M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopedia*, art. "Leaven."

The entire passage, (Exodus xiii, 6, 7,) therefore, may with literal accuracy be rendered: "Seven days thou shalt partake of unfermented things, and in the seventh day shall be a feast to the Lord. Unfermented things shall be partaken of seven days; and there shall no fermented thing be seen with thee, neither shall there be any ferment seen with thee in all thy quarters." That this prohibition must have included fermented wine as well as leavened bread, will still further appear from a brief consideration of the *raison d'être* of the enactment. It was not intended, as Professor Bumstead declares,* to remind the people of Israel "of the haste with which they left Egypt, (Deut. xvi, 3,) having no time to put leaven in their dough," a reason which, he says, "would not apply to the wine." But it does not apply to the bread. Neither the passage to which he refers, nor any other in the sacred narrative, gives any intimation that this was the primary purpose of the statute. On the contrary, it is evident from Exodus xii, 8, compared with xii, 39, that the command to eat unleavened bread was given before the departure of the Israelites, and when there was plenty of time for the dough to leaven.† Neither was there any moral significance in the circumstance of haste deserving the perpetuation of ages. But this law was grounded in the very nature of things, and was designed to set an object-lesson for succeeding generations. Fermentation is a process of putrefaction, and ferment or leaven is a substance in a state of putrefaction.‡ By the very closest association of ideas, therefore, it becomes the natural symbol of moral corruption. Christ illustrated and confirmed this symbolism when he bade his disciples "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees," (Matt. xvi, 6, 12;) as did St. Paul when he admonished the Corinthians to "purge out the old leaven," (1 Cor. v, 7.) The Jews employed it in their representations of the depravity of human nature,§ and the ancient pagan world recognized its significance in the law which forbade the high-priest of Jupiter to touch leaven "because it was made by corruption, and cor-

* "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 72.

† *Vide* Alexander's Kitto's "Biblical Cyclopedia," art. "Passover."

‡ "Turner's Chemistry," by Liebig, 1842, p. 991. It is worthy of notice that the Latin writers use *corruptus* as signifying fermented: and Tacitus ("Germ." 23) and Macrobius ("Sat." vii, 12, 11) apply the word to the fermentation of wine.

§ *Vide* "Babyl. Berachoth," 17, 1. Cf., also Persius, "Sat." i, 24.

rupted the mass which was mingled with it."* Its exclusion from the sacrifices of the Jews was based upon precisely the same principle,† as was also the requirement that salt, as the preventive of corruption, should form a part of every offering, (Lev. ii, 13.)‡ The prohibition of leaven was not peculiar to the Passover, but antedated the institution of that festival, and applied to the greater part of the Jewish ritual. The use of leaven was strictly forbidden in the meat-offering, (Lev. ii, 11,) the trespass-offering, (Lev. vi, 17,) the consecration-offering, (Exod. xxix, 2; Lev. viii, 2,) and the Nazarite offering, (Num. vi, 15.) The show-bread also was unleavened, (Lev. xxiv, 5–9.)§ Nor was this prohibition confined exclusively to bread or even to solids. It was extended to *debash*, grape-honey, (Lev. ii, 11,) as peculiarly liable to fermentation. It likewise, in all probability, applied to milk, (Exod. xxxiv, 26; Deut. xiv, 21.)‖

But in no form is this element of corruption more actively present than in alcoholic wine, and any interdiction of it so searching and sweeping as the law of the Passover must have embraced its existence and energy in that shape. The Jews have so understood the law. The rabbis have always interpreted it as including liquids. The Mishna expressly specifies certain fermented drinks whose use would be a violation of the feast, and in general forbids all liquors made from grain.¶ It is claimed, however, that "in the things which, according to the Mishna, transgress the Passover, *wine* is not spoken of, nor any drink prepared purely from *fruit*."** This is readily

* Plutarch, "Rom. Quæs.," 109; Aulus Gellius, x, 15, 19.

† *Vide* Keil and Delitzsch, "Comm.," on Exod. xii, 8, 9.

‡ *Vide* Ewald, "Antiquities of Israel," Edinburgh, p. 34.

§ *Vide* Josephus, "Antiq. Jud.," iii, 6, 6; Talm., *Minchoth*, v, 2, 3.

‖ "As early sacrifices were boiled, the ordinance [forbidding the seething of a kid in its mother's milk] means that the sacrifice must not be boiled in milk, which, from the fermenting quality of the latter, may be a variety of the law against leaven in ritual. Milk, no doubt, was generally eaten in a sour form, (Arabic *aquit.*) Bokhâry, vi, 193." W. R. Smith, "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church," p. 438, note.

¶ Haec sunt in causa transgressionis Paschatis; Cutach Babylonicum, cerevisia Mediae et acetum Edomœum, et Zytus Ægypticus, et Zoman tinctorum et Amilan coquorum et pulmentum librariorum. Regula generalis haec est quicquid est e speciebus frumenti, ecce propter hoc transgreditur Pascha.—*Pesachoth*, Part II, p. 142.

** Dr. Moore, in "Presbyterian Review," January, 1882, p. 87.

granted. It is even true that Maimonides and Bartenora, Spanish rabbins of the twelfth century, in their comments on the Mishna, distinctly state that the juices of fruits, including wine, were allowed at the Passover by the ancient Jews. But on what ground were such beverages permitted? On the remarkable hypothesis, according to Maimonides, that "the liquor of fruit does not engender fermentation, but acidity!"* This concedes the whole case, and shows that alcoholic wine could be used only by a denial of its real nature. Of significance in this connection, is the rabbinical ordinance that no Jew shall enter a place where wine or other fermented liquors are sold during Passover week, and that, if one of that race and religion is a vintner, he must close out his whole stock previous to this festival.† It is also important to observe that distilled spirits, under whatever name, have always been interdicted at the paschal supper.‡ Facts such as these make it plain that in the judgment of the Jews, ancient and modern, the law of the Passover extended to the prohibition of every kind of fermented liquor. And yet we have the statement specifically and repeatedly made, and supported, as it is claimed, by "superabundant evidence," § in the shape of testimony from Jewish sources, that the fermented juice of the grape is regarded as the only legitimate wine for Passover use. Now, if this were true without any qualification, and if it expressed the universal usage of modern Judaism, it would even then not necessarily be determinative of primitive thought and practice in this particular. For there is no certainty that the memorial Passover, which now alone the Jews are able to observe, is identical in custom and ceremonial with the original and sacrificial Passover. ‖ But such a statement is not unqualifiedly true. Testimony on this subject is not unanimous, and uni-

* Chametz Vematzah, v, 1, 2.

† *Vide* "Sunday Magazine," 1870, p. 730, art. "Passover Observances."

‡ Freshman, "Jews and Israelites," p. 66.

§ Dr. Moore, in "Presbyterian Review" for January, 1882, p. 89, who gives a number of specimens of this evidence. Some of it, however, contains noteworthy concessions. One witness (Rev. J. H. Bruehl, p. 90) says, in regard to the raisin wine used by the Jews at the Passover, "They are perfectly indifferent about fermentation." Another witness (Dr. Gottheil, p. 91) testifies that while the use of *fermented* wine is proper at the Passover, unfermented is permitted in certain cases.

‖ *Vide* Canon Farrar on Luke xxii, 18, in the "Cambridge Bible for Schools."

formity of practice does not prevail. There is much evidence, of an unimpeachable sort, on the other side. Mr. Allen, an authority on all matters pertaining to modern Judaism, writes, with reference to the wine of the Passover: "They [the Jews] are forbidden to drink any liquor made from grain, *or that has passed through the process of fermentation.* Their drink is either pure water or raisin-wine prepared by themselves." * Dr. S. M. Isaacs, an eminent Jewish rabbi, and formerly chief editor of "The Jewish Messenger," says: "The Jews do not, in their feasts for sacred purposes, including the marriage feast, ever use any kind of fermented drinks. In their oblations and libations, both private and public, they employ the fruit of the vine—that is, fresh grapes—unfermented grape-juice and raisins, as the symbol of benediction. Fermentation is to them always a symbol of corruption, as in nature and science it is itself decay, rottenness." † Another leading rabbi of New York city has recently testified, that "Fermented wine, as every thing fermented, is rigidly excluded from our Passover fare, in accordance with the spirit of the divine command, Exodus xii, 19." ‡ In accounting for and estimating this conflicting, not to say contradictory, evidence, it is necessary to bear in mind that there are two distinctly marked parties among the Jews—the one orthodox, the other liberal. The former, who are strict in their interpretation of the Law and in their obedience to its requirements, rigorously exclude all fermented drinks from the feast of the Passover. The latter, who are latitudinarian in doctrine and lax in practice, deny that the law of the Passover extends to the wine. Not a few of this school place the wines of commerce on the paschal board; some neglect altogether the ordinance of their fathers; others rob the rite of all significance by denying the supernatural character of the events which it commemorates. There is good reason for believing, however, that the stricter or orthodox view prevailed in our Lord's day. So impartial an authority as Dr. A. P. Peabody says § that he "has satisfied himself, by careful research, that at our Saviour's

* "Modern Judaism," London, 1830. p. 394.

† Quoted in Patton, "Bible Wines," p. 83.

‡ Quoted by Dr. Charles Beecher in "The New Englander," July, 1882, p. 520.

§ "The Monthly Review," vol. xliii, p. 41.

time the Jews—at least the high ritualists among them—extended the prohibition of leaven at the Passover season to the principle of fermentation in every form; and that it was customary at the Passover festival for the master of the household to press the contents of 'the cup' from clusters of grapes preserved for this very purpose." And Dr. Charles Beecher declares * that "after a somewhat careful search" he has come to the same conclusion. But whatever may be the facts in the case, however much the Jews may have misunderstood the law, perverted its meaning, overlaid it with their traditions, or made it of none effect by their practices, it does not affect the matter at issue. It is not their custom which we are endeavoring to determine, but the conduct of Christ. And about this there ought to be, and there can be, no controversy. He who came "not to destroy, but to fulfill," (Matt. v, 17,) and whom it became "to fulfill *all* righteousness," (Matt. iii, 15,) could not ignorantly, and would not intentionally, have broken or infringed the Law, either in its letter or in its spirit. He could not have celebrated the Passover in a wine which had undergone fermentation, and so had become a symbol of corruption.

We advance another step now, and proceed to consider

ii. *The language in which the institution of the Lord's Supper is recorded.*—This is preserved to us with singular uniformity in the first three Gospels, and in almost the same form in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. The words of these records are largely the personal utterances of Christ himself, so that they come to us with especial significance, and each adds its own weight to the argument. After mentioning the blessing and breaking of the bread, the narratives continue:

a. "And he took (received, Luke) the cup—τὸ ποτήριον—and gave thanks"—εὐχαριστήσας—(Matt. xxvi, 27; Mark xiv, 23; Luke xxii, 17.) St. Paul simply says: "After the same manner also the cup," (1 Cor. xi, 25.) Some good manuscripts omit the article before "cup" in Matthew and Mark, but its use by Luke and Paul is undoubted. The reference, as most authorities agree, is to the third of the four cups at the passover meal, called the "cup of benediction," (*Cos ha-Berâchah.*) It was this cup with which the Christian ordinance was

* "The New Englander," July, 1882, p. 520.

inaugurated. For it the great Founder of the feast gave thanks as he consecrated it to its new and holier uses. And, when it had been transferred to the sacramental table, it was still called "the cup of blessing," (1 Cor. x, 16.) It is not necessary to suggest that "the cup" is put by metonomy for its contents. They were the subject of thanksgiving, the medium of blessing. Such, indeed, would be the pure and nutritious juice of the grape. Such never could be the wine upon which God had poured his maledictions, and upon which he had warned his children not to look. We cannot conceive of Christ bending over such a beverage in grateful prayer. The supposition is sacrilegious. The imputation is blasphemous. No cup that can intoxicate is a cup of blessing, but a cup of cursing. It is not "the cup of the Lord," but "the cup of devils." (1 Cor. x, 21.) It does not belong to a eucharistic feast, but is the fit accompaniment of scenes of revelry and riot.

b. "And gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it," Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, literally, Drink all ye of this, (Matt. xxvi, 27.) "And they all drank of it," (Mark xiv, 23.) "Take this and divide it among yourselves," (Luke xxiii, 17.) Why Christ should have singled out the wine, and insisted that all should partake of that, may not be plain, but the fact is patent. Rome, in attempted justification of her course in denying the cup to the laity, may limit the injunction to the apostles and their ecclesiastical successors, but Protestantism easily exposes the falsity of such an interpretation. All of Christ's true disciples every-where are commanded to drink of the sacramental cup. There is no exception, absolutely none. If the contents of that cup be the uncorrupted and nutritious juice of the grape, there need be none. But if they be the fermented wine so many allege, then there are many of our Saviour's faithful followers who cannot and who ought not to partake. There are constitutions to which alcohol in any form or quantity is an active poison,* and there are none to which it is not more or less harmful. It ought never to pass the pure

* "There are some persons on whom the smallest quantity of alcohol seems to act like the taste of blood on a tiger, producing in them a wild desire for more, and destroying all self-control. For them alcohol is a poison, and total abstinence their only safeguard." Dr. Brunton, editor of "The London Practitioner," in "The Alcohol Question," p. 26.

lips of children, than whom none are more welcome at the Lord's table. It should never be put into the hands of those "who are practically unable to avoid excess if they use wine at all," * much less should it be put to the lips of one in whom the simple taste, and sometimes even the mere smell of alcohol awakens a dormant or conquered appetite, and becomes the initial step to a course of headlong dissipation and irremediable ruin.† Yet such has been the sad history of not a few souls.‡ Can it be that He who taught his disciples to pray "Lead us not into temptation," has made his memorial table a place of overmastering temptation to any, and of possible danger to all?

c. "For this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." (Matt. xxvi, 28; Mark xiv, 24, omits "for the remission of sins;" Luke ii, 20, also omits this clause, and reads, "which is shed for you;" 1 Cor. xi, 25, omits both these clauses.) Up to this moment the blood of bulls and of goats had represented the blood of Christ; henceforth the wine of the Supper was to stand as its symbol. (Heb. ix, 13, 14.) But we undertake to say that fermented wine could not suitably serve this purpose. It is not a proper symbol of blood in general. Its only possible resemblance to blood is its color. But that characteristic does not pertain to it exclusively, and the point of the symbolism, as Meyer has shown, § does not lie in the color. In every other particular, the argument is altogether with the unfermented

* Prof. Bumstead, "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 92.

† "Alcohol is a veritable physical demon, which, once introduced into the blood of many a reformed inebriate, even after the lapse of a long term of strict sobriety, may rage through his veins like a consuming fire, and hurry him into the lowest depths of his long-abandoned and sincerely-repented-of sin. . It is difficult for any one inexperienced in the treatment of dipsomania to realize the truth. But so real is the danger, that, Churchman as I am, even when a drinker myself, I never allowed any reformed drunkard to go near a communion-table where an intoxicating liquor was presented. In this practice I am supported by Dr. Richardson, Dr. Fergus, Surgeon-General Francis, and other experts in the higher ranks of the medical profession. I would as soon have thought of putting a loaded pistol in the hands of a maniac in a lucid interval, bidding him take care not to shoot himself." Dr. Norman Kerr, in "Wines, Scriptural and Ecclesiastical," pp. 98, 99, who cites the very positive testimony of the above-mentioned physicians on the subject.

‡ *Vide* testimony of Dr. Duffield in "Bible Rule of Temperance," p. 134.

§ "Comm." on Matt. xxvi, 28.

wine, as so eminent an authority as Dr. B. W. Richardson has pointed out. He says:

> The constituent parts actually of blood and of the expressed wine are strikingly analogous. One of the most important elements of the blood, that which keeps it together, that which Plato speaks of as the "plastic parts of the blood," is the fibrine, and that is represented in the gluten of the unfermented wine. If we come to the nourishing part of the blood, that which we call the mother of the tissues, we find it in the unfermented grape, in the albumen, and that is also present in the blood; and if we come to all the salts, there they are in the blood, and the proportion is nearly the same in the unfermented wine as in the blood; and if we come to the unfermented parts of the wine which go to support the respiration of the body, we find them in the sugar. Really and truly, on a question of symbolism, if there be any thing at all in that, the argument is all in favor of the use of unfermented wine.*

Again, fermented wine cannot be a proper symbol of *Christ's* blood. The warm current which pulsates in human veins is not pure. It has been tainted by sin. This taint is the accumulated heritage of generations of transgressors. And a wine in which some trace of fermentation had begun the work of corruption might not unfitly represent such blood. But the blood of Christ was absolutely pure. There was no touch or taint of sin in his veins. "He whom God raised again saw no corruption," (Acts xiii, 37,) either in life or in death. And of the contents of the eucharistic cup he declared "this is *my* blood." Then it was pure, as fresh and uncontaminated as the clustered drops within the unburst grape.† Again, fermented wine cannot be an appropriate symbol of Christ's blood as the means of man's redemption and sanctification. Such "a defunct and deleterious liquor" could be a proper emblem only of depravity and death. While "the fresh juice of the cluster,

* From an address delivered at a select conference in London after a paper by Dr. Norman Kerr, on "Wines, Scriptural and Ecclesiastical." "National Temperance Advocate," March, 1882, p. 37.

† It may be regarded as a strong confirmation of this view of the case, that in every instance where Christ alone was typified in the sacrifices, offerings, and feasts of the Old Testament, the use of leaven, the element and emblem of corruption, was prohibited, as in the trespass offering (Lev. vi, 17,) and the meat offering, (Lev. ii, 11;) while in those instances where God's people were typified, as in the two loaves which constituted the meat offering of the feast of Pentecost, (Lev. xxiii, 17,) the use of leaven was enjoined.

full of inimitable life," fitly signifies the blessings of salvation and immortal joy which the blood of Christ bestows. That blood is said to purge the conscience, (Heb. ix, 14;) but fermented wine stimulates to unnatural activity all the physical powers and awakens all the baser passions of the soul. The unfermented wine, however, is a gentle purgative and a genuine nutrient, and is every way adapted to promote the health and happiness of man.

The expression, "which was shed for many," is especially suggestive in this connection. The word is *ἐκχυνόμενον*, from *ἐκχύνω*, (r. *ἐκχέω*,) to pour out or shed, and is radically the same as the term *ἀρχιοινοχόος*, by which the LXX translate the Heb. שַׂר הַמַּשְׁקִים, *sar ham-mashqim*, in Gen. xl, 9, rendered (A. V.) "chief butler." The participle, moreover, is in the present tense, as is *διδόμενον*, (Luke xxii, 19,) and *κλώμενον*, (1 Cor. xi, 24,) used in speaking of "the bread," and which we may suppose were uttered in immediate connection with the act of "breaking" and "giving" it to the disciples: "This is my body which is being broken and is being given to you." So we may conceive that on this solemn occasion our Lord, acting as the *archioinochoos*, took the purple clusters and pressed their rich juice into the cup, suiting, as he did so, the action to the word, and saying: "This is my blood in the New Testament which is being poured out for you." *

It may be urged that this interpretation is inconsistent with the fact that the passover occurred six months after the vintage. But in grape-growing countries the art of preserving the fruit for lengthened periods in a fresh state and with flavor unimpaired, is thoroughly understood and generally practiced. Josephus' testimony (Bel. Jud., vii, 8, 4) has already been given. † Niebuhr says that "the Arabs preserve grapes by hanging them up in their cellars, and eat them almost through the whole year." ‡ Swinburne quotes from an Arabic manuscript of the fourteenth century, preserved in the Library of the Escurial, which says that the people of Granada "have the secret of preserving grapes sound and juicy from one season to

* Meyer says (Comm. *in loc.*,) the whole point of the symbolism lay in *the being poured out.*

† "Methodist Quarterly Review," April, 1882, p. 299.

‡ "Travels through Arabia," Heron's translation, 1792, i, 406.

another."* Bernier says grapes were sent from Persia to India, wrapped in cotton, two hundred years ago, and sold there throughout the year.† Dr. Robinson states that "grapes at Damascus ripen early in July, and are said to be found in the market during eight months."‡ Secretary Mounsey, of the British Embassy in Vienna, writes that in a village near Sultania, in Persia, he "had a great treat to-day in the shape of some grapes. In this dry atmosphere they can be kept, it seems, for almost any length of time."§ Signor Peppini, one of the largest wine manufacturers of Italy, informed Mr. E. C. Delevan, in 1839, that "he had then in his lofts, for the use of his table until the next vintage, a quantity of grapes sufficient to make one hundred gallons of wine."‖ Dr. Kerr says: "A friend of mine now in Britain not long since unpacked grapes he had received eleven months previously from the continent, finding them fresh and good."¶ We can buy such foreign grapes, packed in cork-dust, at almost any fruit stand or first-class grocery store in this country. All travelers, moreover, bear witness to the ease with which meats and fruits are preserved for almost any length of time in the clear and dry atmosphere of Palestine. The suggested inconsistency, therefore, does not exist. Freshly kept grapes might readily have been procured for the purpose of the Last Supper.**

d. "But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine—" (Matt. xxvi, 29; Mark xiv, 25; Luke xxii, 18.) It is a noteworthy fact that nowhere in the New Testament is the word *οἶνος* used with reference to the Lord's Supper. After noticing the use of this term in John ii, 10; Eph. v, 18, etc., Prof. Bumstead says: "The fact is not without significance that in these passages the sacred writers did *not* use the only Greek word which clearly refers to an unfermented liquid, namely, *γλεῦκος*."†† And so we say, the fact is not without significance that in speaking of the wine of the

* "Travels Through Spain," London, 1787, i, 260.

† "Travels in Mogul," London, 1826, i, 284.

‡ "Biblical Researches," 1856, iii, 453.

§ "The Caucasus and Persia," London, 1872, p. 117.

‖ "Temperance Bible Commentary," p. 278.

¶ "Unfermented Wine a Fact," p. 30.

** *Vide* quotation from Dr. Peabody, *supra*, p. 664, latter part.

†† "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1881, p. 80.

Supper the sacred writers did not use the Greek word which these authors assert always refers to a fermented liquid, namely, *οἶνος*. Instead of so doing, we find them employing an expression which cannot by any legitimate method of interpretation be made to mean a fermented article.* Two terms are used and two only. One, which we have already considered, is used figuratively; the cup is put for its contents, but indicates nothing as to their character. The other we regard as decisive of the point in question. Christ calls the contents of that cup "the fruit of the vine," *γέννημα τῆς ἀμπέλου*. *Γέννημα*, from *γεννάω*, to beget, or produce, signifies in classic and in Hellenistic Greek a *natural* product in its natural state, just as it is gathered and garnered. This is its signification in Polybius, i, 71, 1; iii, 87, 1, and in Diodorus Siculus, v, 17; in the LXX, Gen. xli, 34; xlvii, 24; and Exod. xxiii, 10; also in the New Testament, Luke xii, 18. In each of these instances it is equivalent to *κάρπος*, "the natural fruit, usually of trees, but sometimes of the earth." In the case before us it could have no proper or possible application but to the juice of the grape in its natural state just as it came from the cluster. It must mean, if it mean wine at all, a purely unfermented wine. Fermented wine is not "the fruit of the vine." It is the fruit of disintegration and decay. "Alcoholic wine, then, is no more entitled to be called 'the fruit of the vine' than any of the other contemporaneous or subsequent products of its decay, such as carbonic acid, vinegar, yeast, volatile oils, œnanthic acid, or ammonia. To apply the phrase, 'fruit of the vine' to any of the substances resulting from its decay, is just the same absurdity as to call death the fruit of life."† We cannot doubt that Jesus, with divine wisdom, selected this term to designate the contents of the memorial cup, that in

* "Considering how often the New Testament writers mention the Supper, their entire avoidance of all the current names for wine, in that connection, affords some reason for holding that they designed to avoid them. It is not an unnatural suggestion that they may have designated what was in 'the cup' as 'the fruit of the vine,' expressly to distinguish it from that fermented preparation of grape-juice commonly known as wine. If we take the evidence of the Bible, separate from Jewish and patristic tradition, this certainly seems to be the one salient point in the case." Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D.D., in "The Presbyterian Review," April, 1882, p. 322.

† Dr. Lees, in "Text-Book of Temperance," p. 50.

after times no sanction might be found in his words for the use of a beverage manifestly unfit for the purposes of the holy sacrament.

It is worthy of notice that the word ἄμπελος, vine, is used in only two connections in the narratives of the life of Christ. We find it in the instance just cited, and also in the report of our Lord's farewell address to his disciples, preserved in John xv, 1, 4, 5. That address, as we know, was given on this very occasion of the Last Supper, (John xiii, 1, f.) What suggested the strikingly appropriate figure which it contains, of the vine and its branches? Several theories have been proposed. Among others, Dr. Geikie * says: "Perhaps the thought rose from the sight of the wine-cup on the table, and its recent use at the evening feast; or perhaps the house stood amid vines, and the branches may have been trained around the windows; or the vineyard itself may have lain below in the bright moonlight." But it is far more probable, as it seems to us, that the idea of this happy comparison was suggested by the crushed clusters that lay upon the table about which they still lingered.

e. "Until that day when I drink it new (καινόν) with you in my Father's kingdom," (Matt. xxvi, 29; Mark xiv, 25. Luke says merely, "Until the kingdom of God shall come," xxii, 18.) Those who oppose our position understand Christ in this passage to be contrasting the *old wine* which he was then drinking with the *new wine* which he was to drink with his disciples in the coming kingdom. But such an interpretation, implying, as it unquestionably does, the superiority of the *new* wine, is in direct contradiction to the construction which these same scholars insist upon putting on Luke v, 39, already considered. So that they may safely be left to answer themselves. Far more reasonable is the interpretation which takes καινόν as an adverbial accusative, and renders, not drink *new* wine, but drink it *anew*.† But much better than either is the construction which regards, as the others do not, the distinction between καινός and νέος. The latter term would signify simply wine new in time, as of a recent vintage; the

* "Life and Words of Christ," ii, 484. Dr. Macdonald makes a similar suggestion in "The Life and Writings of St. John," p. 353, note.

† So Theophylact, Kuinoel, Rosenmüller, Bloomfield, Abbott, *et al.*

latter means wine new in quality or character.* In this sense the word is nearly equivalent to ἕτερος, different. This appears from Mark xvi, 17, where καιναὶ γλῶσσαι "does not express the recent commencement of this miraculous speaking with tongues, but the unlikeness of these tongues to any that went before, therefore called also ἕτεραι γλῶσσαι, (Acts ii, 4,) 'tongues different from any hitherto known.'"† This use of the word is illustrated in Xenophon, (Mem. I., 1, 3.) ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν καινότερον εἰσέφερε τῶν ἄλλων, "he introduced nothing of a different nature from the rest." The term is frequently employed with this signification in the New Testament, as in the passage immediately preceding the one under consideration. The "new covenant" of Matt. xxvi, 28, is a covenant of a widely different nature from the former. So the "new creature," καινὴ κτίσις, of 2 Cor. v, 17, and Gal. vi, 15, and the "new man," καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, of Eph. iv, 24, and Col. iii, 10, denote a creature and a character of another type altogether. The term is employed in this sense especially, as in the present instance, with reference to "the future renovation of all things"‡ predicted by Christ, (Rev. xxi, 5,) "Behold I make all things new, (καινά.)" Thus we read of the "new song," ᾠδὴ καινή, (Rev. v, 9; xiv, 3;) the "new name," ὄνομα καινόν, (Rev. ii, 17; iii, 12;) "the new heaven and the new earth," οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινήν, (2 Pet. iii, 13; Rev. xxi, 1;) and "the new Jerusalem," ἡ καινὴ Ἱερουσαλήμ, (Rev. iii, 12; xxi, 2)—all of them signifying something of an entirely different nature from any thing which has preceded.

We understand, therefore, by this "new wine" of the coming kingdom a wine which, like that kingdom itself, will be of a kind and character utterly unknown to earth, a spiritual wine as it is to be a spiritual kingdom.§ It is, perhaps, not unreasonable to suppose that it will be identical with what is elsewhere called "the *water* of life," (Rev. xxi, 6; xxii, 1, 17.) The allusion of Christ, in this instance, was undoubtedly suggested, not by the presence of an old and fermented liquor at the feast, but by the contents of the cup from which he had

* So Bengel, Meyer, Clarke, Mansel, Nast, *et al.*

† Trench, "Synonyms of the New Testament," Part II, § 10, *q. v.*

‡ *Vide* Robinson, "Lexicon of the New Testament," *s. v.*

§ Ellicott, "Comm. on Matthew," *in loc.*

just drank, and in which was the freshly expressed juice of the cluster, so beautifully typical of "the newness of life," καινότης ζωῆς, (Rom. vi, 4,) which men have in him.

iii. *The practice of those by whom this rite was perpetuated* is corroborative of our position that the wine used at its institution was unfermented. But issue is straightway joined with this statement, and the conduct of the Corinthians, as described in 1 Cor. xi, 20, 21, is cited in refutation. This passage, indeed, is the main reliance of those who insist that the wine of the Last Supper was alcoholic. Dr. Moore returns to it again and again, in the course of his two articles, to prove "that the sacramental cup containing 'the fruit of the vine' could certainly intoxicate those who were guilty of the sin of drinking it immoderately."* Dr. Poor also asks, "Is not this a valid argument in proof of the fact that the wine used at the Lord's Supper, in the primitive Church, was such as could intoxicate?"† By no means, we answer. The record in question does not refer to the Lord's Supper at all, but to the agapæ, or love-feasts, which were often associated with it.‡ But "this is *not* to eat the Lord's Supper," (1 Cor. xi, 20,) the apostle distinctly declares. "Paul rebuked the Corinthians for getting drunk when they did *not* eat the Lord's Supper," Prof. Beecher remarks;§ and then, with justifiable sarcasm, inquires, "Does it not follow, by irresistible inference, that when they *did* eat it, they used a wine capable of making them drunk?" And he is correct in saying, "This is not a caricature of the argument from this passage. It is the argument itself, and the whole of it." But, supposing this reference was to the Lord's Supper, we have already shown‖ that the natural and necessary rendering of its language is, "One is hungry and another is surfeited." And even if we were compelled to concede such a reference, and to translate, as in the A. V., "drunken," it would then merely indicate that at that early date *this* Church had departed from the original custom of the feast, had surreptitiously introduced intoxicating liquor, and

* "Presb. Review," Jan., 1882, p. 95. † Lange, "Comm.," *in loc.*

‡ In the last issue of the Quarterly (p. 477, l. 4) we were inadvertently betrayed into the use of an expression which may appear inconsistent with this statement and with the real facts in the case.

§ "Presbyterian Review," April, 1882, p. 322.

‖ "Methodist Quarterly Review," July, 1882, p. 477.

had turned the holy sacrament into a drunken revel. It is certain that their sin, whatever it was, whether selfish surfeiting or riotous drinking, and wherever committed, whether at the agapæ or the Eucharist, drew down upon them the unsparing condemnation of the apostle. It still further appears that some of the Corinthian church members had even dared attend the festivals of the heathen gods, (1 Cor. x, 19, f.,) and drink of the intoxicating wines which flowed so freely on those occasions. That drink St. Paul denounced as "the cup of devils," (1 Cor. x, 21,) and put it in startling contrast with "the cup of the Lord," (1 Cor. x, 21,) which he had just called "the cup of blessing," (v, 16,) and which, with all the force of the comparison, is shown to be a totally different thing, an innocent and unintoxicating drink.

In pursuing an inquiry as to the practice of the early Church in this matter, it is necessary to bear in mind and give due weight to one fact, namely: Deviations from the primitive simplicity and purity of Christianity and its institutions began almost immediately, and perpetuated themselves inveterately. Abuses and corruptions crept into the Church, gradually at first, but rapidly afterward, always obscuring, and often wholly obliterating the original intentions of its Founder. In no instance was this tendency to perversion earlier or more extensively manifested than in that of the Lord's Supper.* Before the close of the third century we find this ordinance corrupted from a spiritual service into a sacerdotal act; the plain table converted into a priestly altar; the simple elements changed into sacrificial offerings and made the objects of adoration; and the eucharistic feast transformed into an expiatory rite.† Another century had not passed before the keynote of the doctrine of transubstantiation had been struck by Ambrose and Chrysostom,‡ a doctrine which was dogmatically decreed by the fourth Lateran Council in the thirteenth century. Two centuries later the practice of withholding the cup from the laity, which for three hundred years had been extending, was authoritatively established by the Council of Constance, (A. D. 1415.) Now it would not be strange if, amid all these mani-

* *Vide* Stanley's "Christian Institutions," Harper's ed., chap. iii, *passim*.

† *Vide* Pressensé, "Christian Life in the Early Church," book II, *passim*.

‡ Pope, "Compendium of Theology," iii, 329.

fold and monstrous corruptions of the primitive Supper, we should find that the simple juice of the grape, consecrated by Christ to this service, had been displaced by an altogether different and utterly inappropriate material. We know that the other element, the bread of common life such as Christ used, has been, by the greater part of Christendom and for ages, without rebuke or dissent, degraded into the smallest particle of paste, known as "the wafer." * The Roman Church, by whom all these abuses have been introduced and perpetuated, place the intoxicating cup upon their ecclesiastically restricted altar. And Protestantism, it must with shame be confessed, has not as yet very generally freed itself from this "relic of Popery." But how was it in the early ages of the Church? Some traces of adherence to the original custom certainly remain. One of the most important is found in the apocryphal "Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew," which was current in the second and third centuries of the Christian era.† A passage in this work reads, (Sec. 25 :) ‡ *Καὶ προσενέγκατε προσφορὰν ἄρτον ἅγιον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου τρεῖς βότρυας ἀποθλίψαντες ἐν ποτηρίῳ συγκοινωνήσατέ μοι, ὡς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὑπέδειξεν τὴν ἄνω προσφορὰν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν*, "Bring ye also as an offering holy bread, and, having pressed three clusters from the vine into a cup, communicate with me, as the Lord Jesus showed us how to offer up when he rose from the dead on the third day." This is clear and positive testimony as to the use of the freshly expressed juice of the grape in the celebration of the Lord's Supper at that primitive period. The view which the early Church took of the bread and wine of the holy communion, as offerings of the first-fruits of the earth,§ and the canon of the African Church requiring the offerings from which the bread and wine for the great communion at Easter were prepared to be of unground wheat and unpressed grapes, (*ἀπὸ σταφυλῶν καὶ σίτου*,) ‖ both point to the use of a fresh and unfermented wine. That the practice of pressing the grapes directly into the cup at the Supper was preserved,

* Stanley, "Christian Institutions," Harper's ed., p. 43.

† *Vide* Prolegomena to "The Apocryphal Acts and Epistles" in Clarke's "Ante-Nicene Christian Library."

‡ "Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha," edidit C. Tischendorf. Leipsiae, 1851, p. 184.

§ Irenæus, (*Adv. Haeres.*, iv, 17, 18,) *offere primitias Deo ex suis creaturis.*

‖ Bingham, "Antiquities of the Christian Church," xv, 2, 3.

is still further apparent from the action of the third Council of Braga, (A. D. 675,) which relates Cyprian's words, correcting several other abuses that were crept into the administration of this sacrament, among which it mentions *quosdam etiam expressum vinum in sacramento Dominici calicis offere*, "Some even who presented no other wine at the sacrament of the Lord's cup but what they pressed out of the clusters of grapes."* Let it be noticed that this fresh juice is called *vinum*, wine; that the charge is brought by a Church which had itself completely corrupted the ordinance; and that the gravamen of the charge is not that the wine is unfermented, but that it is unmixed with water.† That objection, however, had been met three centuries before by Pope Julius I., (A. D. 337,) in a decree which read:‡ *Sed si necesse sit, botrus in calice comprimatur et aqua misceatur*, "But if necessary let the cluster be pressed into the cup and water mingled with it." This decree is quoted as authoritative by Durandus in the thirteenth century, who says:§ *Botrus ante uvae in necessitate comprimi et inde confici potest; sed de ipso botro non compresso non potest communicari*, "In case of necessity the cluster may be pressed beforehand and the sacrament made therefrom; but with the unpressed cluster communion cannot be had." Thomas Aquinas, in the same century, also cited and confirmed this seventh decree of Julius, and added his testimony to the lawfulness and propriety of using unfermented wine at the sacrament:‖ *Mustum autem jam habet speciem vini . . . ideo de musto potest confici hoc sacramentum*, "Must has the specific nature of wine, therefore this sacrament can be kept with must." In the "Manipulus Curatorum"¶ (1333) we are likewise informed that the sacrament may be celebrated in *mustum*. Similarly, Jacobus à Vitriaco, a cen-

* Bingham, "Antiquities of the Christian Church," xv, 2, 3.

† The practice of mingling the wine with water, noticed by Justyn Martyr, Cyprian, Clement of Alexandria, Basil, Gregory of Nyassa, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, Theodoret, and many other Greek and Roman writers, would have its origin, not necessarily in the weakening of alcoholic wine, but in the thinning of boiled wines and the thick juices of the crushed clusters.

‡ Gratian, Pars. III, "De Consecr," Dist. ii, c. vii.

§ "Ration. Div. Off." Lugd., 1505, L. iv, c. xli, n. 10.

‖ Pars. III, Quæst. lxxiv, Art. 5.

¶ Pars. I, tr. iv, c. iii, fol. xxii, 2. London, 1509.

tury before, had said:* "The sacrament may be made of *mustum*, though it be sweet, for it is wine." Dionysius Barsalibi testified to the same effect:† *In necessitate sumatur uvarum succus, aut ex uvis passis liquor expressus . . . cum isto Liturgia celebrari potest*, "In necessity let the juice of grapes be taken, or the liquor expressed from dried grapes; . . . with this the sacrament may be celebrated." In the twelfth century Johannes Belethus called attention to the practice of observing the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the freshly expressed juice of the grape on the Day of Transfiguration. He says:‡: *Notemus quidem Christi sanguinem eadem hac die confici ex novo vino, si inveniri potest, aut aliquantulum ex matura uva in calicem expressa*, "Let us notice that on this same day the blood of Christ is set forth from new wine, if it can be found, or from ripe grapes expressed into the cup." Durandus mentions the sacramental use of such wine on the 6th of August, under like circumstances, as a custom *nota in quibusdam locis*, "well known in certain places."§ The evidence of ecclesiastical history on this subject, so far as the Latin Church is concerned, is well summed up by Scudamore, who says:‖ "In the case of necessity, the expressed juice has always been held to be wine for the purpose of the sacrament."

Within the pale of the Oriental Churches, where Christianity was earliest established, and has, in many respects, been preserved in greatest purity,¶ we find proofs of the long-established use of unfermented wine at the Lord's Supper. This is true of the Abyssinian Church, which is, in all probability, the lineal descendant of that founded by the first Ethiopian convert, (Acts viii, 27.) According to the traveler Bruce,** "The Abyssinians receive the holy sacrament in both kinds, in unleavened bread and in grapes bruised with the husk together as it grows." Bishop Gobat, of Jerusalem, bears similar tes-

* "Hist. Occid.," c. xxxviii, p. 423.

† Renaudot, "Lit. Orient." Paris, 1716, Coll. i, p. 194.

‡ Migne, "Patrol. C. C.," v. 202.

§ "Ration. Div. Off." Ludg., 1565, L. vii, c. xxii.

‖ "Notitia Eucharistica." London, 1876, p. 771.

¶ "The Greek Churches are more tenacious of ancient usage than the Latin." Stanley, "Christian Institutions," Harper's ed., p. 43.

** "Travels in Abyssinia," Halifax, 1840, p. 245.

timony as to the practice of this Church.* It is, in fact, conceded on all sides, and has undoubtedly been the common custom of that body of Christians from the earliest times. † The same may be said of the Coptic Church, which Dean Stanley calls "the most primitive and conservative of all Christian Churches." ‡ Tischendorf, in his narrative of a visit to the Coptic monasteries of Egypt in 1846, writes: § "Instead of wine they used a thick juice of the grape, which I at first mistook for oil." The Christians of St. John who dwell along the Jordan valley, and claim to have received the Gospel from the Apostle John, according to the testimony of Baron Tavernier in the seventeenth century, used wine from dried grapes steeped in water, "in the consecration of the cup." ‖ Similarly Thevenot says of this people, ¶ "As for the wine of their consecration, they make use of wine drawn from dried grapes steeped in water, which they express; and they use the same wine for moistening the flour whereof they make the host." The Christians of St. Thomas on the Malabar coast in the south of India, who are an offshoot from the ancient Christian Church of Persia, follow a like custom. Duarté Barbosa, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, writes that they celebrate the Lord's Supper in the juice expressed from raisins "softened one night in water." ** Bishop Osorius also testifies concerning these Christians: †† *Vino ex passis uvis confecto in sacrificiis utuntur*, "They use wine prepared from dried grapes in their sacrifices." Brerewood, ‡‡ Ross, §§ Nelson, ‖‖ and other authorities furnish additional evidence to the same effect. The Nestorians of Western Asia, who date back as a sect to the fifth century, likewise employ the expressed juice of dried grapes in their celebration of the Eucharist. Ainsworth,

* "Journal of a Sojourn in Abyssinia in 1834." London, 1834, pp. 223, 345.

† *Vide* Alvarez, "Itin. Æthiop.," in Renaudot, "Lit. Orient." coll. i, p. 193.

‡ "Christian Institutions," Harper's ed., p. 52.

§ "Travels in the East." Ed. by Shuckard. London, 1847, p. 50.

‖ "Travels in Persia," London, 1677. L. iii, c. 8, p. 90.

¶ "Travels in the Levant." London, 1687, Pars. ii, p. 164.

** Stanley in Hakluyt, "Description of East Africa and Malabar." London, 1866, p. 163.

†† "De Rebus," Olysipp, 1571, p. 143.

‡‡ "Division of Languages." London, 1614, p. 147.

§§ "Pansebeia." London, 1653, xiv, p. 508.

‖‖ "Fasts and Festivals," c. iv, p. 48.

in the account of his travels among that people in 1840,* records that "raisin water supplied the place of wine," the bishop administering the sacrament. Such is some of the evidence which we have of the use of unfermented wine in the observance of the Lord's Supper in the Churches both of the East and of the West, from the earliest periods of Christian history down to the present time.

We conclude, therefore, from our inquiry into the primitive character, connections, and customs of this ordinance, that our Lord did not use a fermented wine at its institution, nor did he command such an article to be employed in its enjoined observance throughout the centuries which were to come. On the contrary, every thing points to the use and sanction of the simple, unfermented, nutritious juice of the grape.

It remains for us to consider

II. Christ's use of wine on the cross.—The slight variations in the record of this event as given by the four evangelists are only such as prove the independence of the authors and the originality of their accounts. They do not in any wise render uncertain the fact that two very different draughts were offered our Saviour amid his last sufferings.

i. A drugged drink was proffered him, and promptly rejected. Both Matthew and Mark agree as to this. The other evangelists make no reference to it. Matthew calls the potion (xxvii, 34) "vinegar mixed with gall," *ὄξον μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον*.† Mark terms it (xv, 23) "wine mingled with myrrh," *ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον*. The latter uses the generic word for wine; the former calls it by its specific name in this instance. Matthew copies his phraseology from the LXX, (Psa. lxix, 21.) The term *χολή*, gall, does not describe the animal secretion, but some bitter and narcotic herb, such as wormwood, poppy, myrrh, or even hemlock or mandragora.‡ It is used with this general sense in Deut. xxix, 18; Psa. lxix, 21; and Prov. v, 4. The mixture may have been one commonly administered to criminals at their execution to alleviate their sufferings. Some of the rabbis understood Prov. xxxi, 6, 7, as an injunction to

* "Travels in Asia Minor." London, 1842, ii, p. 210.

† The R. V., following Codices Aleph, B, and D, has wine (*οἶνον*) instead of vinegar (*ὄξον*). With this reading the Vulgate agrees, having *vinum*.

‡ Ellicott, "Comm.," *in loc.*

such works of mercy.* There are said to be traces of the existence of a society at Jerusalem which made this its especial duty.† Possibly in the present instance the draught was proffered the Saviour by the women alluded to in Luke xxiii, 27. But, however compounded, or by whomsoever presented, "when he had tasted thereof he would not drink." (Matt. xxvii, 34; Mark xv, 23.) The fact that he did not reject this potion until he had tasted it, indicated his willingness to receive any simple liquid to allay his thirst. He refused to drink this, because it was stupefying, and would have dimmed his consciousness and diminished the fullness of his sufferings. He deliberately chose to finish his mission in the full possession of his powers. Whatever may have been the nature of the *olvoς* with which the *χολή* was mixed, the draught was rejected, not on account of the former, but of the latter ingredient. The act, therefore, does not bear directly upon the question under consideration. If it has any lesson for us, it is that we are not to seek a cowardly escape from the pains and trials of life in the stupefying drug or in the intoxicating cup. But afterward

ii. A drink of simple *ὄξος* was offered Christ and was accepted by him. Whether this was done twice, once in mockery, (Luke xxiii, 36,) and then later, in kindness, (Matt. xxvii, 48; Mark xv, 36; John xix, 29,)‡ or whether the four evangelists all narrate the same incident, is not important to our inquiry. Only John (xix, 30,) tells us directly that Jesus received the potion; but the language of the others, unless it be Luke's, is consistent with such an interpretation. If it should appear on investigation that this drink was a fermented and intoxicating article, as Dr. Moore would have us understand that it was,§ in order that he may thus convict Christ

* So Lightfoot and Schoettgen, ("Hor. Heb.," Leips., 1733, p. 236.) An attempt is made to explain the above passage as a command of this sort by some scholars of to-day. But Christ's refusal of this potion is sufficient proof "that the spirit that was in him" could never have sanctioned such a practice. That spirit points to prayer and not to drink as a refuge from the ills of life. (James v, 13.) Prov. xxxi, 6, 7, is, doubtless, to be understood as a satirical and ironical command, similar to Amos iv, 5, "Offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving *with leaven*."

† Ellicott, "Comm.," *in loc.*, who refers to Deutsch's "Essays," p. 38.

‡ So Lightfoot, Alford, Ellicott, Whedon, etc.

§ "Presbyterian Review," January, 1882, p. 86.

of actually using fermented liquor during passover week, (!) it would argue nothing as to his total abstinence principles, or as to our duty in this direction. It was taken under circumstances so utterly exceptional, the only possible analogy to which in our own case would be the medicinal use of stimulants, which we are not discussing, and that, too, administered when the work of life was done, and nothing remained but to soothe the dying agonies, that no inference could be drawn from it touching the subject in question.

But even this was not the case. The drink Christ received in his expiring moments was not alcoholic or intoxicating. Each of the four evangelists call it ὄξος, and in each case it is rendered (A. V. and R. V.) "vinegar." The term describes a drink which corresponded to the *chometz* of the Hebrews and the *acetum* of the Romans. It was a wine which had completed the acetous stage of fermentation, and was sour to a proverb, (Prov. x, 26.) The degree of its acidity may be inferred from Prov. xxv, 20, where its effect upon niter (carbonate of soda) is observed. By itself it formed a nauseous draught, (Psa. lxix, 21.) It was serviceable for the purpose of sopping bread as used by laborers, (Ruth ii, 14.) To this day the harvesters in Italy and the Peninsula use a similar article called *sera* and *pesca*.* In hot climates it formed, when diluted, a very refreshing draught,† like the buttermilk which is so favorite a beverage in our own South. By the Romans this wine was usually mixed with water, and was then termed *posca*.‡ It was not intoxicating.§ It was the regular beverage of the Roman soldiery when on duty.‖ A jar of this drink, which the soldiers had brought to sustain them in their long day's service, stood near the cross. When the suffering Saviour cried "I thirst" some one of their number, touched by rude pity, took the sponge, which had probably served instead of a cork to the jar, and lifted it to his parched lips. When he had received it, "he said, It is finished, and he bowed his head and gave up the ghost." (John xix, 30.) In

* Kitto, "Biblical Cyclopedia," art. "Wine."

† Pliny, "N. H.," xxiii, 26, cf. ii, 49.

‡ *Ibid.*, xix, 29.

§ *Vide* Plautus, ("Mil. Glor.," iii, 2, 23:)

Alii ebrii sunt, alii poscam potitant,

"Some are drunk, while others are drinking vinegar-water."

‖ Vegetius, De Re Mil., iv, 7; Spartianus, Hadr. 10.

this transaction, well nigh too awful for our most reverent contemplation, we find no warrant for the imputation that Jesus ever tasted of the intoxicating cup.

We have now completed our detailed examination of all the specifications of the charge which men, for nearly two thousand years, have brought against Christ, of using and sanctioning the use of fermented liquors as a beverage, and have found absolutely nothing to sustain them. On the other hand, all the evidence in the case, when carefully investigated and candidly interpreted, points to and sustains the entirely different conclusion, that Jesus was a total abstainer from all that could intoxicate, and gave no sanction to the use of alcoholic drinks by others under any circumstances.

ART. IV.—CHARLES JAMES FOX.

DURING the long conflict between England and America, which ended in the recognition of our National Independence, our cause had no champion in the British Parliament who so thoroughly comprehended the principles involved as CHARLES JAMES FOX. Chatham, in the House of Peers, and Burke, in the House of Commons, protested eloquently against the war, but neither of them expounded the American view of the question with such crystalline clearness, nor expressed such undoubting confidence in the courage of the colonists, nor predicted the outcome of the conflict with such positiveness of conviction as FOX. The British public, grateful for his persistent endeavors to maintain and enlarge their political privileges, called FOX the "Friend of the People." And one cannot read his eloquent protests against shedding colonial blood, and his bold demands for the recognition of American Independence, without feeling that he had equal if not stronger claims to be held in grateful remembrance by Americans as having been, during the deadly struggle of their fathers for national existence, most emphatically the friend of America.

It was FOX's good fortune to be aristocratically born. Every advantage that flows from high social and political connec-

tions, and from almost unlimited wealth, was his inheritance. It was his misfortune to be the son of a thoroughly corrupt man, who, in the spirit of Lord Chesterfield, was so unnaturally wicked as to take pains to introduce this favorite son, at an early age, to the dissipation of the German Spa and to the beastly pleasures of gay life in Paris.

This detestable and universally detested father was Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland, and one of the youngest sons of Stephen Fox, the founder of the Holland family. Stephen Fox was born in obscurity. But owing to his uncommon force of character, to the friendship of a nobleman who conceived a strong liking for him, and to a series of singularly fortunate events, he rose from the humble position of choir-boy in Salisbury Cathedral to the rank of staff officer in the army of the unfortunate King Charles I. After the final defeat of the cavaliers, Stephen Fox followed young Prince Charles to France, where he rendered the uncrowned wanderer very essential and valuable services. For these he was liberally rewarded by his royal master after the Restoration. He soon rolled in wealth, which, Evelyn says, "was honestly got, and unenvied." His administrative abilities must have been superior, and his principles, though not positively corrupt, somewhat facile; since, as Mr. Trevelyan observes, in his recent life of Fox, "he was a favorite with twelve successive Parliaments and with four monarchies."

Henry Fox, one of his younger sons, inherited much of his ability, but neither his honesty nor his patriotism. He was covetous, even to rapacity, ambitious of place and preferment, utterly lacking in self-respect, unfaithful to his political friends, and ready to sacrifice the advantage of the State to his own interests. His peerage, with the title of Lord Holland, was the price paid him by Lord Bute for securing, through bribery and intimidation, a majority of the House of Commons in favor of the "Peace of Paris." For this vile service he had been promised an earldom, but was compelled to be content with a barony. When reproaching Lord Bute for this breach of faith, the latter said it was only "a pious fraud." Fox quickly and wittily retorted, "I perceive the fraud, my lord, but not the piety."

Such, in his political life, was the father of Charles J. Fox.

In his domestic circle, however, he was another, and, in some respects, a far better, man. "There was no limit," says Trevelyan, "to the attachment he inspired and the happiness he spread around him. . . . His home presented a beautiful picture of undoubting and undoubted affection." But even in that affection he betrayed the absence of that "just distinction between right and wrong" which had proved the bane of his political career. "The notion of making any body of whom he was fond uncomfortable, for the sake of so very doubtful an end as the attainment of self-control, was altogether foreign to his creed and his disposition." Hence, though he was, as he confesses, "immoderately fond" of his son Charles, (who was born January 24, 1749,) yet because of his childish precocity, abounding good humor and piquant pertness, he made no attempt to correct the engaging little fellow's faults. "Never mind," said he to his wife, when she spoke somewhat anxiously one day about the boy's passionate temper, "he is a very sensible little fellow and will learn to cure himself."

This reply was characteristic of his general method of dealing with Charles. "Let nothing be done to break his spirit; the world will do that business fast enough," said this foolishly fond father. Acting on this theory, he became such a slave to the young child's whims, that when the willful fellow declared one day that he would destroy a watch which had fallen into his hands, Lord Holland replied, "Well, if you must, I suppose you must."

When Charles was seven years old his too-indulgent father permitted him to decide whether he would stay at home or go to school. If he chose going to school, would he go to an aristocratic academy at Wandsworth, or to the more public school at Eton? The boy chose the former, attended it eighteen months, and then resolved to go to Eton. There his brilliant abilities, his "sagacity," his "fascinating and masterful character," won the admiration of his teachers and the good-will of his fellow-pupils. Trevelyan says of him, when fourteen years old: "Never was there a more gracious child, more rich in promise, more prone to good."

At that critical moment in a child's life Lord Holland took his promising boy to Germany and France. There, with unnatural disregard for the claims of morality and decency, he

taught him his first lessons in those expensive vices which afterward stained his private life, subjected him to many pecuniary embarrassments, and circumscribed his usefulness to society. But despite his father's vile pandering to his lower nature, the lad's intellectual aspirations were stronger than his love for the pleasures of Paris. Hence, after four months, he wished to return to Eton. There, though much given to sociality and questionable amusements, he was a diligent student, gained distinction for school-boy eloquence, and displayed the germs of those great qualities of mind which subsequently led Burke to call him "the greatest debater the world ever saw."

In 1764 Fox left for Oxford. Here he found the gentlemen commoners, with whom he associated, indifferent to college studies, but enthusiastic in their pursuit of the pleasures of "high life." Fox joined heartily in their card parties and other amusements; yet not so fully as to prevent him from being a hard reader, an earnest student of mathematics and of the classics. These studies were magnets to his active intellect, and pursuing them, as he did, for their own sake, he won the distinction of being almost the only really diligent student in his class. Writing of his college studies after the close of the first year, Trevelyan says: "Three more years of such a life would have fortified his character and molded his tastes; would have preserved him from untold evil, and quadrupled his influence as a statesman. But every thing the poor fellow tried to do for himself was undone by the fatal caprice of his father."

That caprice led Lord Holland to interrupt his son's studies by taking him to Paris in 1765; to remove him from college in the spring of 1766; to keep him traveling on the continent until he procured him a seat in the House of Commons in 1768. While on his travels in Italy and France, Fox led a double life. Having unlimited supplies of money, being associated with Lord Carlisle, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Mr. Uvedale Price, three wealthy young men of his own age, whose names, like his own, caused the doors of courts and palaces to be opened for their entertainment, it was not surprising that young Fox with his friends plunged deeply into the follies and sins of fashionable circles. Lord John Russell says of his life at this period, that it was "thoughtless, idle, and licentious;

his letters treat of private theatricals, of low amours, and of the distinctions and promotions of his friends."

But if his life had its sensuous it had also its intellectual side. If the seeds of sensuality sown during his boyhood by his father's guilty hand produced a rank crop of vices, his nobler intellect occasionally asserted its power over his passions, put a measure of restraint on his devotion to low pursuits, and stimulated him to acquire the Italian language, and to study with enthusiasm the treasures of Italian literature. It rarely happens that a young man can be both profligate and studious. When sensuous passions rule they are imperious, and are apt to extend their empire until it includes both body and mind. But there was something so regal in the mind of Fox that it was able to protect itself against the absolute domination of the sensuous side of his nature. In spite of the latter it would seek food suited to his demands. And it did this with a degree of energy which enabled Fox to make himself master of whatever subject he chose to study. He had the power, in a very exceptional measure, of throwing the entire force of his mind into whatever he undertook, whether it was to play a game of chess, to return a tennis ball, or to feast on the beauties of Dante or Ariosto. In all things it was his motto "to labor at excellence." Hence his attainments were acquired, not by a genius that absorbed knowledge without effort, but by genius which on occasions followed the wise man's precept, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." He confessed this when, to an admiring friend who asked him the secret of his skill at tennis, he replied, "I am a very painstaking man."

In the spring of 1768, when Fox was only nineteen years old, Lord Holland purchased a seat in Parliament for his favorite boy, and called him away from the dissipations of Paris to the equally corrupt associations of high life in London. Those pessimists who fancy our own age and country to be wallowing in the lowest deeps of social and political corruption, should review their studies of English society as it was when Charles Fox appeared in the House of Commons as the representative of the pocket borough of Midhurst. Our own times are, no doubt, sufficiently wicked to awaken the anxieties of the moralist and patriot. But they are pure when com-

pared with those of Fox. His was an age disfigured in its aristocracy by every vice but hypocrisy; for it made no attempt to conceal but rather gloried in its vices. Gaming, racing, betting, place-hunting, venality, servility, extravagance, licentiousness, drunkenness, bribery, and dishonesty were almost universal in the fashionable circles to which young Fox, in virtue of his father's immense wealth and high connections, had free access. What could be expected after his continental experiences, but that he should seize on these pleasures of the town with avidity? That he did so we have too abundant testimony. Lord John Russell, writing of the beginning of his political career, says: "It is to be lamented that during this period of his life Mr. Fox entered deeply, almost madly, into the pursuit of gaming." Lord Egremont afterward suspected that he was the dupe of foul play. Be that as it might, he borrowed to such an extent that the purchase of the annuities he had granted cost his fond and indulgent father no less a sum than £140,000.

The same authority affirms that, as late as 1783, George III. looked upon him as a dissolute and unprincipled man "in whom he could place no confidence;" and that after his release "from the forced industry of office he fell back into licentious habits and idle dissipation." Horace Walpole also said: "Fox was dissolute, dissipated, idle beyond measure."

That these moral stains spotted the character of so distinguished a friend of constitutional freedom is, as Lord Russell observes, "to be lamented." It is also matter of regret that during the first five years of his public life Fox gave the influence of his great abilities, not to the friends of parliamentary liberty, but to the supporters of the Crown in its persistent efforts to govern by royal prerogative through a servile ministry and a venal majority in the House of Commons. The demoralizing effect of this policy sometimes made itself apparent even to its narrow-minded though well-meaning author, George III. Hence, when speaking to an ex-governor of Gibraltar of the fact that he, as governor, had corresponded with no less than five Secretaries of State, the king observed: "This trade of politics is a rascally business. It is a trade for a scoundrel and not for a gentleman."

That royal brain must have been strangely dull not to perceive that it was not the nature of things, but his policy, which made the politics of his kingdom a "rascally business." But young Fox, coming into the House of Commons "as into the hunting field, glowing with anticipations of enjoyment;" without any fixed political principles; with his patriotism as yet unawakened; with no serious views of the importance of his position; with no active sense of responsibility either to God or man for his political action; with little to guide him besides the theories of public life derived from his place-hunting father and his own self-seeking associates, very naturally fell into the ranks of the majority which supported the pretensions of the throne. "He was willing," says Trevelyan, "to serve the government as a partisan." Hence we find him entering warmly into the celebrated and protracted contest between the king and the Tories on the one side, and the notorious John Wilkes, supported by Burke and the Whigs, on the other. Wilkes was beyond question a very corrupt man; but when the king sought to crush him by extra-judicial proceedings because he had taught that "ministers are responsible for the contents of the royal speech," public opinion condemned his majesty and defended Wilkes. Popular sympathy with this persecuted demagogue rose to fever heat. He was triumphantly elected to Parliament by the freeholders of Middlesex. The king's servile majority in the House of Commons, in defiance of law, expelled him. His expulsion made him the representative of a principle which is the corner-stone of English liberty—the right of the people to elect whom they will to represent them in the House of Commons. For his heroic defense of this principle through several years of bitter and cruel persecution, Wilkes became the idol of the people. Supported by popular enthusiasm without, and by great Chatham, Burke, and the Whigs inside both Houses of Parliament, he finally triumphed over his royal persecutor. And, to cite Mr. Gladstone, "whether we choose it or not, Wilkes must be enrolled among the great champions of English freedom."

Remembering that Fox became one of the most prominent advocates of political liberty known to English history, one is at a loss to fully explain why he sided with the king and won his earliest reputation for oratory by his speeches against

Wilkes. Had he been silent, his frivolous and dissipated life might be accepted as its cause, since a sensual life usually causes indifference to great principles and lofty sentiments. But Fox made speeches which implied attention and reflection on the questions which were convulsing the nation. How then could his mind, which in subsequent years responded, as by intuition, to every noble sentiment and liberal political theory, see rectitude in the policy of the king, or help seeing unqualified wrong in the expulsion of Wilkes by the House of Commons? Was he playing the hypocrite? One is unwilling to accept so disreputable a solution. Is it not more probable that he was as yet governed by his purpose to be a placeman and a partisan of the Crown; that this purpose, dominating both his intellect and moral sentiments, kept him from viewing this or any other great question on its own merits, and led him to look no further than to find the best arguments within reach of his mind with which to defend the policy of the Crown? Viewed in any light, his early parliamentary career was utterly out of harmony with his later life; nor, as Lord John Russell observes, "did it give any promise of that strenuous contest for freedom to which he afterward devoted his eloquence and his life."

It did, however, contain the promise of that wonderful power in debate which made his name famous. One wonders at that calm courage and self-reliance which enabled him, while yet a young man of twenty, new to the House and its usages, to take the floor and make a speech on so uninspiring a theme as a point of order. This maiden speech, if without other effect, taught him not to be alarmed at the sound of his own voice; and his air and manner so charmed an artist who was present, that, the use of paper in the House being forbidden in those days, he "tore off part of his shirt, and furtively sketched a likeness of the young declaimer, on which in after days those who were fondest of him set not a little store."

A few weeks later, on April 14, 1769, Fox plunged into the great debate in the Wilkes case, with Burke for an opponent. "He won the attention of all and the admiration of most by a fluency and fire which promised better things." In a still more stirring debate, in a crowded House, after speeches by the learned Wedderburn and the eloquent Burke, he made a

speech against the right of the electors of Middlesex to elect Wilkes which astonished both friends and foes. Of this speech Horace Walpole wrote: "Charles Fox answered Burke with great quickness and parts." Sir Richard Heron said, "Fox made a great figure.... He spoke with great spirit in very parliamentary language, and entered very deeply into the question on constitutional principles." Lord Holland, his father, said: "I hear his speech spoken of by every body as a most extraordinary thing." The succeeding January he won the applause of the House by his reply to an impressive speech of Wedderburn's, in which that acute lawyer affirmed that there was no precedent for the action proposed by the majority. Fox immediately produced a case in point, and "the House roared with applause." A month later the Prime Minister, Lord North, recognized the value of his services to his party by appointing him one of the junior Lords of the Admiralty.

It could not be reasonably expected that Fox, who had never known constraint, who was abundantly supplied with money from the vast resources of his father, whose independent, ambitious soul refused to be bound with a chain, would long submit to be led by the arbitrary will of a narrow-minded king. Nor did he; for, after retaining his place only two years, he resigned it that he might be at liberty to oppose the Royal Marriage Act, which was intended to restrain members of the royal family from marrying subjects, by requiring the royal consent in order to their legitimacy. Fox's high sense of honor forbade him, while in office, to oppose a measure which the king favored and the premier was obliged to support. His opposition did not prevent the passage of the Act; but it led to its modification, so far as to permit such marriages without the king's consent after the parties had reached the age of six and twenty, unless both Houses of Parliament disapproved.

Fox also brought in a bill to correct an old marriage bill, to which Lord North professed to be, if not favorable, at least indifferent. Fox sustained his motion with amazing "spirit and memory," wrote Lord Oxford, against the rhetoric of Burke and the arguments of Lord North, who, in violation of his promise to be silent, finally entered the lists against him, but was beaten by a close vote when the House divided.

In acting thus independently of his party leader, Fox not only disclaimed a purpose to enter the ranks of the Opposition, but avowed his firm faith in the principles of Lord North. Hence, a few months later, he was in office again as one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. But the charm of office, ambitious as he was to be in it, was not strong enough to subdue his daring spirit, which was formed, not to follow, but to lead. Having persuaded North to support his motion to commit Woodfall, the printer of Horne Tooke's sharp criticisms on the Speaker of the House of Commons, to Newgate, he led that vacillating politician into the disgrace of a bad defeat. The king, on learning the ill fortune of his servile minister, was "greatly incensed at the presumption of Charles Fox," who, he said, had "thoroughly cast off every principle of common honor and honesty; he must become as contemptible as he is odious." This outburst of royal wrath was speedily followed by a laconic note from Lord North to Fox, saying: "His majesty has thought proper to order a new Commission of the Treasury to be made out, in which I do not see your name!"

This politely worded insult deeply wounded the self-respect of the young orator. It opened his eyes to see that to be a placeman under the reigning sovereign, he must needs become a political slave. No member of the House of Commons had rendered more effectual service in support of the measures designed to suppress freedom of speech, to fetter the press, to restrict the liberties of the people, and to encourage corruption at the "hustings." So recklessly and insultingly had he spoken in favor of the arbitrary claims of the Crown and against the rights of the people, that, says Trevelyan, "for his age he was the most unpopular man, not only in England, but in English history." He had a severe demonstration of his unpopularity while the proceedings against Woodfall and Horne Tooke were pending. Goaded to the point of riot by the measures of the House, a vast crowd of the citizens of London surged round the approaches to St. Stephens. Presently the carriage of Fox, bearing the arms of the Holland family on its panels, made its appearance. No sooner was he recognized than his horses were stopped, his carriage wrecked, and his gay attired person pelted with oranges, stones, and mud, and finally rolled in the gutter. Yet, although by his brilliant and effective cham-

pionship of the policy of the Crown, he made himself the object of the popular contempt expressed by these violent proceedings, the king, who had never trusted him, had turned him out of office because in a few instances he had acted independently of the royal will. If Fox had ever flattered himself that he could bring the generous feelings and noble sentiments which, in spite of his vices, were at work in his bosom, into harmony with the life of a placeman under such a monarch, his rude dismissal from office effectually dispelled that illusion.

Mr. Trevelyan, remarking on this critical period in his life, says, "If at an age when his character was still malleable, his premature ambition had been tempted by the offer of the highest place in the State he might have gone down to the execration of posterity as the Wentworth of the eighteenth century." He might certainly, because ambition is a passion whose corrupting influence is often potent even in noble natures. But Fox had this in his favor—he was neither sordid nor avaricious, and therefore not attracted to a placeman's career by its pecuniary profits. Neither was he supremely selfish. On the contrary, he was generous and disinterested when appeals were addressed to the noble side of his nature. It was his instinctive perception of these latter qualities that made the king distrust Fox from the start. The Tory leaders shared the mistrust of their royal master. On the other hand, Burke, Rockingham, and other Whig statesmen, saw in these qualities ground for a belief that their vehement opponent would, sooner or later, feel the inspiration of great principles, and become a leader in their contest for the maintenance of the theory of parliamentary government established by the Revolution of 1688. Their expectation was justified. Fox did, after five years of partisan efforts, embrace patriotic principles with a grasp so firm, with a persistence so enduring, and an earnestness so absorbing, that one loves to think the highest office in the gift of the Crown, though it might have delayed, would not have prevented his becoming "the man of the people."

Among the principal causes which were working to produce the great change in his political character which became apparent after his expulsion from office, was the friendship of Burke, who was strongly drawn to him while he was yet a

champion of the king's policy. Their friendly conversations made Fox acquainted with Burke's liberal principles, for the reception of which his mind was prepared by his occasional studies. Taine, in his "History of English Literature," says that Fox "learned every thing without study." That eloquent writer was mistaken. Fox, in spite of idle habits and vicious amusements, was at times an ardent student of English history, of constitutional law, and of the Greek, Italian, and English poets. These studies he pursued, chiefly in parliamentary vacations, at King's Gate, his father's beautiful estate in a secluded part of the county of Kent. They, with Burke's conversations, were the fountains whence flowed those great principles and noble sentiments which, after quickening his slumbering patriotism into life, sustained his chivalric courage through long, dreary years of parliamentary defeat, and gave his oratory a power more dreaded by the enemies of political freedom than the more polished eloquence of Burke or the impassioned flights of Sheridan.

Lord North's insulting note marks the terminal point of Fox's advocacy of theories adverse to popular liberty. Disgusted with his treatment, he ceased at once to be a place-hunter, and began to look around for nobler aims. Nor had he long to wait or far to look. A question of immeasurable importance to the interests of mankind invited his attention. The people of America were preparing to throw down the gauntlet of defiance to the claim of right on the part of the English government to tax them without their consent. They had repudiated the Stamp Act; thrown the contents of the tea-ships into Boston harbor; assembled a Congress; and were preparing to accept the dread wager of battle, if the mother country persisted in pressing her unjust claims. Then Fox, emancipated by the act of the king from all obligation to view the question from the standpoint of a partisan, and impressed by the sublime spectacle of a few feeble colonies deliberately preparing to defend their liberties, on the field of battle, against the might of England's army and navy, grasped the great principles involved in the coming conflict with a giant's strength. In a telling speech, he warned the Crown of the consequences of its false policy; saying to its representatives, "If you persist, I am clearly of the opinion you will force

them"—the Americans—"into open rebellion." In another speech, he bravely declared that the line of conduct pursued by the government toward America consisted of "violence and weakness." And when, at the opening of a new session of Parliament in the winter of 1775, Lord North moved a resolution urging the king to employ force to maintain his policy in America, Fox offered a substitute, praying his majesty to speedily change his policy. Rising to the height of the great occasion, he supported his motion by a masterly speech, protesting against proceeding to war. So broad and elevated was this speech, that Gibbon, the historian, who was present, said that it took in the "vast compass of the question, and discovered powers for regular debate which neither his friends hoped nor his enemies had dreaded."

Chatham opposed the king's policy of using force against the Americans. So, also, did Lord Rockingham, the leader of the Whig party; and Burke, whose magnificent oratory was the wonder of the House. But neither of those great statesmen looked as deeply into the principles of our Revolution as Fox. Chatham, while affirming that England had no right to tax America, maintained that she had unlimited power to fetter its trade. Rockingham and Burke did not deny the right of England to tax, but opposed the policy of enforcing it. Fox went to the root of the question, denying the right, condemning the policy, and predicting the independence of the colonies as the certain issue of the war. His advocacy of these views gave a far higher character to his speeches than could be claimed for those he made while he was a free lance and a partisan. Then they had excited wonder and admiration, but did not command confidence and respect; now their depth, breadth, and real earnestness, proclaimed him to be a man inspired by clear, strong political convictions. His bold abandonment of the party in power illustrated his disinterestedness. As a result, although he still retained the vices of his youth, he gradually won the respect and confidence of those illustrious men who were contending for parliamentary independence and for justice to America. He chose to stand bravely fighting for the right, without allying himself to any party, for two or three years; but in 1778, under the leadership of Lord Rockingham in the Upper House, he joined the

Whigs, and became their recognized leader in the House of Commons.

The Tory majority in the house was so large, and so strongly supported by the Crown, the aristocracy, and the wealthy classes generally, that Fox was the leader of what appeared to be "a forlorn hope." But he had faith in his principles, in the Americans, and in himself. His courage was inexhaustible. Though his little band was constantly defeated, he never quailed; never yielded to discouragement, though at times many, not excepting Lord Rockingham, were disposed to let the majority carry out its policy unopposed. But Fox, with marvelous elasticity of spirit, constantly renewed the fight after every failure to carry the House. His eloquence gathered fresh fuel from defeat. He censured the measures of the ministry in scorching philipics; he warned the king with boldness almost amounting to audacity; he demanded the discontinuance of the war; and, after Cornwallis surrendered, he insisted on recognizing unconditionally the independence of the triumphant colonies, without waiting for the re-establishment of peace with France.

When Cornwallis fell, in 1782, Lord North resigned his premiership; Lord Rockingham succeeded him. The king, conquered by circumstances, consented to the formation of a ministry in which Fox should hold the portfolio of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Horace Walpole, by no means a friendly witness, says of his administration of this high office, "Fox shone as greatly in place as in opposition. He was now as indefatigable as he formerly was idle. . . . The foreign ministers admired him. He pleased, yet inspired respect." He set himself most zealously and judiciously to secure peace both with France and America. He had scarcely gathered the delicate threads of the needful diplomacy into his hands, when the death of Lord Rockingham, and the secret intrigues of a minority of the cabinet, who were at heart opposed to him, led Fox to resign his office.

This step was regarded as a political blunder by many of his friends. It also injured his prestige with the people, because its motives could not be given to the public without putting in peril the pending question of peace with France and America. It was attributed by some to his jealousy of Shel-

burne, Secretary for Home Affairs; but the facts in the case seem to show that Shelburne had dishonorably meddled, through a secret agent, with the diplomacy of Fox at Paris. Disgusted with this interference, he could not harmonize his continuance in office with his self-respect so long as Shelburne remained in the cabinet. His act was, no doubt, unfortunate in its results. It wrought injury to his party, to the country, and to himself. Nevertheless, if he was correct, as he probably was, in his view of Shelburne's conduct, it is difficult to see how he could have consistently acted otherwise. His resignation, and the death of Rockingham, led to the formation of a new ministry under Lord Shelburne. It also broke the unity of both the Whigs and Tories in the House of Commons; which, instead of the usual Ministerial and Opposition partisans, now divided into three parties, neither of which could command a majority.

In the spring of 1783, the House, led by Fox, censured the preliminaries of peace just accepted at Paris, and approved by the Shelburne ministry, which at once resigned. Then the friends of Lord North proposed a coalition ministry to Fox and his fellow Whigs. After much hesitation, Fox accepted the proposal, and became Secretary of State a second time, in a cabinet of which the Duke of Portland was Premier, and Lord North Secretary for Home Affairs.

This proved to be a second and serious political blunder on the part of Fox. Not that either he or North made any real sacrifice of principle, or that Fox, though broken in fortune by dissipation, sought the profits of a placeman; but because his coalition with a man against whom he had thundered so many philippics, and whose administration was burdened with the disgrace of military and parliamentary defeats, put Fox in a false position before the public. Many of his Whig friends, too, were dissatisfied, and Fox himself confessed that it was an act which, politically considered, could only be justified by its success and the benefits to the country which he hoped it might secure.

This coalition was a bitter pill to the king, who made no attempt to conceal his dislike of Fox and his contempt of North. But the king's discontent did not hinder Fox from entering zealously upon the duties of his office. Neither did it pre-

vent the discovery by foreign governments of his transcendent abilities, nor keep him, with the assistance of Burke's erudition and commanding eloquence, from carrying a bill for the better government of India triumphantly through the House of Commons. This bill, which proposed to place the authority hitherto claimed by the East India Company in the hands of seven commissioners, to be named, not by the king, but by Parliament, and not removable at the pleasure of the Crown, was, perhaps justly, regarded by the king as an unconstitutional restriction on the royal prerogative. To prevent its passage in the House of Lords he deputed Lord Temple to make it understood that he would regard every peer who should vote for the bill as an enemy of the Crown. This unwarrantable use of royal influence succeeded. The Lords threw out the bill. His majesty forthwith commanded Fox and North to send their seals of office to the palace by the hands of their under-secretary. Thus the ill-starred coalition fell to pieces. Fox was out of office again, and his great rival, William Pitt, entered a new cabinet as first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Though out of office, Fox continued to be leader of a majority in the House of Commons until the king dissolved Parliament at the close of 1784. A new election followed. It resulted in a complete overthrow of the party of Fox, which lost one hundred and sixty members. Fox himself was returned for Westminster. But he was destined henceforth to be the brilliant opponent of the administration and the leader of a minority which, but for himself and Burke, would have had very little influence on public affairs.

Fox met the unexpected defeat of his party with that firmness which is the impenetrable shield of great minds conscious of patriotic purposes. Writing to an intimate friend shortly after, he proudly said, "I have never sacrificed my principles to popularity or ambition. . . . I would rather be rejected, reprobated, proscribed. I would rather be an outcast of men in power and the follower of the most insignificant ministry, than prostitute myself into the character of a mean tool of secret influence."

These noble words were sincere, and had their justification in his actions when properly understood. They were also

prophetic. From that time, 1784, until 1806 he was proscribed by the Crown and the Tories, quite generally condemned by public opinion, and followed by only an insignificant minority. Nevertheless, his honor was untarnished, his courage undismayed, and his eloquence as commanding as ever. Though in opposition, neither the majority nor Pitt, its haughty and sagacious leader, dared despise him; nor was his opposition factious, but patriotic and even generous, inasmuch as he supported his great rival's measures whenever he thought them right and judicious. If he opposed Pitt's India Bill, he accepted his support, when, with Burke and Sheridan, he secured the impeachment of Warren Hastings. He stood side by side with Pitt in supporting Wilberforce in his bill against the slave-trade, and in securing a law which placed the liberty of the press under the protection of juries. But when, after 1792, Pitt in his stern endeavors to suppress the Jacobin spirit which was projected from France into England, became the advocate of arbitrary government and of cruel laws adverse to civil liberty, Fox stood up against him as a wall of brass. His study of the theories of human rights, as embodied in the American Revolution, had prepared him to sympathize most fully with the French in their struggles to overthrow the despotism of their corrupt monarchy. So deep and strong was his sympathy, that it outlasted the first period of the French Revolution, and commanded his adhesion after it entered upon its period of bloodthirsty fanaticism. He did not, he could not, approve its crimes, but he continued to avow his faith in its principles long after the great body of English statesmen and intelligent citizens had turned against it with horror. When, under the leadership of the Girondins, it resolved itself into a system of democratic propagandism by the sword, and Pitt led his government into open war, Fox raised his ringing voice in opposition. So persistent, so decided, was his demand for peace, that he exasperated public opinion, sacrificed the friendship of Burke, and offended the greater number of his old friends and followers. Subsequent events demonstrated that the policy of England, especially its resistance to the march of Napoleon toward the Dictatorship of Europe, was sound and just. Fox, though sincere, was wrong, as indeed he subsequently confessed, inasmuch as but for English

gold and British blood, Napoleon would, in all probability, have become undisputed master of all continental Europe, if not of England also.

Fox battled bravely, if not always wisely, in opposition until 1797, when, disgusted with the subserviency of Parliament to ministerial dictation, and left without followers sufficient to keep up an efficient opposition, he discontinued his regular attendance on the House of Commons, and retired to his estate in the neighborhood of London, which was named St. Anne's Hill, and consisted of thirty acres of land and a small mansion. Here, abandoning his former habits of dissipation, he lived quietly in the society of his wife, whom he tenderly loved; devoting himself to agriculture, to the study of poetry and criticism, especially of the Greek tragedians, and to the composition of a "History of the Revolution of 1688"—a work, by the way, which, though able, added no luster to his great reputation. His life at St. Anne's Hill is described by his private secretary, Mr. John B. Trotter, as calm, tranquil, and happy. Like his father, he was a kind and gentle husband. His manners were simple, his disposition genial and placable. In conversation, at this period of his life, he was more reserved than in his early years; yet he was still sufficiently free to be a very agreeable companion in the domestic and social circles.

In 1801 the Peace of Amiens made it possible for Fox to visit France in search of materials for his "History." His well-known sympathy with the Revolution, and his eloquent efforts in behalf of peace between France and England, caused him to be received in Paris with great eclat, both by the public generally and by the most distinguished men of the time. When introduced to Napoleon, that wonderful soldier complimented him in language which would have been fulsome had it not been justified by the character of Fox.

In 1806 the death of Pitt compelled the king to invite Lord Grenville to form a new ministry. This nobleman consented to do so on the condition that Fox should take the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. To this the king, notwithstanding his deep-seated prejudices, consented. The people were getting sick of a war which up to this period had cost them many millions of money, with but little honor except from the

victories of the navy. Fox entered on his duties with a purpose to bring about an honorable peace, if possible, with a zeal which "gave his office a soul;" with a skill in organizing his methods of working which so impressed the king that, in spite of his foolish dislike to the secretary, he confessed that "the office was never conducted in such a manner before."

But the great orator's work was done, though not before he had reached the conviction that peace with honor was not attainable because of Napoleon's insatiable and unprincipled ambition. A mortal disease was poisoning the fountains of his life. Between the middle of June and the 13th of September he suffered "intolerable pains," and underwent repeated surgical operations, which he bore with courage, serenity, and self-possession. His chief anxiety was not for himself, but for his wife, for whose future support, owing to his costly vices, he had not been able to make suitable provision. He kept his mind from dwelling on his sufferings or on his approaching death, by listening to the daily reading of Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" by Mr. Trotter, his private secretary, and by commenting on that writer's estimate of his favorite poets. Shortly before his death a young clergyman, called in by his friends, read prayers by his bedside. Fox listened quietly, with a look of resignation, but made no remark. Of his religious views and opinions little is known beyond Mr. Trotter's statement that he had "never observed the slightest inclination to doubt or unbelief;" that Fox "never meddled with abstruse and mysterious points in religion," but that he was "tolerant, benignant, and never disrespectful toward religion;" and that during his illness he "resigned himself to his Creator with calmness." Fox avowed that he felt no remorse. He expressed no desire for the pardon of his many sins. In the supreme moment he exclaimed, "I die happy!" and then passed into the invisible.

Evidently Fox had never cultivated the religious side of his nature. His assertion that he felt no remorse, viewed in connection with his many vices, is proof that his moral sense was also very partially developed. Nevertheless, paradoxical as it appears, it must be conceded that his life was adorned with many natural virtues. He possessed a courage which nothing could daunt. He was often grand in his magnanimity. He

was conspicuously true to his friends, and, after the first five years of his public life, incorruptibly loyal to his convictions. He held lies and liars in supreme contempt. He abhorred corruption, intrigue, and hypocrisy. His heart was a fountain of generous sentiment, out of which flowed his sunny temper, his lovable disposition, and also his hostility to the slave-trade, to war, to political oppression, and to religious intolerance. Nature had given him a noble mind. Had it been rightly trained; had its evil tendencies been checked instead of nourished by his unprincipled father; had religious affections become the guides and motives of his natural virtues, his character would have grown into a grandeur rarely paralleled in human history.

Alison eulogizes Fox as "the greatest debater that the English Parliament ever produced." Macaulay remarks, "He was, indeed, *a* great orator, but then he was *the* great debater." Lord Erskine shows that he possessed two prime qualifications of an orator—vigorous conceptions and a firm, sure grasp of the great principles involved in the question treated. His memory was astonishingly quick and ready, and his ability to gather information from every source available for his purpose was truly wonderful. He was not endowed with the deep feeling and grand imagination which made great Chatham's eloquence "like flashes from heaven;" his rhetoric was less magnificent and brilliant than Burke's. Sheridan had more passion and more abounding humor; the younger Pitt excelled him in logical acuteness; nevertheless his power of transparent statement, his ability to present a question in all its aspects, and to bring the reasoning of his opponent to the test of clearly defined and admitted principles; his vehement earnestness; and his rare geniality, which nothing could ruffle, gave him a measure of power over the understandings, the judgments, and the feelings of his hearers never surpassed by any other parliamentary orator. In impromptu debate he had no equal.

The influence of Fox over the course of events was inferior to that of his great rival, Pitt, who far excelled him in sagacity, in practical statesmanship, and in parliamentary tact. The part taken by Fox in his opposition to the war of England with her American colonies made him a radical democrat with

respect to the principles of human liberty. Working from such principles in the Parliament of a monarchical government, his proposed measures were often unsuited to the circumstances in which he was placed. His bold avowal of those theories when the relations of Revolutionary France with England were under discussion naturally excited the prejudices of his countrymen. His persistence in defending that Revolution after its lapse, first into a political fanaticism, and then into a system of democratic propagandism by means of the sword, and finally into military despotism in the hands of Napoleon, intensified those prejudices. Moreover, his radical theories, which were in advance of his times, gave a certain vagueness to his political ideas when he attempted to incorporate them into a legislative system founded on aristocratic principles. Hence it was not Fox, but the more practically sagacious Pitt, who held the helm of English affairs during the greater part of the public career of both. Nevertheless, as the sower of seed thoughts which took root in the national mind and which have subsequently greatly modified English law, enlarged the liberties of its people, circumscribed the power of the Crown, and made the British House of Commons the real ruler of that country, he was superior to all the statesmen and orators of his eventful times.

ART. V.—MADAME DE STAËL.

Madame de Staël. A Study of Her Life and Times—The First Revolution and the First Empire. By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 367, 373.

THE English-speaking world has frankly acknowledged its indebtedness to a Frenchman—M. Taine—for the best history of English literature, and now offers at least a partial compensation in the best biography of the most noted of Frenchwomen written by an American. It must be set down as one of the oddities of literature, that so gifted a woman as Madame de Staël, whose fame filled all Europe, and whose brilliant career furnished such abundant and attractive material, should have waited so long for an appreciative and competent biographer. There have been biographical sketches and *mémoires*

of her times in abundance, while every history of the Revolution and the First Empire contains references to her life of greater or less value; but heretofore no really adequate biography of this remarkable woman has appeared. The average American's knowledge of her has been derived principally from the one-sided eulogies and anecdotes of her friends, the partisan criticisms of her enemies, and a more or less imperfect acquaintance with her chief works of fiction. In the popular estimation she figures as a rather masculine woman of brilliant intellect and keen wit, with a talent for politics, and a leaning toward republicanism, which gave her great influence in the affairs of her times, and aroused the jealousy and fear even of Napoleon I. There is also prevailing an indefinite notion that she was an ambitious social queen, of somewhat doubtful morality, in the days when the Parisian *salon* was in its glory; and that, at one time or another, every great Frenchman of the period was compelled to acknowledge her power, while all cultured or titled foreigners in Paris sought her out and worshiped at her shrine.

It has been reserved for the graceful pen of Dr. Stevens, in the use of such old material as was at hand, and a great mass of new material furnished by Madame Récamier, M. Sismondi, and others, to introduce us to the real Madame de Staël, revealing the true nobleness of her character, letting us into the secret of her social influence, and unfolding to us that wonderful mind which grappled so successfully with the highest themes in the diverse realms of philosophy, criticism, history, politics, and ethics.

Dr. Stevens's plan, as implied in his title, is admirable, and really gives us a more correct idea of Madame de Staël than could possibly be imparted by even the most graphic narration of the mere personal facts of her life. These pages present her "in her relations to her times—the era of the First Revolution and the First Empire, its society, literature, and politics" —thus securing a distinctness of outline, a fullness of detail, and a justness of proportion otherwise unattainable. Our author has enjoyed the advantage of working in the midst of Madame de Staël's associations, and this, with his well-known skill in describing the life and manners of former days, gives a most gratifying air of reality and sprightliness to the entire

book. A prolonged residence in Geneva, "amid scenes consecrated by the memory of many great spirits," frequent visits to Coppet, with ready access to its securely guarded family archives, and an occasional sojourn in Paris, certainly leave nothing to be desired so far as circumstances favorable to such a literary undertaking are concerned. The work has appeared at a happy moment, in conjunction with the Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat and those of Prince Metternich; and in view of the author's past undeniable success in other fields of literature, we are not surprised to find it greeted with warm and almost universal commendation. The rapid sale of both the English and American editions proves that Dr. Stevens is as near to the heart of the great reading public as ever, and that his versatile pen has not lost its cunning. High praise has already been bestowed upon the book by the newspaper press, and by the more critical and stately magazines and quarterlies as well. One* says of it: "Dr. Stevens writes in full and eloquent sympathy with his heroine. He omits nothing which is important from the story. It is, indeed, no mean picture we have in these pages of the best there was of France at that time, of the France that made what was good in the Revolution." Another† says: "Dr. Stevens knows the literary uses of the imagination so well, that the tone, the atmosphere, the personages, of the *salon* are reproduced. To this much of the charm of this admirable work is due. Age cannot have withered the doctor's energy, or he would not have attempted a task which no French *littérateur* has dared to attempt. In his graceful preface, he declares that he has attempted it with diffidence; but he may await the verdict with confidence. We congratulate Dr. Stevens on the completion of a work which will heighten his fame, and which will stimulate in his brother ministers a love for literary enterprise, while it adds to the world's treasury of knowledge and intellectual delight." A third‡ says: "Dr. Stevens has employed his leisure well in preparing 'The Life and Times of Madame de Staël.' His book is encyclopedic in its fullness." A fourth§ says: "This biography follows Madame de Staël's career with sympathetic minuteness, increasing at every step

* "The Independent."
† "The Christian Advocate."
‡ "The Atlantic Monthly."
§ "Harper's Magazine."

our esteem for her womanly virtues, heightening our admiration of her social graces and amenities, and extorting our respectful homage for her astounding intellectual activity and her wide mental range. Dr. Stevens's outlines of Madame de Staël's literary productions are valuable for the lucidity and pithy succinctness of their analysis, and his criticisms of them are fair and acute. The work is profoundly interesting, rich in light and graceful entertainment, as well as in food for deep thought."

The parents of Madame de Staël very properly receive a large share of attention in Dr. Stevens's first volume. Her mother, Susanna Curchod, was the daughter of the Swiss pastor of Crassier, a hamlet nestling in a quiet valley of the Jura Mountains, not far from Lausanne. She was a precocious child; but the wisdom and good sense of her father, the grand scenery of her native place, the tranquil life and unpretentious society of her early years, were all favorable to a symmetrical and thorough training of both body and mind. It is said that her education was as complete as fell to the lot of any woman in Europe. She was not only taught the classic and modern languages, but she became remarkably proficient in the various departments of science and literature. Through life the ancient poets, which she read with facility in the original, were her especial delight. Her father's plan was to fit her for an advanced position as a teacher, and in this he unconsciously qualified her for the triumphs which awaited her as a leader in the highest intellectual circles of Paris. Mademoiselle Curchod was beautiful in form and feature, and this, with her accomplished manners, her sparkling wit, and marvelous intellectual activity, made her a general favorite in the best society of Lausanne and Geneva, into which she was early introduced. The story of Gibbon's love for her is here told in the historian's own words, and adds a romantic luster to the already attractive picture of her youth. After her father's death her independent industry as a teacher, her high moral principle, and her modest but most engaging appearance in society, attracted to her a host of friends and admirers, especially in the literary circles of Geneva and Paris, to which latter city she went in 1763, as the companion and friend of Madame de Vermenaux, a lady of great wealth and social influence.

Madame Necker de Saussure describes her as endowed with firmness of character, strength of intellect, and a remarkable capacity for labor; as not only educated to an extraordinary degree in both science and letters, but as especially having that "spirit of method" which serves for the acquisition of all things. With brilliant faculties and personal attractions she combined the highest moral qualities. Her religious principles were never shaken by the skepticism and licensed immorality which prevailed around her Parisian home. Her essay entitled, *Réflexions sur le Divorce* is an example of luminous reasoning and original style. It is a plea for the sacredness of marriage against the loose opinions regarding it which characterized the epoch of the Revolution. Her *Mélanges* are distinguished by good sense, acute and epigrammatic observations on almost every subject that she touches, and by a moral elevation quite in contrast with the tendencies of opinion around her. Necker said of her that, "to render her perfectly amiable, she only needed some fault to pardon in herself." Her greatest fault was, perhaps, her moral rigor; the forbearance which she needed not herself she was slow to accord to feebler characters. "She could captivate," says Madame Necker de Saussure, "when she wished; she freely gave praise where it was merited; her blue eyes were soft and caressing, and her face had an expression of extreme purity and of candor, which made, with her tall and rather rigid figure, a contrast sufficiently fascinating."—Vol. i, p. 16.

Madame de Staël's father, James Necker, was a native of Geneva; of a family Teutonic in blood, Calvinistic in faith, and eminent for intellectual culture as well as high moral character, many of its members occupying positions of distinction both in literature and in civil life. James was thoroughly educated in the rigorous Genevan style, and at the age of fifteen was placed as a clerk in the noted banking house of Vernet, Paris. Here he developed remarkable financial ability, and soon reached the head-clerkship, from which he finally passed to a partnership with the Thellusons in founding the chief banking house of the period. During the following twenty years he not only amassed an immense fortune and gained the distinction of being the leading financier of his times, but he found leisure to cultivate literature as well, acquiring a vigorous and independent style as a writer, and publishing numerous very popular works, principally on financial questions, but also on political and even religious subjects. The republic of Geneva, proud of her successful son, appointed him her resident minister at the court of Versailles, in which

capacity he became at once closely identified with the exciting political affairs of the day. He may have had his peers as a statesman, but as a financier he was immeasurably superior to his contemporaries, which fact finally led to his appointment as Financial Minister in the government of Louis XVI. He was always a firm Protestant, of unimpeachable integrity, and he brought to bear all his influence and skill in furtherance of his steady policy of retrenchment and square dealing in favor of the people and against their unprincipled oppressors. Had he been listened to and heartily supported by the king and his advisers, his ability and vast moral influence might have saved the sinking state. But Necker and his policy and his Protestantism stood in the way of the corrupt and unpatriotic placemen who thronged the king, and blinded his eyes to the mistakes of the present and the dangers of the future. So Necker was not permitted to carry out his wise plans to their logical end. Again and again was he dismissed from the cabinet, to be as often recalled in response to the clamor of the people, with whom he was always a favorite, and the demands of the most intelligent and patriotic of his associates. But his almost superhuman efforts failed to avert the final catastrophe, and on January 2, 1793, the sun of Louis XVI. went down amid the black horror of the Revolution.

Because of his love for liberty and justice, and more particularly on account of his brilliant but proscribed daughter, Necker was not regarded with any degree of favor by Napoleon, but was permitted to remain in retirement at Coppet until the close of his life, occupying his last days in adding to the number of his valuable published works, which finally aggregated some fifteen large volumes.

Necker's characteristic excellences were not unmarred by characteristic faults. He was ambitious of popularity and too self-conscious, especially of his abilities and merits. His sentimentality, a virtue in his writings and conversation, was a fault in his politics. His style was too complicated, too abstract, too oracular. He has been called the father of the *doctrinaire* school of politics, a school which proposed to "impress a new direction on France, to reform her impetuous temperament, and to give constitutional equilibrium to her political life." This school bore, more or less, the impress of both his Anglican political ideas and of his literary style. In person Necker was as remarkable as in character. "His features," says his wife in a literary

"Portrait," "resemble those of no one else. A high, retreating forehead; a chin of unusual length; vivid brown eyes, full of tenderness, sometimes of melancholy, and arched by elevated brows, gave him an expression quite original." His statue at Coppet, somewhat theatrical in its attitude, expresses grace and grandeur of both soul and person. Such was the father of Madame de Staël. His style of both thought and language, relieved of its peculiar defects, and endued with richer vigor and elegance, re-appears in her own writings. Her intellectual legitimacy is indisputable.—Vol. i, p. 11.

Necker and Mademoiselle Curchod were married in 1764, he at thirty-two, and she at twenty-five years of age. Both possessed "an enthusiasm for success," and aspired not only to financial prosperity, but to something beyond and better. Well adapted to each other, both in mind and heart, their married life was one of singular happiness and usefulness. As her husband rose in position and influence, Madame Necker's house became a resort for the leaders of opinion and society in Paris, and a recognized literary center as well. Her early training and enforced knowledge of the world and its affairs fitted her to shine in her new sphere, and she soon became the presiding genius of a *salon* which had no superior either in brilliancy or influence.

The *salons* of Paris were then true schools, whose discussions were without scholastic pedantry, and Madame Necker and Madame Roland were the two chiefs in these arenas, where intellect appeared in all its forms: Madame Necker for the defense of religious ideas, Madame Roland for that of liberal opinions, which at this period had already caused a general movement. Both gave a new impulse to the times.—Vol. i, p. 37.

The *savants* and *littérateurs* of the city, among whom were Buffon, Marmontel, Saint-Lambert, Thomas, Diderot, d'Alembert, Gibbon, and Hume, flocked to Madame Necker's receptions, besides an increasing host of military and titled celebrities. The glory of her *salon* has passed into history, while she and her noble husband will ever stand as the representatives of all that was wisest, best, and most patriotic in French society in those memorable years which preceded the downfall of the ancient *régime*. To the honor of the rigid but sturdy and invigorating system of Swiss Calvinistic training be it said that these well-assorted companions in the struggle of life were, from first to last, a tower of strength for all lovers of

morality and true national prosperity, always fearlessly maintaining the right even in the midst of "a perverse and crooked generation."

Anne Louise Germaine Necker, Baronne de Staël-Holstein, was born at Paris, April 22, 1766. Her extraordinary mental capacity was early recognized by her parents and friends; and Madame Necker, true to her instincts as a teacher, soon began a rigid system of training, which, although in some respects not well adapted to the peculiar temperament of her gifted child, still, on the whole, furnished a good foundation for the career which afterward dazzled all Europe by its brilliancy. She was a practical advocate of the "cramming system," and in the education of her daughter she allowed these ideas full play. As a result the child soon became a perfect prodigy of information on all subjects, even in politics, theology, and metaphysics, but, after all, lacked that proportionate discipline of the mind which is so necessary to a symmetrical development. Her great genius and indomitable will alone saved her mind from being a negative repository of facts instead of a mighty, well-directed, positive force in the world. Madame Necker aimed to repress every thing childish in her daughter, and make her in mind and manners as much like her elders as possible; hence these were really oppressive years for the child.

Her daily, her hourly, life was under rule, her sports were restrained, her attitudes regulated, her studies severely mechanical. But her ardent nature was ever spontaneously breaking away from this bondage, so foreign to its instincts. She was full of gayety, of *abandon*, of frankness, of affectionate impulses, of the love of dramatic effects—not to say dramatic tricks. Marmontel says that "she was at times an amiable little mischief-maker." "She stood in great awe of her mother," writes Simond, the traveler, who knew her from her infancy, "but was exceedingly familiar with and extravagantly fond of her father. Madame Necker had no sooner left the room, one day after dinner, than the young girl, till then timidly decorous, suddenly seized her napkin and threw it across the table at the head of her father, and then, flying around to him, hung upon his neck, suffocating all his reproofs by her kisses." Bonstetten tells the story with some variations. According to him, she fairly drew Necker into a dance around the table, and was arrested only by sounds of the returning steps of her mother, when they resumed their seats at the board with the utmost sobriety. Never has paternal or filial love been stronger, down even to the grave, than between Necker and his daughter. The desire to give pleasure to her parents was

an extremely active motive of her affectionate nature. For example, at the age of ten years, observing their great admiration for Gibbon, she imagined it to be her duty to marry him, in order that they might enjoy constantly his conversation. In her tenth year she was exceedingly attractive. Her natural gayety was extreme, though at times touched by that poetic melancholy which ever after tinged her soul.—Vol. i, pp. 34–37.

She found some relief from the otherwise severely systematic manner of her life in being permitted to mingle with the brilliant company which daily thronged her mother's *salon*. Here her grace and ease of manner, her remarkable familiarity with the topics of the times, and above all her vivacity and ready wit, made her a universal favorite. As early as her twelfth year her literary efforts began to attract the attention of her friends. She first attempted dramatic compositions, which were acted by her and her young companions in the family drawing-room. At the age of fifteen, so remarkable was her mental maturity, that her genius was said to already have its stamp. She had not only read but mastered some of the profoundest works of French literature, including several philosophical and ecclesiastical treatises that were then attracting much attention. She even ventured to write several essays upon these high themes, but her father wisely discouraged these premature efforts. Her peculiar training, and her familiarity with the exciting discussions of the *salon*, stimulated her faculties to an unhealthful activity, which finally led to a decline in health, which was only arrested by a cessation of all serious study, and unlimited permission for the child to roam at will in the open air, amid the lovely landscapes of St. Ouen, to which country seat her father, having resigned his cabinet position, now retired. Necker's "Compte Rendu" appeared about this time, and his daughter, excited and gratified by the enthusiasm with which it was received, wrote him an anonymous letter upon the subject which displayed such remarkable knowledge and talent that its juvenile authorship was only suspected from certain peculiarities of style which she had been unable to conceal. Madame de Rémusat, whose interesting memoirs were published too late for Dr. Stevens's purpose, but who, in more than one particular, confirms the wisdom of his opinions, says of Mademoiselle Necker:

In her earliest years she displayed a character which promised to carry her beyond the restraints of nearly all social customs. At the age of fifteen she enjoyed the most abstract reading and the most impassioned works. It is impossible not to feel that there was something very odd, something that looked like mental alienation, in the manner in which Madame de Staël acted her part as a woman in the world. Surrounded in her father's house by a circle consisting of all the men in the city who were in any way distinguished, excited by the conversations that she heard, as well as by her own nature, her intellectual faculties were, perhaps, developed to excess. She then acquired the taste for controversy which she has since practiced so much, and in which she has shown herself so piquant and so distinguished. —*Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 406.

Through life she cherished a passionate love and admiration for her father. She never failed in filial duty to her mother, of whose rare gifts and exalted character she was justly proud, but she fairly idolized her father. During this period of his retirement and her freedom they were almost constant companions. Necker fully appreciated his daughter's mental superiority, but in the most adroit and charming manner corrected the faults into which her luxuriant nature was ever leading her. He sought to train and prune, as well as to inform, her mind, and although his wife greatly regretted the partial defeat of her plans, and seemed to abandon all hope of any thing remarkable in her daughter's future, still her intellectual growth continued to be most marvelous, and it is very evident that at this time, through Necker's superior discernment and adaptation of method, was really laid the foundation of her subsequent literary success. Even after her restoration to health was fully assured her education continued to be entirely domestic, more particularly under the eye of her father, whose ideas were fully justified by her rapid and symmetrical development.

During the interval between Necker's first and second administrations, 1781–88, his daughter passed through the most interesting period of her youth, from her fifteenth to her twenty-second year. By her keen sympathy with her father she received the salutary discipline of affliction; her retired life enabled her to prosecute extensive studies; and the country air restored her health. In her eighteenth year she is described as so mature a woman that they could justly pronounce her to be one of the most luminous spirits of the times; she eclipsed all who came near her, and seemed rightfully the mistress of the

house. She was graceful in all her movements; her countenance, without entirely satisfying the eye at first, attracted it and retained it by a rare charm, for it quickly displayed a sort of ideal or intellectual beauty. No one feature was salient enough to determine in advance her character or mood, except her eyes, which were magnificent; but her varying thoughts painted themselves on her face. It had, therefore, no one permanent expression. Her physiognomy was created by the emotion of the moment. In repose her eyelids had something like languor, but a flash of thought would illuminate her glances with a sudden fire—a sort of lightning forerunning her words. There was, however, no unquiet mobility about her features. A kind of exterior indolence characterized her; but her vigorous frame, her firm and well-adjusted attitudes, added to the great force and singular directness of her discourse. There was something, meanwhile, dramatic in her bearing; and even her toilet, though exempt from all exaggerations, gave an idea of the picturesque, more than of the mode or fashion.—Vol. i, pp. 76–78.

At the age of twenty, Mademoiselle Necker was married to Baron de Staël, Swedish embassador to the court of France, who was seventeen years her senior. It was in every sense a marriage of *convenance*, arranged in the interests of her father's political aspirations, and with little reference to her real wishes or affection. Her love for her father, and the stipulation that she should never be separated from her parents, reconciled her to the union, although it is clear that no very strong attachment ever existed between the two. Baron de Staël was a firm Protestant, and zealously devoted to the reforms which then occupied the attention of the enlightened classes of French society; a man of generous character and advanced ideas, he early became a warm supporter of Necker's political opinions, and spared no pains to promote his official interests. He was a favorite at the French court as well as with his own sovereign, who favored his marriage and assured him his official position in perpetuity, and a pension nearly if not quite equivalent to its emoluments. The marriage seems to have been almost as much a matter of state policy as though the bride had been a princess of the blood rather than the daughter of a Swiss *émigré*.

Necker's daughter was now a baroness and an embassadress, with an assured position of honor and influence at court and in aristocratic circles, all of which was directly favorable to her father's social and political promotion. The Baron was a man

of extravagant habits and no financial ability, whose generosity, over-stimulated by the large dowry of his bride, soon degenerated into prodigality. His tastes and his associations separated him more and more from his wife, who was constantly contrasting him unfavorably with his intellectual superiors who crowded around her. For some years their mutual love for their children held them together; but at last a formal separation was arranged, the children going with their mother, who devoted herself to their education, the management of their remaining fortune being given to M. Necker. The Baron did not long survive the separation, but died May 2, 1802. The circumstances which attended her unfortunate marriage, no doubt, had much to do with whatever was objectionable in Madame de Staël's social career. Due stress must also be laid upon the very free manners of the times; but certain it is, if we are to give any credit whatever to the almost unanimous testimony of her contemporaries, which Dr. Stevens seems almost entirely to overlook at this point, that her conduct as a wife was by no means irreproachable. Madame de Rémusat says: "Her nature was too passionate for her not to love strongly, and her imagination too vivid for her not to think that she loved often." * Talleyrand was one of the first of her lovers. After his rupture with Madame de Staël he entered upon his *liaison* with Madame Grand. It was this circumstance that led Madame de Staël to ask Talleyrand the unfortunate question which gave him the opportunity for one of his most noted witticisms: "If Madame Grand and I were to fall into the water, Talleyrand," she inquired, "which of us would you save first?" "Oh! madame," returned the minister, "*you swim so well!*" It was the remembrance of this, probably, which provoked her somewhat indelicate description of his character as a diplomatist, in which she said, "He is such a dissembler, that if you kick him behind he will smile in front." Madame de Staël's long-continued *liaison* with the celebrated thinker and orator, Benjamin Constant, is too incessantly alluded to in the various records of the period to require any extended notice here. Circumstances may palliate, but certainly cannot justify, Madame de Staël's secret marriage, at the age of forty-five, with the Genevese officer Rocca, a youth of

* Vol. ii, p 407.

twenty-three; which arrangement, since it gave him the intimacy of an accepted lover ever by her side during the remainder of her life, placed them both in a false position; imposed the odium of illegitimacy upon their innocent son, Alfonse, until after his mother's death; taxed unjustly the love and confidence of her older children and most intimate friends; and subjected her to a censure, especially in the more moral society of Germany and England, which even the fame of her wonderful literary achievements could not avert. Doubtless her second marriage was in every sense a love match, and productive of much happiness to both parties; but, judged by the laws of a true social ethics, she must have stood condemned for insisting upon an arrangement which was regarded by all, as, at best, a romantic *liaison*, from the fascinations of which Rocca's family and friends were constantly endeavoring, with promises, and threats, and even tears, to rescue him. Although practically ignored by Dr. Stevens, still it cannot be successfully denied that Madame de Staël's conduct, in the above particulars, is a serious blot upon her otherwise fair fame, and makes her responsible, to the extent of her influence, for the immorality which characterized even the best French society during her own and subsequent times.

Madame de Staël was passionately devoted to her children, and spared no pains to promote their happiness and thorough education. Her son, Auguste Baron de Staël-Holstein, and her only daughter Albertine Duchesse de Broglie, long occupied positions in French society and literature in every way creditable to themselves and to their family.

From the time of her marriage until her exile from Paris, with the exception of a few brief intervals, Madame de Staël was the recognized queen of the Parisian *salon*. Her extensive knowledge, impressive appearance, fascinating manners, and extraordinary conversational powers, in a time when conversation was cultivated as both a science and an art, made her famous in social and literary circles even before her principal works appeared. Her title as embassadress at once brought her into intimate relations with the king and queen; and for a time she was pleased with the extraordinary magnificence which characterized their extravagant and profligate court. But she soon wearied of that which afforded her no intellectual

stimulus, and was also a constant offense to her republican tastes and tendencies. Turning from this "courtly and vacant folly," she successfully sought to gather round her the very *élite* of the French literary world; and soon the *salon* of the Swedish Legation became the most brilliant in Paris. From this time on, through the years of the Revolution, and until the rule of Napoleon was fully established, protected by her husband's official position as representative of another power, she maintained her influence as queen of a social and intellectual realm that has probably never had its equal; and where she not only labored to stimulate literary activity, but was, from first to last, the strong and devoted champion of what may be termed conservative republicanism, bravely contending against the effete doctrines of the old *régime*, the mad fanaticism of the Jacobins, the portentous assumptions of the Consular government, and the usurpations and tyranny of the Empire, as one after the other they threatened the liberties and prosperity of the French nation. She was ever an eloquent advocate of the rights of the people. Her *salon* was always thronged by the best intellects of Paris, and by representative men and women of the times. Men of letters, foreign diplomatists, members of the legislature, and even the brothers of Napoleon, were among her habitual guests, and were proud of her friendship. An unusual intellectual activity is said to have characterized the metropolis during the troublous period of the Revolution; an activity which displayed itself in the discussion of the gravest social and political questions ever agitated. In these discussions Madame de Staël was enabled, by the great freedom allowed her sex, and the congenial employment of her superior faculties, to become an acknowledged leader. "The *salon* was to her an arena of intellectual athletics, as well as a school of the best sentiments and manners." It is said that the most eloquent of the Republican orators were those who borrowed from her most of their ideas and telling phrases; and that most of them went forth from her door with speeches ready for the next day, and with resolution to pronounce them—a courage which was also derived from her.

Madame de Staël loved society because she found it "indispensable to her being, a salutary and necessary stimulant for

her faculties, which seemed to be more developed by conversation with men of culture than by any other exercise." Whether in Paris or Coppet, or residing in any one of the many cities she visited during her exile, it was her delight to indulge in the luxury of hospitality, gathering about her the best minds of her times, and seeking inspiration for her literary efforts in their conversation and criticisms. It is the universal testimony of her contemporaries, friends and foes alike, that no man or woman in Europe excelled her in the felicitous art of conversation. Her admirers have always insisted that no familiarity with her writings could give one an adequate idea of her real mental power, since its greatest triumphs were always witnessed in conversation with the best representatives of literature, politics, or philosophy. Although she assiduously cultivated her powers in this direction, and her speech was always vitalized by a positiveness which often rose to a passion, still the charm of unassumed sincerity beautified her every utterance.

She was always characterized by a frankness and simplicity of manner, which, in spite of her intellectual brilliancy, placed all who were around her at ease. Affectation and insincerity in conversation she could not tolerate, and lost no opportunity to mercilessly expose; but in one who loved and pursued the truth she could pardon the lack of any thing else. She was always the friend of literary tyros who gave any evidence whatever of genuine worth. She knew how to make the best use of the imagination in conversation, and while her ardent temperament sometimes impelled her to adopt and defend questionable theories, still her thoughts were always brilliant, powerful, and often startling, while her sentences were adorned with all the graces of genuine eloquence. All the testimony goes to show that she was most extraordinary in colloquial disputation whenever an opponent was found worthy of her prowess. There was never any unfairness, bitterness, or contempt on her part—never any aiming at effect; but there was a straightforward, honest vehemence in thought, logic, and rhetoric, which, like a swelling torrent, bore down all before it. She particularly seemed to delight in debate, because it was the best means of viewing a subject on all sides, of getting at the truth, and being instructed by capable minds. At any cost of defeat and overthrow of favorite theories, she was anxious

to get at the truth, and secure the triumph of careful thought and sound sense. To talk for mere display was altogether foreign to her purpose; and under all circumstances colloquial conscientiousness was one of her most marked characteristics. She never seemed disposed, for the mere sake of a victory, to take advantage of any lack of knowledge or skill in her adversary. Her position, as daughter of the great minister of finance and wife of the Swedish embassador, brought her into immediate contact, during all her residence in Paris, with the exciting political questions of the day; and her mind and heart were fully enlisted in any project that seemed to promise liberty and prosperity to her distracted country. Consequently her influence was always felt on the right side, even though it were exerted at the risk of personal comfort or safety. Her husband's official position gave her immunity from most of the dangers which threatened her friends, and, up to the time when she was forced to flee from the blackest horrors of the Reign of Terror, she constantly, at great personal sacrifice, exerted her influence in the service of the threatened or proscribed, secreting them in her residence or pleading their cause with those who, for the time being, were in authority.

Her merciful activity brought her, more than once, into suspicion. On one such occasion, Legendre, the great mathematician, denounced her to the Assembly in the presence of her husband, but, fortunately, Barras successfully defended her. The story of the Revolution is graphically recorded by her pen, which sometimes seems dipped in blood, as in memory she lives over again those days of horror. On the establishment of the Republic, Sweden recognized the new government, and Baron de Staël was sent back as embassador to negotiate a new treaty of peace, and his wife again took up her residence in Paris. She deemed the Republic the only practicable government for France at that time, and she promptly seconded all efforts to restore peace and prosperity on that basis. She led society in the revival of the *salon* as a means of strengthening the new order of things, and softening the rigors of the new *régime*. Villemain says: "She re-appeared in France, ar founded there anew the spirit of society. After those times rudeness and cruelty, she re-introduced the influence of wor These facts are historical. We behold in her the resto

of the normal spirit of France after the storms of the Revolution." During the days of the reaction her influence was constantly felt by both parties in the interests of harmony; and the heroic devotion which, in the days of the Revolution, led her often to face death for her friends, now prompted her to do all in her power to secure their restoration from exile; and many a man, afterward prominent in French history, owed his recall to her tireless and unselfish efforts. She did not desire the restoration of royalty, but she was suspicious of Bonaparte, and dreaded the military despotism which she predicted and which was gradually developed by him "under the auspices of the Directory, and the belligerent provocations of England and Austria."

When Bonaparte was made Consul, Madame de Staël was already famous as an eloquent advocate of liberal opinions and a literary character of much promise. She was at first charmed with the young Corsican, and believed him to be the long-looked-for leader who could harmonize conflicting elements, secure to the nation the full benefit of such progress as it had made, and marshal all its powers in defense of the Republic, to which he avowed the most conscientious loyalty. At this time she fully shared the popular enthusiasm. But her habits of critical observation and analysis of character soon modified her opinions, and put her on her guard against his influence. Madame de Rémusat says:

> She became deeply interested in Napoleon. She believed that the happy combination of so many distinguished qualities and of so many favorable circumstances might be turned to the profit of her idol—Liberty; but she quickly startled Bonaparte, who did not wish to be either watched or divined. She first made him uneasy, then displeased him. He received her advances coldly, and disconcerted her by his bluntness and sharp words. He offended many of her opinions; a certain distrust grew up between them, and, as they were both high-tempered, this distrust was not long in changing to hatred.—Vol. ii, pp. 407, 408.

She admired Napoleon's great talents, but her penetrating insight soon led her to discover his utter lack of moral sense and patriotism, his inordinate vanity, and his unscrupulous ambition, which imperiled not only the permanent prosperity of France, but the peace and progress of all Europe as well. She read the future like an inspired seer, and, al-

though at first she did not actively array herself against him, still she refused to either praise or support him. Strange as it may seem, the great captain was extremely sensitive to her neglect, and at once began a system of persecution which, while it revealed his utter lack of manly principle, was unwittingly a most complete recognition of her great intellect, and won for her the sympathy of thousands who otherwise would have been simply admirers of her genius. She was not only banished from her beloved Paris, but, so long as Napoleon was in power, her works were proscribed, some of them because of their frank criticisms of his policy, but most because they had no words of praise or commendation for the man whose fame was already filling the world. Again and again, through his agents, he sought to win her support by offers of amnesty and personal profit, but she was true to her convictions, and stoutly maintained her independence to the last. Napoleon conquered all the continent of Europe, but this one solitary woman, whom he affected to despise, but upon whose integrity he exhausted all the arts of persuasion and terrors of persecution, he could not conquer. This prolonged conflict between the greatest military chieftain and the greatest thinker of the times "was the means of giving to the world the most remarkable example of the triumph of the pen over the sword and scepter that history records." To the very last she maintained the spirit of her prayer on the eve of the battle of Leipsic—"May we conquer, but Napoleon be *killed*." Prince Metternich says:

Madame de Staël applied to me, in 1810, to obtain for her from Napoleon permission to live in Paris. An opportunity soon occurred when I was able to make known to Napoleon the request of this celebrated woman. "I do not want Madame de Staël in Paris," he said to me, "and I have good reasons for saying so." I replied that it might be so, but it was no less certain that by this way of treating a lady he gave her a distinction which without that she might not, perhaps, have. "Madame de Staël," Napoleon replied, "is a machine in motion which will make disturbance in the *salons*. It is only in France that such a woman is to be feared, and I will not agree to it."—*Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 288.

Madame de Rémusat says:

Napoleon declared of Madame de Staël, "This woman teaches people to think who never thought before, or who had forgotten how to think." And there was much truth in this. The hatred

he bore her was unquestionably founded, in some degree, upon that jealousy with which he was inspired by any superiority which he could not control.—*Memoirs*, vol. ii, pp. 408, 409.

The picture Madame de Staël gives of Napoleon's vulgarity, petty tyrrany, and utter selfishness, in his intercourse with men and women, is more than confirmed in its correctness by the "Memoirs" just quoted, and will forever prevent his re-establishment in the respect of the world.

The literary world may well be forever proud of the fortitude with which Madame de Staël bore her misfortunes, and her unyielding persistence throughout the prolonged contest. Almost every court of Europe was open to her during her years of wandering. Friends multiplied on every hand. Her contact with the best literary minds of Germany, Italy, and England seemed to afford just the inspiration she needed, for in the years of her exile she produced her greatest works, achieved her most marked success as a leader in the realm of thought, and won her high and permanent place in literature. Whatever may be said of her disappointments and sufferings, her intellectual faculties were certainly stimulated to an unlooked-for vigor by the opposition she encountered, and even Napoleon, when, an exile himself on St. Helena, he read her immortal works, was compelled to testify to her greatness in the reluctant words, "No one can deny that she is a woman of grand talent, of extraordinary intellect; she will last."

Much of her time, during the ten years of her exile, was spent in the beautiful family home at Coppet, which at that period was one of the chief literary centers of Europe. The picture given by Dr. Stevens of the old *chateau* and the life there is charming indeed. Those who have been so fortunate as to visit Coppet will at once recognize the correctness and delicate appreciation of the following description:

The tourist in Switzerland, passing on Lake Leman from Lausanne to Geneva, sees on the north-western shore a small village, nearly all the habitations of which seem clinging to a central stately structure: it is famous as the hamlet of Coppet, and the parent edifice is the Chateau de Necker, the home of Madame de Staël. As the steamer approaches the pier, all eyes, of educated foreigners at least, are turned from the sublimer scenery of the opposite shore to gaze on the memorable site, and it is seldom that groups of travelers do not leave the boat to pay their

homage at this shrine of the genius of the greatest woman in literary history. Colonnades of ancient oaks, horse-chestnuts, and sycamores extend from the landing up to the mansion. The latter is spacious, but presents an aspect more of comfort and good taste than of magnificence. Its principal court, formed on three sides by the building, on the fourth by a lofty grilled fence, with ample gates, is adorned with flower-beds, and flowering vines climb its angles to the roof. From its open northern side extends a simple picture of landscape beauty, designed more by nature than art: a combined English garden and park, with sward, clumps of flowering shrubs, and stately trees; a crystal brook (flowing down from the Jura) on one side; a fish-pond in the center; and graveled walks, with stone seats, winding among the trees. The interior of the mansion still retains, intact, not a few mementoes of its celebrated mistress, objects of eager interest to innumerable pilgrims—a bedroom, with its antique furniture and tapestried hangings; a library, with its crowded bookcases, writing-desk, and pictures; a *salon*, with works of art. West of the *chateau* lies the family cemetery, entirely shut in from the sight of the visitor by high walls and a dense copse of aged trees and entangled shrubs and vines. In its center stands a small chapel, within which sleeps the illustrious authoress with her parents, and around it rest her children and grandchildren—four generations of the family of Necker. It is a somber inclosure, but the nightingales delight to sing in its deep shades; and the vine-clad Juras on the one side, the lake and snow-crowned Alps on the other, frame about it a picture of exceeding beauty, befitting the memory of its chief tenant.—Vol. I, pp. 1–3.

Whenever Madame de Staël took up her residence for any length of time at Coppet the place was always thronged with her intimates, men and women of a world-wide reputation, who gave the morning to intellectual labor and the evening to amusements, literary criticisms, and social enjoyment. Besides those regularly established as her daily associates, literary celebrities from all parts of Europe were constantly wending their way to Coppet as to a shrine, and her *salon* here was almost as crowded and as brilliant as in Paris.

As her most famous works appeared at irregular intervals, the attitude of Napoleon became more threatening, until she at last determined on flight to Russia, where she was received at court with distinguished attention, and where she at once gathered around her a multitude of admirers, all famous in the world of science or letters, and vying with each other in their eager homage to her genius. Next she visited Sweden, where

her old friend, Marshal Bernadotte, (now the chosen successor of the reigning sovereign,) received her with ready honors, and where she remained eight months revising her *Réflexions Sur le Suicide*, which she had written at Coppet, and publishing the work at Stockholm early in 1813, dedicating it to Bernadotte.

Continuing her flight to London, she was received by the aristocratic and literary society of the English metropolis with the greatest enthusiasm. Napoleon's unworthy attitude secured her the ready sympathy of all Britons, and she was at once recognized as the greatest literary woman Europe had yet produced. We are told that the great houses in which she was received were "crowded by the nobility and people of culture;" and such was their eagerness to see her that "the ordinary restraints of high society were quite disregarded." At the house of Lord Lansdowne, and other similar places, "the first ladies in the kingdom mounted on chairs and tables to catch a glimpse of her." In every society she was sought for and received with all the honors due to her great powers.

Never has a woman, through the mere force of her genius, attained a triumph equal to hers. Kings and queens sought her friendship, and literary celebrities were proud of her success, since it reflected honor upon the entire fraternity. At Weimar, Berlin, and other capitals of Germany, it had been the same. Goethe and Schiller were her stanch admirers and friends. Fichte may not have worshiped at her feet, but he had good reason for remembering her, as is shown by the following anecdote related to the American scholar, George Ticknor, by the old prime-minister, Ancillon, at Berlin:

> When Madame de Staël was here she excited a great sensation, and had the men of letters trotted up and down, as it were, before her, successively, to see their paces. I was present when Fichte's turn came. After talking a little while, she said, "Now, Monsieur Fichte, will you be so kind as to give me, in fifteen minutes or so, a sort of idea, or *aperçu*, of your system, so that I may know clearly what you mean by your *ich*, (I), your *moi*, (me)? for I am entirely in the dark about it." The notion of explaining, in a little quarter of an hour, to a person in total darkness, a system which he had been all his lifetime developing from a single principle within himself, was quite shocking to the philosopher's dignity. However, being much pressed, he began, in rather bad French, to do the best he could. But he had not gone on more than ten minutes before Madame de Staël, who

had followed him with the greatest attention, interrupted him with a countenance full of eagerness and satisfaction: "Ah! it is sufficient; I comprehend you perfectly, Monsieur Fichte; your system is perfectly illustrated by a story in 'Baron Munchausen's Travels.' For, when he arrived once on the banks of a vast river, where there was neither bridge nor ferry, nor even a poor boat or raft, he was at first quite confounded, until at last, his wits coming to his assistance, he took a good hold of his own sleeve and jumped himself over to the other side. Now, Monsieur Fichte, this, I take it, is just what you have done with your *ich*, your *moi*, is it not?" There was so much truth in this, and so much *esprit*, that, of course, the effect was irresistible on all but poor Fichte himself. As for him, he never forgave Madame de Staël, who certainly, however, had no malicious purpose of offending him, and who, in fact, praised him and his *ich* most abundantly in her "De l'Allemagne."—*Ticknor's Life and Letters*, vol. i, p. 198.

Great as was Madame de Staël's charm for men, she was no less the favorite of many of the best and most intelligent women. Madame Récamier was her dearest friend, and but few of her own sex seem to have been at all jealous of her unprecedented success. On the downfall of Napoleon she returned to Paris to enjoy the protection and friendship of Louis XVIII., and to achieve her greatest social triumph. Since she was now persuaded that a republic was not yet practicable for Frenchmen, "her *salon* became one of the forces of the Restoration." The highest society of Paris gathered around her, and her house immediately became once more the intelligent center of France. During the memorable "Hundred Days" she was forced again to retire to Coppet. Even there she was followed by the persistent offers of Napoleon touching a reconciliation and the enlistment of her voice and pen in his favor, but she remained firm in her conscientious opposition. Her health now began rapidly to fail, and after seeing her daughter most happily married to the Duc de Broglie, and the center of a charming social and literary circle in Paris, she seemed conscious that her remaining life would be brief. Notwithstanding her declining health, she attained, in the winter of 1816–17, her highest power in the society of the metropolis. Says one of her guests:

Every evening her *salon* was crowded with all that was distinguished and powerful, not in France only, but in all Europe, which was then represented in Paris by a remarkable number of

its most extraordinary men. She had, to a degree perhaps never possessed by any other person, the rare talent of uniting around her the most distinguished individuals of all the opposite parties, literary and political, and making them establish relations among themselves which they could not afterward entirely shake off.—*Child's Memoirs of Madame de Staël and Madame Roland.*

Her mind remained firm and clear to the very last. She passed the whole of her last day, we are told by one who was present, seated in her arm-chair, conversing with her friends. She passed away in great peace, with her family around her, on the morning of July 14, 1817. Whatever may be thought of the errors of her life, from which she suffered so much, she died expressing a firm faith in the Christian religion as "affording the only and the sufficient solution of the problem of life," and believing that "the true end of life is the religious education of the heart." Her remains were entombed at Coppet.

We have space in this paper for only a brief reference to Madame de Staël's most noted literary productions. Her work on literature was published in 1800. It revealed at once her vast store of knowledge and her consummate skill in making it available for her purpose. Although the theories she advanced and defended did not meet the approval of the best minds among her critics in France—whatever may be said of the German thinkers, with whom she more nearly agreed—still the learning, the brilliancy, and vigor of the treatise were acknowledged by all, and her reputation as a profound thinker, an acute philosopher, and a fascinating writer, was at once assured. The plan of the treatise is very comprehensive:

It first presents an analysis, moral and philosophic, of Greek and Latin literature, with reflections on the consequences, to the human mind, of the invasions of the Northern peoples, of the establishment of Christianity, and of the revival of letters; and a rapid review of modern literature, with detailed observations on the chief works of the Italian, English, German, and French languages, considered in reference to the general idea of the essay: that is to say, the relation of the social and political conditions of a country to the dominant spirit of its literature. The second part discusses the state of intelligence and literature in France since the Revolution, and, inquiring what they would be if France should possess the morality essential to republicanism, it shows her actual degradation, and her possible amelioration, as deducible from the examples treated in the first part. The doc-

trine, or hypothesis, of the treatise is the perfectibility of the human race. "I adopt with all my faculties," she says, "this philosophic belief. It is the conservative, the redeeming, hope of the intellectual world; it imparts a grand elevation to the soul—its highest consolation. The doctrine lifts the weight of life and gladdens all our moral being with the happiness and nobleness of virtue. It is not a vain theory: we are conducted to it by the observation of facts."—Vol. i, p. 231.

This doctrine met with great opposition in France, and immediately provoked much discussion, which finally brought out some of the best thinkers of Switzerland and Germany upon the subject. As the production of a woman, the book was the marvel of all Europe. For a long time it maintained a strong hold upon reflecting men; and whoever reads it now will find that many opinions, since thoroughly examined and adopted by the most vigorous leaders of thought, were first advanced and defended in its pages. Whether we accept or reject her theories, we are astonished by the variety of learning, the individuality of mind, and the acute reasoning of the work. In these respects it probably has no equal among the writings of women.

"Delphine," her first and, in the opinion of many, her best romance, was published in 1802. It was written amid troubles, anxieties, and threatening dangers, which would have been unbearable but for the diversion and comfort which literary activity afforded her. Her design in "Delphine" seems to be to express a profound pity for women with strong minds and hearts to whom the happiness of love in marriage has not been accorded, and to show that it is not only difficult for them to "inclose themselves within the narrow bounds of their fate," but more difficult for them to overstep those bounds, without experiencing the keenest suffering. It is possible, in a romance, to present such a thought in a variety of forms; so she pictures a woman (said by many to represent herself) brilliant but unhappy, "dominated by her affections, badly directed by her independent spirit, and suffering by her most amiable qualities." A desire for happiness in marriage, and a settled conviction that it is impossible to be otherwise happy, pervade the entire book. The great genius displayed in "Delphine" was acknowledged by all; but its morality was at once questioned. While, perhaps, the charge of immorality cannot be

fully maintained, still it plainly "is not a wholesome book, morally or intellectually," although in this regard it is the best book among similar productions in French literature of its time. Vinet criticises the work severely from his own high moral stand-point; but he also says: "Delphine, with all her errors, is one of the most touching creations of genius; her character is as true as it is charming. It is impossible not to love this generous soul, which lives only for love and self-sacrifice. No fiction has ever been more vitally real. No work of Madame de Staël has been written with more facile, more abundant, power. If she has not yet the maturity of her opinions, she has, I believe, all the plenitude of her talents." In the most thoroughly finished character of the book, Madame de Vernon, she doubtless intended to depict Talleyrand. The Machiavellian minister at once recognized the likeness, and said to his friends, alluding to the virile character of Madame de Staël's mind: "In her romance she has disguised us both as women—herself and me." "Delphine" excited great interest, both in literary and fashionable circles, and increased the already brilliant reputation of its author, since it revealed her power in an entirely new field of literary effort. From this point on she stands acknowledged by the best minds as the greatest female thinker and writer of her age.

"Corinne," by which she is probably best known to American readers, was published in 1807; and, according to Vinet, it was one of the greatest literary events of the day. The book was written after a long journey through Italy, and a most thorough study of its scenery, social life, manners, and customs, and especially its art and art treasures. It abounds in magnificent descriptions and keen criticisms. It is most rich in healthful sentiment, deep thought, and genuine morality. The true idea of the beautiful nowhere receives a clearer presentation, or a more enthusiastic and just defense, than in this work of her superabundant genius. Its success was "instantaneous and universal." It is a romance, and, at the same time, a faithful picture, and "a record of subtile and precious thoughts." It reveals the freedom and vigor of the author's matured powers. Throughout Europe it was received with enthusiastic praise. Even in cultured and critical Edinburgh it met with the approbation of all. Jeffrey, in the

"Edinburgh Review," pronounced Madame de Staël the greatest writer in France since the time of Voltaire and Rousseau, and the greatest female writer of any age or country.

The "Allemagne" was published in London in the autumn of 1813, and so great was the interest it excited, that within three or four years it was translated into all the principal tongues of Europe. The work is divided into four sections. The first treats of Germany and the manners of the Germans; the second, of literature and art; the third, of philosophy and morals; the fourth, of religion and enthusiasm. The "Allemagne" does not appeal to popular readers, but universally commands the attention of scholars and the more enlightened classes. Mackintosh, in the "Edinburgh Review," said: "The voice of Europe applauds this as a work which, for variety of knowledge, flexibility of power, elevation of view, and comprehensiveness of mind, is unequaled among the works of women; and which, in the union of the graces of society and literature with the genius of philosophy, is not surpassed by many among those of men." The "Allemagne" first opened up to France and to Europe generally the vast products of the German intellect; and must be considered as "the initiative of foreign criticism on German literature." As an adequate survey of German life and literature it has, necessarily, by the lapse of time, become deficient; but, like all works of genius, it is immortal, and must forever stand as the most worthy exponent of the rare gifts of the greatest of Frenchwomen.

Art. VI.—PROFESSOR BOWNE'S METAPHYSICS.*

In the year 1872 there appeared in the "New Englander" a series of articles on Herbert Spencer. Their boldness of statement, freshness of thought, and aptness of illustration, attracted wide attention. Excepting the article of Mr. Martineau, no abler criticism of Mr. Spencer has yet appeared. The author of these articles was Professor Bowne, then a student in the University of New York. Seven years later "Studies in Theism" appeared, a popular discussion, with the promise

* "Metaphysics: A Study in First Principles." By Borden P. Bowne.

in the Preface of a more philosophical treatment of the subject in a later volume. In the work now before us this promise is fulfilled. Though rather expository than original, "Metaphysics" is by far the most elaborate work that Professor Bowne has yet written. As Professor Latimer remarked, it is essentially an exposition of the philosophy of Lotze. Were he alive the great thinker might well congratulate himself on having found so able an expositor. Rare is it, indeed, that so acute a thinker, so clear and forcible a writer, as Professor Bowne can sympathetically expound not only the broad general principles of a philosophy, but its minutest details.

I propose to give some account of the fundamental principles of this philosophy. My object is exposition, not criticism. I shall try to state and illustrate the broad general principles of this philosophy so that the main outlines of the whole can be seen in the order of logical dependence.

The book aims to show that the universe is only the manifestation of God—has its being solely in him. My confidence in the conclusions of science, in the facts of perception, in the existence of my fellows, is only justified by my faith in God. That the arguments upon which these conclusions are based may be thoroughly understood, it is necessary to get a clear apprehension of Professor Bowne's starting point Every philosopher consciously or unconsciously starts from common sense. But there are two radically different ways of appealing to common sense. M'Cosh, for instance, appeals to common sense to establish as absolute certainties all those facts and principles having the characteristics of self-evidence, necessity, and universality. Spencer, on the other hand, appeals to common sense merely for provisional truths, and claims that these are justified or condemned according as the results reached from a logical use of them are consistent or inconsistent. Professor Bowen's method of appealing to common sense is a kind of compound of the two I have described. In partial agreement with M'Cosh and his school, he would repose unlimited trust in the *principles* of common sense, but not in its facts. In partial agreement with Spencer, he would regard the *facts* of common sense as only provisionally true, but not its principles. In agreement with M'Cosh, he holds that "the mind is able to know some things on its own account, and thus the

warrant for such knowledge is simply rational insight;" that these truths, thus known "by their own self-evidence," verify themselves. In agreement with Spencer, he says:

> In discussing our theory of things, we propose, therefore, to take every thing as it seems to be, and to make only such changes as are necessary to bring our views into harmony with themselves. The reasons for doubt and modification are to be sought entirely in the nature of the object, and not in the possibility of verbal doubt. . . . If we distinguish between appearance and reality, it is because reason can be harmonized with itself in no other way. We take, therefore, the theory of things which is formed by spontaneous thought, and make it the text for a critical exegesis in the hope of making it adequate and consistent. We take the notions of common sense as they exist, and the functions ascribed to them, and change them only as reason itself prescribes.—P. 18.

Professor Bowne's figure puts the matter clearly: the common-sense theory of things he makes the text for a critical exegesis. Self-evident truths, known by the mind's own insight, are the principles of interpretation. Obviously, the first question is, What is the text? and, second, What does he hold to be the proper principles of interpretation? Professor Bowne has nowhere given an explicit answer to these two questions, though it is easy to see what would have been his answer to the first. The conception of the world as it presents itself to common sense is that of a wide-spreading universe, extending indefinitely in infinite space, and of inconceivable duration. The objects about us appear to be colored, gustible, sonorous, and fragrant. Their colors, sounds, tastes, and smells appear to be perceived directly, as well as their distances and directions from us. They appear to be altogether independent of our minds and of all mind. If every thinking being should cease to exist, the world would continue to exist with all its tastes, and odors, and colors, and sounds. The various parts of the universe appear to be independent, and at the same time constantly acting and reacting upon one another, producing motions in various directions and of various degrees of rapidity, receiving and inducing endless changes; and yet, while changing, remaining the same throughout. The bodies of human beings are animated by consciousness and directed by wills; but the relation of dependence between the body and consciousness common sense does not clearly conceive. This, I conceive, is

the text which Professor Bowne subjects to a critical exegesis. The principles by means of which he interprets it, principles which he assumes to be self-evident, are the following: (1) Being can be assumed only as it explains phenomena. (2) Every change is the result of efficient causation. (3) The law of sufficient reason, which demands in the cause some determining ground for the specific character of the effect, must be satisfied. (4) Only the definite can explain the definite. Only the active can explain the active. (5) There can be no action without reaction. (6) A necessary cause cannot produce a free effect. (7) The mind must find rest or satisfaction. (8) The inconceivable is the impossible. (9) The facts of common sense are only provisionally true. Its principles are absolutely certain. (10) The action of the world is in harmony with moral laws. (11) The truth cannot diverge too widely from the opinions of common sense without inconsistency with Principle 10.*

* I have already said that Professor Bowne nowhere explicitly states the self-evident principles, or those assumed to be such, upon which his reasoning depends. It is a matter of regret that he did not. It would have greatly diminished the labor of his readers to have had a clear, succinct statement of the premises assumed as self-evident, somewhat as geometricians are in the habit of stating their axioms in the beginning of their treatises. I suspect they are frequently troubled because they think he is trying to prove what he is really assuming as self-evident. The self-evident principles attributed to him in this article are the result of a very careful examination of his system. There are some, such as the trustworthiness of memory, assumed by him in common with all thinkers, which I have not thought it worth while to state. The seventh and eighth I think Professor Bowne would refuse to acknowledge. I understand the seventh to mean that the mind must find conclusions which appear to be reasonable, or, rather, rational. As I interpret it, it amounts to this: The universe must be rational. I suspect Professor Bowne would say that he means by it only that the mind must not commit suicide, must not hold contradictory conclusions. The reader will observe when it is used as a premise, and can decide whether he really uses it in the sense I have explained. On page 109 he seems explicitly to disclaim the eighth. I am constrained, notwithstanding, to believe that he did hold it practically, since a number of his most important arguments depend entirely upon it, as the reader will observe. I am somewhat in doubt whether to class the ninth among his self-evident principles, since he might make it an induction from the procedure of the sciences. In that event, the procedure of the sciences is either self-evidently correct, or it is a mere assumption. We cannot imagine that Professor Bowne intended to base his whole system on an assumption, and, if not, I have made no mistake in attributing to him the opinion that it is self-evident that the facts of common sense are only provisionally true. In stating the eleventh so indefinitely, I am only following Professor Bowne. Subjective idealism—Berkeley's—departs from common sense so widely that we cannot suppose it true, in Professor Bowne's opinion, without reflecting upon the

With our text and principles of interpretation before us, we can proceed to our critical exegesis. We say of the universe as a whole and of its several parts that they exist; what do we mean by that? "*In what does the nature or being of things consist?*" The being of things is sometimes thought to consist in pure being, which is destitute of characteristics or quality of any kind. Of pure being we can only say that it is. We cannot say that it is this, or that, because in saying so we should predicate characteristics of it, and by definition it is destitute of these. Our first and third principles dispose of this theory. Being must be so conceived as to explain all manifestation, and, by the law of the sufficient reason, every manifestation must have some determining ground in its cause to explain its own specific character. Further, every manifestation is definitely this, or that, and, by our fourth principle, only the definite can give rise to the definite. The passive being of common sense, and the substance of the Scotch metaphysicians, are as easily disposed of. Passive being does nothing, explains nothing. By our first principle, the only reason for postulating the existence of any thing is that it may serve to explain phenomena. The substance of Scotch metaphysics is exposed to the same objections; for if active, the form of its action would be a quality, and, as inactive, it is only the passive being already disposed of. What, then, is the mark by which we distinguish being from non-being? "Common sense would at first be tempted to find it in phenomena. The real is that which can be seen or touched. But common sense would quickly perceive the untenability of this view and the idealism implied in it, since it would make the existing identical with the phenomenal;" that is, with states of consciousness. "Since this mark cannot be found in being it must be sought elsewhere, and it appears that the distinctive mark of being consists in some power of action. Things, when not perceived, are still said to exist, because of the belief that though not perceived, they are in interaction with one another, mutually determining and determined. Things are distinguished from non-existence by this power of action and mutual determination. . . . In speaking of pure

moral character of the universe, so to speak. Phenomenalism, Professor Bowne's idealism, though it departs from common sense very widely, does not, he thinks, if true, reflect upon the moral character of the universe.

being we said that only the determined can exist; we must now supplement this by adding that only the determining has existence."—P. 46. We shall see additional reason for this if we remember that being is posited for the explanation of phenomena, (Principle 1,) and that only the active can explain the phenomena of this changing world, (Principle 4.)

But a difficulty occurs. "It will be said that our definition of being is not a definition, but only gives a mark which being must have. But, back of the power by which being is distinguished from non-being, lies being itself, and we seek to know what this is. The notion of cause admits of analysis into the ideas of being and power, and hence cause is the union of the two. The being has the power, and the power inheres in the being."—P. 40. But we have only to refer to the principles already stated to see the answer to this question. If only the active can give rise to action, then the being which has action must be active. (Principle 4.) If we are troubled with the image of a hard, inactive core, as the representative of reality, let us persistently remember that only the active can explain action. But might not being, whose entire nature is action, suspend its action without ceasing to be? Might not a color cease to be a color, and yet remain a color? One question is as sensible as the other. Let us note, then, that Prof. Bowne's answer to the first question is that the being of things consists in some power of action. Note carefully that he does not hold that being is pure activity. The act cannot be conceived without the agent, and hence, according to Principle No. 8, we deny that the agent can, in reality, be separated from agency; each exists and is possible only in the other.

Hitherto we have been discussing the nature of things as distinguished from non-existence. Our effort has been to ascertain what fact we really predicate of a thing, or ought to predicate of it, when we say it exists. We now ask, *What is the nature of things as distinguished from one another?* Gold and silver, hydrogen and chlorine, matter and spirit, are very different. In what consists their difference? is the question we now attempt to answer. The answer to this question is really a corollary from the conclusion already reached. If the nature of being in general is to act, the nature of particular beings must be to act in a particular way. As there cannot be being in general,

so there cannot be action in general, and the particular concrete activities which constitute things, constitute different things because they are different activities. We know nothing about the mode or nature of these activities. We cannot tell whether they are conscious or unconscious. We only know that they are due to different agents acting in different ways, or according to different laws, otherwise what we call different things could not manifest different phenomena. Note, however, that when we say things are different agents, acting according to different laws, we are not to suppose that they all have a common being, for this would be a return to the notion of pure being. We mean not only that they differ in their form or kind of activity, but that in consequence they are agents differing through and through. Common sense naturally tends to locate the nature of the thing in its sense qualities. The nature of the orange is found in its color, taste, odor, etc. But thinkers of all schools have been compelled to abandon this idea. It is universally agreed that the so-called sense-qualities are mere states of the mind. They have an objective cause, to be sure, but utterly unlike the subjective effect. When this view is abandoned, common sense finds solace in the notion that the thing is an enduring, changeless substance, and that its qualities are its changing states. But, according to our fourth principle, this view is untenable. A changeless, inactive substance cannot give rise to action. Note, then, as our answer to the second question, "that the nature of a thing is that law or principle of activity whereby it is not merely a member of a class, but also and primarily itself in distinction from other things.

We have been occupied thus far with two questions, and the results reached have pretty thoroughly transformed the common-sense conception of the world. Starting from colored, gustable, fragrant, and sonorous objects, we have reached unpicturable *agents*, performing unpicturable activities, some of which produce in us those states of mind which we mistake for sense-qualities of objects, and imagine to be independent of the very mind in which they dwell. Let us examine another part of our text. *Common sense affirms that things change and yet remain the same.* Is that so? and if so, in what sense? Common sense returns a very simple answer. Common sense

affirms that things change and yet remain the same, because things are *changeless substances with changing states.* But this view we have already disproved again and again, and there is no need to examine it further. A changeless substance furnishes no explanation of changing states; only the active can give rise to action. (Principle 4.) If the qualities or states of a thing change, it is because the thing itself changes through and through. Here, then, we are in sight of the answer to our question. Common sense and science agree in assuring us that things are constantly changing; that it would be as easy to find co-existent points of time as to find a thing exactly the same in two consecutive instants. The change may be too minute to be detected, but we are sure it is there, and that keener perceptions would reveal it to us. There is nothing left to us, therefore, but to say that the thing itself changes constantly, and changes *in its absolute totality.* We have seen that the nature of all being is to act. We must now supplement this conception, and say that the nature of things is to act, and that, as a result of this action, the agent is constantly changing. Call a thing at any point of time A. Then we must conceive of it as passing into A′, and this into A″ and A‴, and so on. But this illustration is imperfect. We must not conceive of it as resting, so to speak, for a point of time in A, and then suddenly ceasing to be A and becoming A′. If we keep firmly before our minds the conception that the nature of being is to act, we shall understand that A never *is*, in the sense of enduring. As soon as it begins to be, it begins to cease to be. There is no gap between A and A′. Rather, if I may so express it, a constant gliding from A to A′, and from A′ to A″, and so on, according to the law which differentiates A from B. Is A the thing, and are A, A′, A″, A‴, etc., states? No. At one moment the thing is A; the next, it is A′; the next, it is A″, and so on. There is no reason whatever to single out one member of the series and call it the thing and the rest states. Each of them is the thing in that point of time in which it has its existence. Must we then entirely eliminate the idea of identity from our conception of the thing? Not quite. A changes into A′, A″, A‴, and so on, and B into B′, B″, B‴, and so on, according to a certain *law.* There is a *law* for each series of things, if I may so speak, which *law* remains the same. So

true is this that we can not only have A^{ω} developed from A, A′, A″, A‴, etc., but by reversing the conditions we can develop A from A^{ω}. We get ice from water by freezing it, and by the application of heat we get water again. Things change, then, according to a law, and this law remains the same. The law abides. The thing is constantly changing. As the velocity of a falling body constantly changes, according to an unchanging law, so things are constantly changing in accordance with a law that does not change. The only identity, therefore, to be found in impersonal things is the identity of law; all else is constantly changing. There is one kind of being, however, which unites identity with change in a different sense.

> In personality, or in the self-conscious spirit, we find the only union of change and permanence, or of identity and diversity. The soul knows itself to be the same, and distinguishes itself from its states as their permanent subject. This permanence, however, does not consist in any rigid sameness of being, but in memory and self-consciousness, whereby alone we constitute ourselves abiding persons. How this is possible there is no telling; but we get no insight into its possibility by affirming a rigid duration of some substance in the soul. The soul, as substance, forever changes; and, unlike what we assume of the physical elements, its series of changes can be reversed only to a slight extent. The soul develops, but it never undevelops into a former state. Each new experience leaves the soul other than it was; but, as it advances from stage to stage, it is able to gather up its past and carry it with it, so that at any point it possesses all that it has been. It is this fact only which constitutes the permanence and identity of self.—Page 97.

In brief, were our being only what Hume and James Mill affirmed it—a series of states of consciousness—a string of beads, somehow acting as though hung on a string and yet without any string—personality would have no other kind of identity than is found in impersonal being—the identity of law. But in addition to this, we have memory and self-consciousness, "whereby a fixed point of personality is secured and the past and present are bound together in the unity of one consciousness. The permanence and identity, therefore, are products of the agent's own activity. We become the same by making ourselves such. Numerical identity is possible on the ontological plane; but proper identity is impossible except in consciousness."—P. 98.

We take up another clause of the text of common sense. Common sense affirms that the various objects of the universe, while utterly independent, form *an interesting system.* The sun, for example, is supposed to exist in absolute independence of every other part of the universe, and yet to be constantly exerting an influence upon, and receiving influences from, every atom that exists in infinite space. We ask for the explanation of this. *We seek to know how independent things can interact.* "The fact to be explained, when reduced to its lowest terms, is this: When A changes, B, C, D, etc., all change in definite order and degree." What is the explanation? The answers of common sense will not detain us long. It is said that the thing transfers its state, condition, or influence, and that this transference is the act. But what is the state of a thing but the thing itself acting in a certain way? We have seen that things are agents, acting through and through. The only intelligible sense in which we can say that a thing transfers a state, influence, or condition to another thing, is that it produces a change in that other thing. But this is only a restatement of the problem to be explained, and not a solution of it. What we seek to know is, how independent things can interact, and we get no answer to this question by being told that they do. If we can only remember that things are agents active throughout, we shall understand that a state or condition of the thing is nothing but the thing itself at that particular time. We shall see that since the only existing things are agents, acting according to various laws, there is nothing to be transferred—that the states, influences, and conditions of common sense are mere names, empty of all meaning. We shall not imagine that we have explained the relation between A and B by manufacturing an unmeaning x as a go-between, especially so when its relation to A and B is exactly that which they now bear to each other, and, therefore, equally in need of explanation. We shall see that it is folly to solve one problem by creating another of the very same nature. Philosophy has made many famous attempts to solve this problem. The doctrine of Pre-established Harmony explains it by denying interaction. Independent things do not interact, because there is no interaction. Things seem to interact because they were adjusted to one another from all

eternity. When I lift my arm my volition seems to cause it, but it really has nothing to do with it. The motion of my arm follows my volition because it was pre-arranged to do so by Omnipotence. The wind does not cause the motion of the leaf. It moves solely because it was pre-determined to do so when the world was created. Occasionalism also solves it by denying interaction. Occasionalism locates the exercise of Omnipotence at the time of the event, instead of at creation. When I think I lift my arm, it is not I that do it; it is done by the immediate exercise of the power of God. What people in general regard as causes are merely occasions upon which God puts forth his activity. Positivism disposes of it by declaring it insoluble. Whether there is any such thing as action, in Professor Bowne's meaning, it declines to say. One event follows another, one phenomenon another, and this relation of sequence is the only action we know any thing about or have any business to believe in—though we have no right to disbelieve in it. A glance at Professor Bowne's self-evident principles will show us that he cannot accept any of these answers. We only assume being as it explains phenomena, (Principle 1,) but according to the doctrines of Occasionalism and Pre-established Harmony things really explain nothing. They are useless idlers in a universe where all the work is done by Omnipotence. We are compelled, therefore, to drive them out of the universe altogether, and we are left with no independent things to interact, and no problem to be explained. Positivism is equally absurd, because it rests on a doubt of efficient causation, (Principle 2.) Prof. Bowne himself unties the knot by cutting it. How do independent things interact? They do not interact, said Leibnitz and the Cartesians, because there is no interaction. They do not interact, says Prof. Bowne, because there are no independent things.

> By definition, the independent must contain the ground of all its determinations in itself; and by analysis, that which is subject to the necessity of interaction must have the grounds of its determinations in others as well as in itself. The two conceptions will not combine, . . . and, since interaction must be affirmed, the only way out is to deny the independence of the plurality, and reduce it to a constant dependence, in some way, upon one all-embracing being, which is the unity of the many, and in whose unity an interacting plurality first becomes possi-

ble. An interacting many cannot exist without a co-ordinating one. The interaction of our thoughts and other mental states is possible only through the unity of the mental subject, which brings all its states together in the unity of one consciousness. So the interactions of the universe are possible only through the unity of a basal reality, which brings them together in one immanent omnipresence. And this we affirm, not at all because of the mystery of interaction between independent things, but because of its contradiction. . . . But if we deny their independence, what need is there for going outside of them for something else on which they depend? Why not make them mutually independent, so that the series of things, A, B, C, etc., shall not depend on Alpha, but on one another? In this way each member of the system would exist only in connection with the other members, but the system itself might be independent. . . . One manifest objection is, that it seeks to make an independent out of a sum of dependents. A, B, C, etc., are severally dependent, but A+B+C, etc., is independent. But if A, B, C, etc., are distinct ontological units, this is absurd. There is nothing in the sign of addition which is able to transform a dependent thing into an independent. There must be some bond underlying that sign, and that bond is interaction. . . . We conclude, then, that the whole can never be reached by summing the parts, but that the parts must be viewed as phases of the whole.—Page 125.

Let it be carefully noted that this reasoning applies to space and time—indeed, to every thing that is. We cannot assume space and time, or being of any sort, save to explain phenomena; and if existing, they are active, and, therefore, have a place in the interacting system which requires the unitary, self-existent, basal being for its support and explanation.

It will conduce to clearness, perhaps, if we pause here and take a look backward. We have gone still further from the apparently plain facts of common sense. In the simple effort to make our text consistent with itself, and with the self-evident principles of reason, the independent interacting objects of the external world, together with the space and time in which they are supposed to exist, have gradually vanished. Colors, tastes, smells, sounds, space, and time have retreated from the world without to consciousness, and in their stead is left an Infinite Being, whose activities, together with those of finite consciousnesses, make up the universe. Perhaps some one raises a question here, and asks why consciousnesses instead of consciousness? What reason has the individual

thinker for postulating the existence of any thing else save the Infinite? The Infinite is the cause of causes. No thought, emotion, or sensation presents itself to the thinker of which he is not the cause. Why posit the existence of any thing else? This question is especially pertinent when it is remembered that we have already most violently mistaken the results of its activities for things totally different. We have imagined ourselves seeing a hard, extended, external world, but it has all disappeared in the course of our argument, and we have found the external world of the senses only a projection of the results of the activity of the Infinite. What reason have we to suppose the world of persons is any thing more? Our experiences being what they are, we should have the same reason for believing in a world of persons, if there were no persons in the universe. Will any one say that the Infinite cannot produce in us those experiences of sight and sound which we call seeing and conversing with our friends? These experiences given, and the whole ground of our belief is stated: similar experiences were only the ground of delusion in the case of the external world; why trust them here? Professor Bowne's answer is instructive: "The true reason can be found neither in psychology nor in metaphysics, but only in ethics. Our belief rests ultimately on the conviction that it would be morally unbecoming on the part of God to subject us to any such measureless and systematic deceit," (Principle 10.) At first sight there seems to be an inconsistency here. We have established the existence of our fellows by appealing to the veracity of the Infinite. But we have concluded that the things about us, the objects of the external world, are nothing but the activities of the Infinite. If the veracity of the Infinite is a sufficient guarantee of the world of persons, why not of the world of things? And conversely, if it is not a sufficient guarantee of the world of things, how can we accept the world of persons on such authority? The inconsistency will disappear if our examination of the common-sense theory of the world is borne in mind. By a rigid course of reasoning, we have found ourselves obliged to deny that the being of the external world consists in pure being, or substance, or the sense qualities of matter, and to affirm that it consists in the acts of a unitary, basal being, infinite, in that it is the self-sufficient source

of the finite, and absolute, in that it is not subject to external restriction or determination. It will be remembered that we reached this conclusion to escape contradiction, and to avoid inconsistency with those first principles of which we are as certain as of truth itself. When, then, it is asked, if the veracity of the Infinite does not commit us to the common-sense theory of the world, the question really amounts to this: Does not the veracity of the Infinite commit us to a theory which is full of inherent contradictions and irreconcilably opposed to those first principles whose absolute certitude is guaranteed by their own self-evidence? To say that it does, would be to affirm that we have the authority of the Infinite for being philosophical skeptics, for doubting that there is such a thing as truth attainable by us. This conclusion is absurd. The veracity of the Infinite cannot warrant us in doubting every thing, itself included. If we really have entire confidence in the veracity of the Infinite, we ought to have entire confidence in the faculties which it has given us, and in the conclusions to which a right use of them leads us. If a careful use of our faculties leads us to deny the objective existence of space and time—to affirm that colors, tastes, sounds, and odors are only states of consciousness, and that the external world itself is only the acts of the Infinite—this is the conclusion to which the veracity of the Deity commits us, and no other. But why conclude that the external world is a system of activities, or energizing on the part of the Infinite, and not simply a series of presentations in our minds? Our discussion, so far, has rather consisted in a demonstration that the common-sense view cannot be held, than in the proof that our view is necessarily true. We have, indeed, shown that our view is destitute of contradictions, and that it is in harmony with the first principles of reason, but is not the other also? Those who believe that the external world is simply a series of presentations in our minds may affirm an objective cause, and thereby satisfy the principle of efficient causation. Since the time of Berkeley, no one has had any success in attempting to show that there are any facts which this theory does not account for. All careful thinkers have been compelled to admit that if every thing should cease to exist except God, willing that we should have these experiences which we call perceiving a thing, we should never

know it. Why, then, affirm that the world is any objective fact, even though that objective fact be a system of energizing on the part of the Infinite? The chief reason is, that we "cannot avoid a feeling of dissatisfaction" with the view that "God is doing nothing in time but furnishing finite spirits with ideas that are for the most part illusory." "We lift up our eyes to the heavens, and instead of a revelation of might and magnificence we have a presentation, and this we falsely interpret." "If God have any interest in deceiving us in regard to external knowledge, we have no psychological or metaphysical means of defense against the fraud. Our only ground of assurance is the ethical conviction that such a tissue of deceit and magic would be outrageous. If we further ask what this conviction is based on, the answer must be that there is nothing deeper than itself."—Page 457. (Principle 10.) "If this fail, there is nothing left."

Our "world view, then, contains the following factors: (1) The Infinite energizes under the forms of space and time; (2) The system of energizing according to certain laws and principles, which system appears in thought as the external universe; and, (3) finite spirits, who are in relation to this system, and in whose intuition the system takes on the forms of perception." But what is the relation of finite persons to God? We have seen that impersonal finite things, matter, space, time, all impersonal things, are simply manifestations of the activity of the Infinite. Is this true of finite persons? Professor Bowne does not give a very explicit answer to this question. Hints thrown out here and there, together with the analogies of his system, lead me to think he has followed Lotze here also.* Lotze held that finite persons are a part of the manifestations and activities of the Infinite, which self-consciousness and memory mysteriously transform into substances. Viewed in relation to the Infinite they are phenomena; viewed in relation to themselves they are substances, having the power of free moral agents. Let any theist who finds difficulty with this view try to think through some of his own beliefs, such as, God knows all things, even the thoughts of our hearts; we derive our being from him and live in absolute dependence upon him; we are free moral agents. When

* See Preface, p. 7.

these and similar assertions are thoroughly realized, and their relations to each other comprehended, then let the reader return to this position of Lotze and Professor Bowne.

But what is the relation of the Infinite to the finite? The finite, we have seen, has only a phenomenal existence. The Infinite and its activities, together with conscious finite beings, make up the universe. The Infinite itself, so far as yet appears, may be viewed either as blind, unintelligent, unconscious cause, or as free, intelligent, and conscious. In the former case, the finite must be viewed as expressing the nature of the Infinite; in the latter its plans and purposes. In the latter case "No member of the system will have any ontological or other rights except such as its position and significance in the system secure for it. Every finite being is what it is, and where it is, and when it is, solely and only because of the requirements of the fundamental plan." In the former "the finite is just as dependent, and the nature of the Infinite becomes the determining principle of all existence. The system and its members will be in every respect what this nature may demand, and a knowledge of what can be, will depend upon a knowledge of this nature." Unless you can grasp the nature of the Infinite in the one case, or learn his plans in the other, you have no logical ground for any confidence respecting the future. How do you know that it is not a necessary consequence of the nature of the Infinite, supposing it to be unconscious, that you and all other finite beings should cease to exist in the next instant? Have you been able to discover its nature, and deduce from thence that the universe will stand a thousand years? Supposing it to be conscious, how do you know that it is not in accordance with the purposes of the Infinite that all things should cease to exist in the next instant? Do you talk about deductions from the uniformity of nature, the doctrine of probabilities, the indestructibility of matter, etc.? How do you know that it results from the nature of the Infinite that nature shall be uniform tomorrow? If the Infinite be intelligent, the uniformity of nature is only an expression of the unfailing steadiness of his purposes. Will any one venture to say that it does not accord with the purposes of Omniscience to introduce new factors into the phenomenal system from time to time, and withdraw old ones? How do you know that nature has been uniform in the

past? "If the arch of being were sprung at a word, the laws of the system would still have a virtual focus in the past, just as the rays of light from a convex mirror seem to meet behind the mirror but do not." The doctrine of probabilities is based on the assumption that the known facts are the whole facts. How do you know that the Infinite is not constantly creating new factors and withdrawing old ones, in consequence of the law of his nature or the character of his purpose? The indestructibility of matter is a mere formulation of relations observed between phenomena. How do you know that relations observed during the past will continue in the future? Are you sure that it will always accord with his plans that they should continue, or follow from the nature of the Infinite, supposing it to be unconscious? These questions can not be answered by metaphysics. Our confidence respecting the future is not based on logic or philosophy.

So far we have discussed the significance of the Infinite for the system, whatever be its nature. In this age it is unnecessary to dwell upon the interest and importance of this question as to the nature of the Infinite, and to this we now address ourselves. Given the facts of nature, and the facts and laws of mind, to determine the nature of that Infinite Being of which they are the manifestation; this is our problem. Professor Bowne advances three classes of arguments to prove that the Infinite is an intelligent and free being: (1) Ontological; (2) Cosmological; (3) Arguments based on the consequences of denying it. Under (1) are a variety of arguments. (a) We cannot conceive an impersonal Infinite. (Principle 8.) The attempt to do so results in a conception of interacting activities, instead of an agent exercising those activities. (b) We reach no proper ground of any thing on that hypothesis. State (c) was preceded by state (b,) and this by state (a,) and so on through an infinite regress. There is no satisfaction, no rest for the mind in such a conception as this. "The reason finds no rest in the assumption that the Infinite is determined by its states." We can escape this unrest only by assuming that the Infinite determines its states. (Principle 7.) But if so, (c) the abyss of arbitrariness yawns to ingulf us." A self-determining and yet unconscious infinite could only arbitrarily determine, and there is no rest for the mind in that conception. (Principle 7.)

The mind can find satisfaction in asserting not only that the Infinite is free, but that it is intelligent; that it directs all its activities in accordance with an intelligent purpose. This is the only way (d) in which we can reach an Infinite really absolute and independent. (Principle 8.)

His cosmological arguments are (a) the old design argument, which is too familiar to require statement; and (b) the argument that the Infinite is free because we are, since a necessary cause cannot produce a free effect. (Principle 6.) The first proves, or is intended to prove, intelligence, and the second freedom.

The arguments advanced by Professor Bowne under the third head will not admit of brief statement. I am obliged, therefore, to dismiss them with the remark that, in Professor Bowne's opinion, freedom is necessary both to the Infinite and finite knower, or all trust in reason and science is baseless.

The limits prescribed to me will not allow the development of the remaining parts of this system. Nor is it necessary, if I have succeeded in giving the reader its great, broad outlines. If the reader has thoroughly grasped its fundamental principles he can, to a considerable extent, anticipate its further development. If God and his activities, together with those of finite consciousnesses, make up the universe, he will readily see that the atoms of matter can be nothing but elementary forms of divine activity, and that force is only an abstraction therefrom. Since every thing that is owes its existence to the purpose of the Infinite Intelligence, he will see that the laws of motion, contrary to the opinion of thinkers, are not self-evident, save to those before whom the mind of God, in part at least, is an open page, understood without the reading, but that they are learned simply by observation. He will have no difficulty in deciding the question as to whether the universe is an organism or a mechanism. In so far as the organic theory affirms that the universe is governed by *preconceived* laws, is the expression of purpose, is working toward some definite, intelligent end, in so far, from the point of view we have now reached, it is self-evidently true. In so far as the mechanical theory insists on the universality of law—insists that the present is largely, at least, the product of the past, as the future will be of the present—in so far it also is self-evidently true in a universe which expresses the unchanging purpose of God, a part of which

purpose is that men shall be able to adjust themselves to the world in which they live. The limitations of the mechanical theory will be equally evident. It cannot explain the system which all its processes assume. In assuming, as it does, the changelessness of the quantity of the system, so to speak, that no new factors will appear and no old ones disappear, it is entirely unwarranted. The system, as a whole and in every part, is what it is and where it is and when it is, simply because it expresses the purpose of God. If his purpose demands the creation of new factors, they appear; if it demands the annihilation of old ones, they vanish. Under certain circumstances that elementary form of divine activity which we call an atom obeys the laws of gravity. Under others, the laws of chemistry, heat, electricity, vitality, etc. The much-disputed question of materialism—the question as to the substantiality or non-substantiality of the soul—is seen to be disposed of. Matter is the phenomenal—the non-substantial—and cannot explain any thing. Self-consciousness and memory, which discover, so to speak, and constitute our personality, constitute our substantiality. Phenomenally the materialist is right. The creation of the soul is always preceded by certain material phenomena, but it is only because these material phenomena constitute the circumstances under which God has determined that a new soul shall begin to exist. Professor Bowne's theory of perception is, in part, at least, an immediate inference from his axiom that there can be no action without reaction. (Principle 5.) The nervous motions act upon the mind, and the mind reacts with sensation. The question whether there is any further reaction, as to whether thought imposes forms upon its sensations, brings them into relations by means of its own independent activity, does not follow from any of Professor Bowne's axioms. His affirmative answer, however, can be readily inferred from his position on self-evident truth, already stated.

Here I must bring this exposition to a close. I have only space for the most cursory criticism. If this system can answer five questions correctly it ought to be accepted: (1) Is there self-evident truth? (2) If so, how do we learn it? and (3) What truths are self-evident? (4) What is the true philosophic method? (5) What inferences follow from the correct use of the true philosophic method? Taking the second question first,

Professor Bowne is plainly right in his opinion that if there is self-evident truth it is learned by the direct and immediate apprehension of the mind. If it were learned otherwise it would not be *self*-evident—evident because of itself—but because of other reasons. But, just because of this, it appears to me that we must say that there are practically no self-evident truths, except the purely formal laws of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle. With the exception of these, there seems to me no way of distinguishing between truths really self-evident and those that simply *seem* such. Any system which assumes to rest on self-evident truth must claim that character for the facts of memory. But every one knows that memory sometimes deceives us, and the fact to be noted is, that memory deceiving us and memory telling us the truth have for consciousness the same characteristics. If one is self-evident, so is the other. If one is not, neither is the other. Of course we are obliged to say that the fact, so-called, to which memory falsely testifies is not self-evident; that it only seems to be so; that the final justification of our confidence in memory is to be found elsewhere. Now this seems to me an illustration of a general truth, which, to judge from some of his writings, Professor Bowne apprehends clearly enough. He sums up one of his Chautauqua lectures with this statement: "All beliefs and assumptions which rest upon a fundamental instinct of the mind, and which lead to mental peace, or growth, or self-possession, must be allowed to stand as true until they are positively disproved. All our knowledge rests upon an act of faith which cannot be justified except by its outcome." Now that seems to me to be very near the simple truth, but it plainly gives up the position that knowledge rests on self-evident truth. The so-called self-evident truths are simply "fundamental instincts" which, so far, have led to "mental peace, or growth, or self-possession," and the point to be noted is that this, and not any spurious self-evidence, is their sole philosophic ground. This brings me to the fourth question. Unless Professor Bowne maintains that, in the nature of the case, there can be no change in the fundamental instincts which conduce to "mental peace, or growth, or self-possession" his method transforms itself into Spencer's. His "fundamental instincts" are in the last analysis simply provisional truths, accepted because they conduce

to "mental peace, or growth, or self-possession," and to be accepted as long as they continue to do so. This change of front certainly saves his system from some paradoxical appearances. Why a fact of common sense—the independent, objective existence of space and time, for instance—should be held to be true only provisionally, while the principles of common sense are held to be absolute certainties, it is pretty hard to see. One appears to be just as much or as little self-evident as the other. It appears to me that no idealist can consistently appeal to common sense to establish any truth absolutely; he has disregarded its testimony too violently in rejecting the independent existence of the external world.

If the positions already stated have been correctly taken, the third question is already disposed of. But waiving this, it is to be noted that there is but one way in which it can be shown that certain truths, so-called, are not self-evident. When two propositions contradict each other, only one of them *can* be self-evident; the other, of course, may not be. Now the critical reader has probably seen already the contradiction between Principles 1 and 11. We assume the existence of our fellows on ethical grounds, and not because they explain phenomena, since, as a matter of fact, they do not. Either, then, we must give up our right to believe in the existence of our fellows, or give up his Principle No. 1. That first principle seems to me to be flatly inconsistent with the sound principle quoted from his Chautauqua lecture. Why may not the belief in being be a fundamental instinct, as well as the belief in causation?

The eleventh seems to me absurd on the face of it. If we accept absolutely, and without modification or qualification, every fact of common sense, on the ground that any thing else is inconsistent with the veracity of God, we have a consistent position. But the moment we modify the facts of common sense in the slightest particular all such appeals become absurd. The veracity of God either indorses every fact of common sense or none.

The seventh and eighth, as I have already said, I think Professor Bowne would disclaim, though they are necessary to his reasoning. Let the reader note what ruin befalls this system when Principles 1, 7, 8, and 11 are discredited, and he will see that the answer to the fifth question can be readily dispensed with.

ART. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN AND ORIENTAL JOURNAL, July, 1882. (Chicago.)—1. The Native Races of Colombia; by E. G. Barney. 2. The Divinity of the Hearth; by Rev. O. D. Miller. 3. Palæolithic Man in America; by L. P. Gratacap. 4. Early European Pipes Found in the United States; by E. A. Barber. 5. The Prehistoric Architecture of America; illustrated; by Stephen D. Peet.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, August, September, 1882. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Necessity for the Atonement as Grounded in the Nature of Man; by Rev. A. E. Waffle. 2. Baptist Principles, Practices, and Polity: Their Soundness Vindicated by their Natural Results and Logical Consequences; by T. S. Dunaway, D.D. 3. Will and Free-Will. From the Reliques of the late Samuel Talbot, D.D. 4. The Unpardonable Sin; by Rev. J. W. Davis. 5. A Study of Plutarch—Was He Christian? by J. W. Weddell. 6. Ulrici on "The Soul in its Relation to God:" Translated by Rev. Geo. B. Stevens. 7. Some Hymns and Songs of the German Anabaptists; by Franklin Johnson, D.D.

CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY QUARTERLY, July, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Gains and Losses of Faith from Science; by President Bascom. 2. Recent Physical Theories in their Bearing on the Theistic Argument; by Prof. B. N. Martin. 3. The Bible as a Final Authority for Religious Truth; by Rev. S. S. Martyn. 4. The Final Philosophy; by Rev. William L. Ledwith.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1882. (Columbia, Mo.)—1. Our Relations to the Denominations; by A. J. Thomson, A.M. 2. God's Touch Direct To-Day; by W. B. Gallaher, A.B. 3. Certain Alleged Immoralities of the Bible; by G. W. Longan. 4. Our Power and Our Danger of Suppressing It; by O. A. Carr, A.B. 5. The Permanent Ministry of the Church; by A. E. Myers, A.M. 6. The Simplicity of the Gospel. Part II; by Wm. J. Barbee, A.M., M.D. 7. The Tendency of Protestantism; by J. S. Lamar, A.M.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, July, 1882. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Church's Future: by Prof. E. J. Wolf, D.D. 2. Paul as a Witness to Christ; by President David J. Hill, A.M. 3. The Pastor's Use of the Lord's Supper; by Prof. C. A. Stork, D.D. 4. Beneficiary Education; by Rev. P. G. Bell. 5. The Evangelist of The Old Testament; by Prof. George H Schodde, Ph.D. 6. Romans v, 12; by C. M. Esbjörn, A.B.

NEW ENGLANDER, July, 1882. (New Haven.)—1. Education of Men of Science; by Prof. Edward Hungerford. 2. Modern Materialism; by E. R. L. Gould. 3. Exegesis of 1 Peter iii, 18–20; or, Christ's Preaching to the Spirits-in-Prison; by Rev. Wm. W. Patton, D.D. 4. The Old Testament in the Christian Church; by Rev. James B. Gregg. 5. Spiritualism, a So-called Scientific Question. An Open Letter to Prof. Hermann Ulrici, D.D.; by Prof. A. Wundt, Translated by Rev. J. B. Chase. 6. The Emblems in the Lord's Supper; by Rev. Charles Beecher. 7. The Greek Text of the Revisers and its Critics; by Prof. F. B. Denio. 8. Christianity and Wages; by Rev. O. A. Kingsbury. 9. To a Portrait; by Edward Stanley Thacher.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, July, 1882. (Boston.)—1. Events Incident to the Settlement of New Netherland; by James R. Stanwood, Esq. 2. Wendell Genealogy. With Tabular Pedigree; by James R. Stanwood, Esq. 3. Constables, (Concluded;) by Prof. Herbert B. Adams, Ph.D. 4. Genealogy of Ezekiel Williams of New Hartford, N. Y.; by Thos. B. Seward, Esq. 5. Letters of the Rev. John Eliot; Com. by G. D. Scull, Esq. 6. Braintree Records, (Continued;) Com. by Samuel A. Bates, Esq. 7. Codenham, Codnam, Codman: by Arthur Amory Codman, Esq. 8. Thacher's Record of Marriages at Milton, (Continued;) Com. by Edward D. Harris, Esq.

9. Descendants of Bartholomew and Richard Cheever; by John T. Hassam, A.M. 10. Longmeadow Families, (Continued;) Com. by Willard S. Allen, A.M. 11. Wentworths at Bermuda; by Hon. John Wentworth, LL.D. 12. Additions and Corrections to the Wentworth Genealogy; by Hon. John Wentworth, LL.D.

PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1882. (New York.)—1. Wages, Prices, and Profits; by Hon. Carroll D. Wright. 2. The Personality of God and of Man; by Geo. P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D. 3. Polygamy in New England; by Leonard Woolsey Bacon. 4. Rationality, Activity, and Faith; by Prof. William James. 5. The New Irish Land Law; by Prof. King. 6. Proposed Reforms in Collegiate Education; by Lyman H. Atwater.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, July, 1882. (Boston.)—1. St. Thomas Aquinas and the Future Life; by Rev. S. S. Hebberd. 2. The Divine Responsibility; by Rev. C. W. Biddle. 3. Theories of Skepticism—Atheism; by Wm. Tucker, D.D. 4. Human Destiny a Vital Question; by Rev. Varnum Lincoln. 5. The Puritans and the Quakers; by Leo R. Lewis. 6. The Restoration of Humanity; by Rev. G. M. Harmon. 7. "The Celestial Earth" of the Ancients; by Rev. O. D. Miller.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1882. (New York.)—1. Emerson as a Poet; by Edwin P. Whipple. 2. The Business of Office-Seeking: by Richard Grant White. 3. Hydraulic Pressure in Wall-street. 4. The Ruins of Central America. Part XI; by Désiré Charnay. 5. The Things which Remain; by Gail Hamilton. 6. False Taste in Art; by Francis Marion Crawford.

August.—1. Progress of Thought in the Church; by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. 2. The Organization of Labor; by T. V. Powderly. 3. The United States Army; by Archibald Forbes. 4. Woman's Work and Woman's Wages; by Charles W. Elliott. 5. The Ethics of Gambling; by O. B. Frothingham. 6. The Remuneration of Public Servants; by Frank D. Y. Carpenter. 7. Artesian Wells upon the Great Plains; by Dr. C. A. White.

At the time that rumors were pervading the public mind impeaching the moral conduct of Mr. Beecher we were in Florida, and were asked by a venerable Presbyterian minister, "What is the present impression at the North in regard to Mr. Beecher?" We replied, as nearly as we can recollect, in the following words: "We are all very unwilling to associate any impure idea with Mr. Beecher's moral character. As to his theology, we Methodists do not now vary very far from his positions, but we have fearful misgivings as to where he will finally land." "That," replied he, "exactly expresses my feeling." At the present time Mr. Beecher may talk about "the Church," but the evangelical Church does not accept him as her spokesman, nor adopt his statements as generally just or true.

Mr. Beecher's first sentence (in Article First) is this: "It may seem strange to say that if the American people are ever driven away from the Church, and from faith in the Christian religion, it will be the fault of the Church and of the pulpit."

This reminds us of a chapter in the "Memoir of Byron" written a few years ago by his elegant Italian strumpet, Guicci-

oli. In treating the moral character of that celebrated genius she showed to her own satisfaction, and no doubt to the satisfaction of her own class, that Byron's immoralities were the result of the misdoings of the Christian people. If they had managed right he would have been right. Society, the Church, and the moral classes were truly responsible; and if any body is damned, doubtless it should be they, and not he. Similarly, some years ago, Dean Stanley and other good bodies, called a public meeting of non-churchgoers to furnish in public conference the reasons for not attending worship and becoming Christians. The dean and his brethren were richly rewarded. Such lectures they got, showing that the clergy, the Church, and the Christian community were all wrong, and entirely responsible for the negligence of the Sabbath-breaking rabble, while the rabble itself was all justified and right! And lately some feminine genius, we think it was Gail Hamilton, came out with an essay, in the "Independent," if we rightly recall, of similar ethics, showing us that the Christian folks were all responsible for the rampant atheism of Robert Ingersoll. These rascally Christian people have done so, and so, and so; whereas, if they had done thus, and thus, and thus, Robert would have been a saint, perhaps the Whitefield of the age. And now Mr. Beecher, at the first off, is pleased to tell us that if the age becomes infidel the Church is responsible. And the remedy he furnishes for the Church is to become semi-infidel. Let the Church give up half, and of course, when it has done that, it will never be called upon—O not at all—to *surrender the other half.*

Now all these impeachments of the good are very fine gospel to make the sinners happy. It is delightful news for the harlots to know that the chaste are alone guilty for all their peccadillos; for the drunkards to realize that the temperance folks are really guilty for their own inebriation; for the atheists to rejoice in the responsibilities of the worshipers of God for their blasphemies; for the Sabbath-breaker to know that the quiet people in church are the real rowdies; for the Guiteaus to sing hymnals over the divine assurance that it is the Garfields that ought to be hung; just as Mr. Beecher assures the infidels that the Church is to blame for their unbelief.

We trample down these foul libels upon the Christian

Church and upon all the good. Unbelief is responsible for itself. It is the sinner that is to be damned, not the righteous. It is the infidel rejecter of God and Christ that will be sentenced by Christ to everlasting death. If the age becomes infidel it will be the work of the Darwins, the Huxleys, the Du Bois-Raymonds, the Haeckels, and their semi-Christian apologists. It was Byron, not Reginald Heber nor Richard Watson, that committed public adultery with the Guiccioli in Italy. "He that is wise is wise *for himself;* and he that scorneth he alone shall bear it."

How was Reginald Heber, as a responsible being, any more called upon to take care of the soul of Lord Byron than Byron to take care of the soul of Reginald Heber? How am I any more bound to take care of Mr. Ingersoll's well-being than Mr. Ingersoll to take care of me? It may be said that Heber made such his profession, and so was bound to special responsibility. But Lord Byron was as much bound to assume all the conditions, professional or otherwise, of responsibility as Reginald Heber. They both stand on the same primitive responsible hard-pan. And what right has the profligate to hold himself authorized to run into all excess of riot, and charge it to society and Church? He is as much bound to make society and Church better as any body, and his damning guilt is that he is doing what he can, against their best efforts, to make them worse. Society and Church would be better but for him. He is a part of society, and its damaging and demoralizing part, and his damnation is just.

Mr. Beecher surrenders Genesis, Eden, and the fall of man to ultra-Darwinism, embracing the monkeydom of man. To render the doctrines of the Fall and original sin odious, he identifies them with the doctrine of reprobation, and quotes the Calvinistic "Confession" on that point at full length. He thus ignores the fact that predestination was rejected by the early Church as heresy; by the eastern Church always; and generally by the western Church. He forgets that, even at the Reformation and after, it was rejected by Melanchthon, Arminius, and Wesley, and all their adherents. But the fall of man and original sin are, unlike predestination, simply facts of "heredity;" a heredity not more objectionable than evolution plentifully admits. Rejecting the doctrine of "inherited

guilt," the Fall simply implies that *our first progenitor fixed the moral grade of his posterity by the laws of generation.* Assuming that there is a definite human *species*, which Mr. Beecher admits, then he may be defied to show it unreasonable that there should be a definite progenitor of that *species*, and that the character of the *species*, as *species*, should be graded by "heredity" from that progenitor.

Mr. Beecher annihilates Adam as "with a besom." Yet how can he do without an Adam? He still believes, we assume, in the *immortality* of the human species. Then the human species, as a species, and as *human*, had commencement. The species thus has a unity. It has a transcendent mark of *species*, invisible to Mr. Huxley but recognized by Mr. Beecher—immortality! There must also have been a moment when it ceased to be mere mortal brute and became *immortal* MAN. There must, then, have been a chronological point of commenced immortality—and that let us call the Adam point. Did it commence with a myriad individuals at once, or with but one? Logical parsimony, which forbids assuming more than necessary, suggests that it should be with but one. All human-like forms previous to that one, then, are but anthropoids, not *men*. That *one is our* ADAM. He may have been preceded by hundreds of generations of anthropoids. He was, if Darwinism is true. He may have been contemporaneous with anthropoids. Those anthropoids may have been able to chip a flint, to utter monosyllabic speech, nay, to sketch a mammoth or reindeer. All this does not destroy our Adam. That Adam, reasoning scientistically, may have been billions and trillions of years ago; or he may have been, as sacred history says, seven thousand years ago; just as the incarnate Jesus (in whose incarnation, we assume, Mr. Beecher still believes) was less than two thousand years ago. And when we consider what an endowment IMMORTALITY is, how transcendent the change from brute annihilation to a resurrection and a bright eternal life, it is scarce rational to suppose that it is a mere *natural* event. We know no energy in nature to produce such a change. It was, then, a *divine* INAUGURATION. Whether made from fresh terrene material, or from some humbler form of life, (in regard to which we have our opinion,) immortal man was a transcendently new creation, and

a very "special creation." And we can hardly conceive that it should take place without throwing an Eden, like a divine halo, around the scene, and around the brand-new Immortal. Fresh from the divine hand, yet a free being, we could believe that his radiant nature, if freely retained and hereditarily transmitted, would have flung a perpetual Eden on the earth's surface. How easily might a divine ether diffused through our atmosphere render earth a paradise and man an ever-blooming youth! And surely if man were angel-like earth would be heaven-like. We can conceive, too, that if man sinned and fell, that Eden would dissipate and leave a desert under curse. All this reasoning is valid if man became transfigured from brutality to immortality. Accepting this, how well can we understand Paul's parallelism between the first and second Adam in Rom. v, 12–21! Rejecting it, what an emptied, shriveled skin is left of our Christianity!

Mr. Beecher gives the following picture of the present apostasy, as it presents itself to his exultant eye:

> The signs are in the air. Men no longer preach doctrines to which they swore in their ordination vows—or they give to them new meanings, at variance with historic fact. It is beginning to be permitted men to preach their own view of truth unclipped by creeds. Sagacious and cautious men are quietly sowing seed which they know will by and by destroy old notions. Other men testify to change, by greater zeal in teaching the old symbols of doctrine. Every age has a race of men who elect themselves to the care of other men's beliefs, who appoint themselves God's sheriffs to hunt and run down heretics. They are very busy. Men are ceasing to employ creeds as lines of separation between sect and sect, and are shaking hands in a higher fellowship over and across them. Creeds have ceased to be employed as conservatories of piety. Orthodoxy confesses that truth can no longer be kept in church or seminary by creeds, but only by living faith.—Pp. 108, 109.

He thus states the case of Andover:

> Andover, next to Princeton the very Jerusalem of Jerusalems of orthodoxy, triply guarded by a creed made tight and strong beyond all breaking or picking, and to which the whole body of its professors were sworn to reswear every five years, has, alas! with some levity and merriment, shown to the world with what agility good men could fly over it, walk around it. They interpret the creed of fifty years ago, not by what its makers meant, but by what the professors think they ought to have meant,

and would have meant if they had received a full Andover course!—P. 109.

What remains of Mr. Beecher's Christian faith is thus indicated:

Between the heaven and the earth there stands God in human form, a man of such purity, wisdom, beneficence, that men believe that he came from above to translate heavenly life and love into earthly conditions. Superior to his own age, he has found no rival. If one was needed to teach men how to think of God, how to understand his goodness, his meanings, the genius of God's life and disposition, was not Jesus the very one? What power without ostentation! What insight into the soul's most subtle secrets! His very obscurity was as of one whose head was above the clouds. How much he thought of men, and how little of all the things after which the whole world rushed! What rigor of ideal purity! What pity for those who fell short of it! Crowns and kingdoms and dynastic eminence could not represent (?) such a one. While ages have quarreled, debating the evidences of divinity from the mechanical arrangements of dynastic power, the true tests of godliness have been neglected. To prove his divinity, men have trod down every vestige of evidence. They have despised men, hated and slain, convulsed kingdoms, soaked the earth with blood, and filled the sanctuary with infernal passions, in fierce argument to prove that Christ might be deemed divine! The signs and proof of divinity must be looked for in the soul. Love is royal. God is Love. Greater love hath no man than that he lay down his life for his friends. Jesus did it for love, and is forever King in the Realm of Love.

Is such a name to die? Will the world, when science shall have revealed all its secrets, find any thing else so precious, so needful for hope, for comfort, as this great soul that stood between men and God, to teach them the way to God?—Pp. 116, 117.

Except the brief phrase "God in human form," M. Renan might have written this passage describing Jesus as "a great religious genius." Let us hope against hope that Mr. Beecher means this phrase as confession of a true incarnation. The passage then stands like a lonely obelisk, remaining amid blank and desolation. We do not, then, quite know where Mr. Beecher has thus far "landed." But we apprehend that he is, and probably ever will be, about in harmony with the general tenor of what we may call the popular, secular, *newspaper theology*. And the said *newspaper theology* is about the poorest stuff extant.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, July, 1882. (New York.)—1. Recent Ethical Theory; by Rev. W. E. Hamilton, D.D. 2. Is the Advent Pre-Millennial? by Prof. Samuel H. Kellogg, D.D. 3. Biblical Theology; by Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D.D. 4. Alexander Campbell and the Disciples; by Rev. E. F. Hatfield, D.D. 5. Delitzsch on the Origin and Composition of the Pentateuch; by Prof. Samuel Ives Curtiss, Ph.D.

In Article Fifth Professor Curtiss gives a tolerably clear statement of the fundamental positions of the three schools of Old Testament criticism, as represented by Keil, Delitzsch, and Kuenen:

Keil belongs to that school which is bound in its interpretation and criticism of the Scriptures by certain dogmatic and *a priori* positions. Hengstenberg was a prominent representative of this school. Their view of the doctrine of Inspiration leads them to reject the idea that there can be any error in the chronological, the historic, or the scientific statements of Scripture. Their motto is *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus.* They concede that errors have crept into the text, but they hold that the Scriptures, as originally penned, were a perfect and harmonious document. The effort of this school is to harmonize discrepancies. They maintain that, when science has reached its ultimate goal, it will coincide with that of the Bible, and that every fact of Biblical history, so far as it has been correctly transmitted to us, will be found to be sustained by ancient monuments as they are brought to light. They stand or fall with the inviolable truth of Scripture in all its parts, whether of doctrine or history.

Delitzsch belongs to the evangelical wing of the so-called modern critical school. That wing starts with but one chief presupposition—the possibility of the supernatural and miraculous. They are prepared to find God a factor in history. For the rest they maintain that here as elsewhere there can be no scientific investigation which does not diligently inquire, What are the facts? These facts may be palatable or not. The investigator may ardently wish that they were otherwise, but he considers truth of greater importance than the teachings of any system, however venerable, for the facts may modify his system, and show where perhaps it has been erroneous or incomplete. He must not derive his views of Inspiration from the theories of the Fathers or of the Schoolmen, but from the statements of the Scriptures themselves as interpreted in the light of facts.

Delitzsch holds that theologians are in danger of losing sight of the human side by exalting the divine element too highly. There are marks of human imperfection and weakness in the Scriptures. These are not only manifested in the progressive element in the revelation, but also in the modes by which the Scriptures were transmitted and preserved. We need not therefore be surprised if we should find here and there errors in the history and the chronology of the Scriptures; and if we should find discrepancies in the accounts. These do not touch the es-

sence of Scripture; it is still a divine book, although it bears the marks of human infirmity. Furthermore, God took in the needs of the human mind, and the progress of human thought in making a revelation. Sacrifice was a human institution to which God graciously condescended, and which he adopted. But there is one conclusion of the critics from which Professor Delitzsch shrinks as unworthy of a holy God; it is that theory—held also in a carefully modified form by Professor W. Robertson Smith—which maintains that certain portions of the Old Testament are literary fictions, pre-eminently Deuteronomy and the so-called Middle Books of the Pentateuch. It will be seen, however, that even in this he does not proceed altogether on *a priori* grounds, but that he founds his theory on a substratum of fact.—Pp. 556–559.

The views of the third school are thus stated by Delitzsch in contrast with his own:

"The historical criticism, as it is practiced by Kuenen and others, starts from the dogmatic presupposition of the modern view of the world; this criticism denies miracle, denies prophecy, denies revelation; and, employing these words, it joins with them philosophical, not Biblical, conceptions; the results of the criticism are, in the main points, ready, before all investigation. On the contrary, our criticism starts from an idea of God, from which the possibility of *miracle* follows, and, confessing the resurrection of Christ, it confesses the reality of a central miracle to which the miracles of redemption-history refer as the planets do to the sun. It confesses with respect to the harmony of Old Testament predictions and the New Testament fulfillment, the reality of *prophecy*. It confesses in consequence of self-knowledge, and of the recognition of God, which Christianity affords, the reality of *revelation*." Professor Delitzsch confesses in the third thesis that he "rejects *a priori* all results of criticism which abolish the Old Testament premises of the religion of Redemption."—Pp. 556, 557.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, July, 1882. (Andover.)—1. Mediæval German Schools; by James Davie Butler, LL.D. 2. Greece as a European Kingdom; by Rev. A. N. Arnold, D.D. 3. The Legend of the Buddha, and the Life of the Christ; by Rev. S. H. Kellogg, D.D. 4. The History of Research Concerning the Structure of the O. T. Historical Books; by Prof. Archibald Duff, M.A., LL.D. 5. The Integrity of the Book of Isaiah; by Rev. William Henry Cobb. 6. Theological Education. 7. The "Sacred Books of the East;" by Rev. Charles W. Park.

Among the most remarkable articles lately appearing in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" is a series by Rev. William Henry Cobb on the unity of Isaiah. The attempts of the German neologists to mutilate this book by attributing its latter section to a pseudo-Isaiah who wrote in the closing part of the Captivity raises the question, Is that section Babylonian or

Palestinian? Was it written by the Isaiah of Hezekiah's reign in Judea, or under the sway of pagan princes in the far East? Mr. Cobb, in an investigation unique for its ingenuity and thoroughness, leaves it clear with every candid reader that if it ever was a question, it is no longer so. In the present number he handles Mr. Cheyne, the author of an English commentary on the Isaian duplicates, and writer of an article on the book in the "Encyclopædia Brittanica," with an amiable temper but an implacable logic.

Professor Duff, who endeavors (Art. 4) to give a favorable view of Robertson Smith's importations from the German assailants of the Old Testament canon, furnishes the following not very recommendatory account of its real origin:

The Reformation in Germany set men free to think, and commanded them to study as men had seldom studied or thought before. But the most scholarly fruits of the Reformation could not be reaped at once nor early. Men had to fight with sword and pen. What they built was the fortress, then homes on silenced battle-fields, warehouses, council-chambers, universities. What they wrote was protests, charters, declarations, exhortations, devout sermons, hymns militant, or poetry that was feeble save where here and there a mountain song or a hymn of real faith burst forth. Each word served its generation; but students were ever yearning after a more graceful, truer speech, that they might think therewith more truly. Lessing arose and spoke, teaching the soul to utter itself and to listen to its own music. Then Kant summoned men to come and reason together. It was *God's grace that spoke through these two men*, as it was his providence that created them. The queen Science awoke ere long; and in pulpit and lecture-hall the eloquent, yet profound Schleiermacher poured forth his consciousness of the love of God, and sought to unravel the story of religious feeling in man and among men. A mysterious, devout thinker next appeared, declaring that in and through our own reason we may find God in ourselves, God in all history. Hegel's theory was grand and true, but a theory that needed demonstration and true illustration from the actual reading of all history's minutest details. When, then, Vatke (1835) professed to apply that theory to the Hebrew religion, and said, "Leviticus must have followed Isaiah, for sacerdotalism always follows faith;" the answer was at once, "A fair theory; but theory cannot stand upon itself. We question the truth of the theory, for all men believe that Leviticus preceded Isaiah. Let us study the books, the actual records, and test both the old belief and the new theory by these." Ewald plunged deep into the ocean of Semitic language and history, and wandered long in the depths, throwing up strange dis-

turbances, troubling the waters and all who would follow him. He paid little attention to Vatke's hypothesis, but was himself too often an inventor of *a priori* theories. When a generation had come and gone it was found, now twenty years ago, that in the opinion of the majority of Old Testament scholars the Pentateuch was constructed out of several distinct documentary elements, just as Semitic books of narrative are usually constructed. It was believed that there were three chief elements: first, a so-called Elohistic or priestly and somewhat philosophic document, dating from the early days of the kingdoms; secondly, a so-called Jehovistic or more popular document, which dated from the middle period of the kings, and whose narrative is interwoven with the Elohistic record; thirdly, the Deuteronomic document, dating from the reign of Josiah, a generation before the fall of the kingdom of Judah.—Pp. 501–503.

The theory, then, appears to be exegetics cast into an evolutionary mold, the canon sliced to pieces and put together again according to Darwinism. The principles of the theory are derived by "heredity" from a line of German skeptics and rationalists—Lessing, Kant, Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Vatke.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1882. (Philadelphia.)—1. What is the Outlook for our Colleges? 2. King James I. of England; by R. M. Johnston. 3. Robert Southwell; by Joseph A. Nolan, Ph.D. 4. Garibaldi and the Revolution in Italy; by John MacCarthy. 5. Protestant Churches and Church-goers; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 6. "Nearing the True Pole;" by A. de G. 7. The Decline of Painting as a Fine Art; by Arthur Waldon. 8. The Deistic Revelation of Spiritism; by Rev. J. F. X. Hœffer, S. J. 9. Michael Davitt's Scheme for "Nationalizing the Land;" by George D. Wolff.

The Catholic Quarterly is sure that Protestantism is declining. For this it has its proof facts; a few of which we give for the study of Dr. Dorchester and other optimistic statisticians.

THE COMPARATIVE ATTENDANCE OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC CHURCH-GOERS.

The Philadelphia Times of March 17 announced that by a calculation made on the previous Sunday 38,019 attended 9 Catholic churches, and 19,946 attended 56 Protestant churches. The proportion is about the same; the average attendance of a Catholic church being 4,000, that of a Protestant church about 300.

In April, 1881, the same experimental test was resorted to in New Haven, one of the capitals of the State of Connecticut. There 40 Protestant churches could gather only 12,000 within their walls, while 5 Catholic churches had congregations numbering 12,431; the Protestant average corresponding with that of Philadelphia, though the Catholic average was less. . . .

The Boston Advertiser made arrangements to take, on April

16, 1882, not a United States census, but a common-sense census of the number attending the services at every church in the city. Of the result it is said: "In a general view, the total view is a very considerable understatement, on account of the numerous forenoon services held in the Roman Catholic churches, all of which have a large attendance,"—in other words, the early masses (each of which has a distinct congregation not generally attending any other mass) were not included. Yet what was the result!

23 Baptist Churches	15,775	2 Swedenborgian	530
3 Congregational	805	3 Union churches	775
25 Congregational Trinitarian	15,005	9 Universalist	2,337
24 Congregational Unitarian	9,326	11 Miscellaneous and non-sectarian	2,738
20 Episcopalian	12,040		
6 Jewish	958		
2 Lutheran	591	160 Protestant churches	75,572
23 Methodist Episcopal	9,336	30 Catholic churches (early masses not generally counted)	49,337
2 Methodist	2,058		
7 Presbyterian	3,300		

Thus, in the chief city of Puritan New England, there were, according to these figures, two Catholic to three Protestant church-goers, and on a full count including all the masses, the Catholics would undoubtedly equal the Protestant in number.

In the same month a census was taken in St. Louis, which showed at 104 Protestant churches 34,109, and at 34 Catholic churches 85,171, the Protestant average being about 320—the Congregational with 2,105 in 5 churches, the German Evangelical with 3,868 in 8 churches, German Lutheran 3,651 in 9 churches, Methodist Episcopal with 5,833 in 16 churches, Presbyterians 6,926 in 17 churches, being above the average. . . .

Berlin, the center of the Kulturkampf against Catholicity, has a population so little given to church-going that most of the places of worship are comparatively empty on Sunday. Though, as we have seen, church-going has so rapidly declined here, American Protestants are shocked at the state of affairs in Berlin.

In London it is the same. Many of the old Catholic churches in that city, which the Established Church has retained, have on Sunday congregations of less than fifty. It is proposed to suppress some of the churches, and consolidate the parishes. The Ritualists are the only ones belonging to the Establishment which seem to interest any large numbers, and this is perhaps one reason of the hostility manifested toward them. There the Catholic churches overflow, and if the government sells the time-honored shrines, some of them will be, like Ely Chapel, restored to Catholic worship. Then the contrast will be sharply defined: then churches which Protestantism could not save from utter emptiness, will be filled with crowds who gather to offer the holy sacrifice.—Pp. 474, 475, 477.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1882. (London.)—1. Recent Japanese Progress. 2. The Puritan Element in Longfellow. 3. The Hittites and the Bible. 4. Bach and Handel. 5. The Poetry of Rossetti. 6. The Situation in Ireland. 7. The Ministry and Parliament.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Fall of the House of Stuart. 2. Rossetti's Poems. 3. The Empire of the Chalifs. 4. The Comedies of Terence. 5. Origins of English History. 6. The Panama Canal. 7. The Life and Writings of Edoardo Fusco. 8. The Late Lord Tweeddale's Ornithological Essays. 9. Sir Thomas Brassey on the British Navy. 10. The Haigs of Bemersyde. 11. Lord Beaconsfield's Speeches and Literary Works.

July.—1. Don Sebastian and his Personators. 2. Siemens' Theory of Solar Heat. 3. Indian Administration and Finance. 4. Littré, Dumas, Pasteur, and Taine. 5. The Red Book of Menteith. 6. North Borneo. 7. American Society in American Fiction. 8. Lecky's England in the Eighteenth Century. 9. Three in Norway. 10. A Retrospect of the Session. Note on Naval Administration.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1882. (New York.)—1. The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I. 2. Italian Literature of the Renaissance. 3. Mr. Matthew Arnold on Wordsworth and Byron. 4. Mrs. Fanny Kemble's Records of her Life. 5. Chinese Literature: its Connection with Babylonia. 6. Natural Scenery. 7. State and Prospects of English Literature. 8. Medieval Hymns. 9. Mozley's Oxford Reminiscences. 10. The Paralysis of Government.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1882. (London.)—1. Christianity according to Christ; by Rev. J. Monro Gibson, D.D. 2. The Catacombs of Rome; translated by Clement de Faye from the French of E. Schérer. 3. Have we an Ethical Substitute for Christianity? by Rev. John Smith, M.A. 4. The Exchange of Places. 5. Christendom in the Parables of our Lord; by Rev. John Kelly. 6. Constructive Exegesis; by Rev. Prof. William Arnold Stevens. 7. The Collapse of Faith; by Rev. Noah Porter, D.D. 8. The Influence of the German University System on Theological Literature; by Rev. Prof. R. L. Dabney, D.D.

Of all the articles in this number the most suited to the times is the eighth, taken from the "Southern Presbyterian Review," written by Dr. R. L. Dabney, Professor in Union Theological Seminary, Virginia. It describes the religious state of Germany, the causes of its sad condition, the nature of that sort of theological and biblical schooling which some of our home theologians are zealous to Americanize, and reveals the results that follow.

Dr. Dabney belongs to the most high-strung Calvinistic school, and seems to imagine the *horribile decretum* to be the article of a standing or falling Church. Unfortunately the pages of the fine old "Presbyterian Review" are open to this neology. He will find perhaps that a less narrow foundation will prove a firmer for the Evangelical Church. As yet we

know no Methodist periodical in England or America, no theological professor, no leading theologian, who will give place for one hour to these attacks upon the sacred canon.

The following reminds us of the non-religious character of the German pastor and theological professor:—

With this State subjugation of the Church, and doctrine of baptismal regeneration, every German Protestant child is baptized in infancy, and is confirmed at the approach of puberty, before it is betrothed or conscripted. All are full members of the Church; all have been to their first communion; there is no church discipline in the hand of any spiritual court to deprive any of membership, although he become infidel, atheist, adulterer, or drunkard. Every member of the Church is, so far as ecclesiastical title goes, eligible to a theological professorship. The appointing power to theological chairs is virtually the State. *There is no need whatever that a man be ordained to the ministry, that he have a saving, personal knowledge of the Gospel, or make any profession of it.* Rather is it necessary that he attain the proper academic degree, defend his *Thesis theologica* in a Latin disputation, get himself much talked of as a diligent linguist and student, and an adventurous, slashing critic; and that he be acceptable to the government. The class of theological students, from whom the appointments to theological professorships most naturally are taken, *does not pretend to be in any way more spiritually-minded than the body of university students.* To require a credible profession of regeneration and spiritual life, as a prerequisite for joining a theological school, (or for receiving ordination and a parish even,) would excite, in Germany, nothing but *astonishment:* it would be hard to tell whether the feeling of absurdity or of resentment would most predominate in the German mind at this demand. It is not meant that none of this class of students are devout, praying men; there are, doubtless, cases of true piety. But no such profession or quality is ever demanded. Certainly there exists, between the mass of the students of divinity and the others, no marked distinction of manners, morals, church attendance, or habits of devotion. Church historians know that the theory of Spener and Francke was denounced by the general mind of Lutheran Germany, and dubbed by the nickname of "Pietism." But that theory was, in the main, embraced by evangelical Christians in America as almost a self-evident truth. It is at least an accepted axiom that the pastor, and especially the teacher of pastors, must be a man who has spiritual experience of the truth.

Hence, the American evangelical Christian must be reminded of the large abatement to be made in estimating the weight to be attached to much of the German theology. To tell our people that an author is *a theological professor*, is virtually to say, that he is not only a living, experimental Christian, but that he

is supposed to be an eminent one. His opinions are the object almost of religious reverence. At least, he has credit for the most thorough earnestness and sincerity in his teachings. It is supposed, as of course, that his declarations are made with all the solemn intent proper to one who believes himself dealing with the interests of immortal souls. It is hard for our people, practically, to feel that a man so trusted in the holiest things may be dealing with the sacred text in precisely the same spirit as that in which he would criticise a Saga, or an Anacreontic ode. To appreciate the matter aright, they should represent to themselves a Bancroft or an Emerson, with aims perhaps very genteel and scholarly, but wholly non-religious and unspiritual, criticising the authorship of Ossian, or of Junius's Letters.—Pp. 554, 555.

The following narrates the period of assault on the New Testament, as now it is that of assault on the Old:—

In the latter part of the last century, Semler led off in what was then the new school of Rationalism, explaining away every thing in the sacred records which transcended human conception. To-day, while there are plenty in Germany who hold to his skeptical results, none follow or believe in his criticism. He was first *Professor of Theology in*, and at last head of, the divinity school of Halle. Eichhorn was a famous professor of Oriental languages and literature at Göttingen, up to 1827. He also is a disbeliever in all the supernatural, and explains all the miracles of the Bible as natural events. The Book of Isaiah he regarded as entirely unauthentic—the product of a plurality of writers put together at random.

De Wette was theological professor in the University of Basel. He is usually regarded as the founder of the historico-critical school in Germany, which was, though less extreme than the Tübingen school, tinctured largely with Rationalism. He does not believe that the Chronicles are Scripture, or that the Apostle Paul wrote Ephesians or 1st Timothy. The latter he rejects, because it has un-Pauline phrases, and because it portrays a too advanced state of the Gnostic heresy for Paul's day, and a church government too mature. In these points he has been utterly refuted by Bunsen's *Hippolytus*.

Paulus, professor of theology at Heidelberg, 1811, was a thorough Rationalist, who "sat down to examine the Bible with the profound conviction that every thing in it represented as supernatural was only natural, or fabulous; and that *true criticism* consisted in endeavoring to prove this."

Baur (Ferd. Chr.) was Professor of Protestant theology at Tübingen from 1826 to 1860. He is usually regarded as the founder of the "Tübingen school," which arrogates to itself the name of "*the* critical." He has been both represented and contradicted by his pupils and successors, Volkmar, Keim, Hilgen-

feld, etc. Its principles may be said to be two: that nothing supernatural can ever have really occurred; and that the Christianity of the first age was from the first divided by two hostile and contradictory schools, the *Petrine* and the *Pauline*. For this notable hypothesis the only tangible pretext is the narrative of Gal. ii, 11–16. The advocates of the two doctrines had, he thinks, each their Gospels, compiled to suit their views; and the later Gospels, especially John's, were forged to smooth over this fatal breach and hush up the squabble, long after the deaths of the men whose names they bear. Hence, the source of the materials used for these pious frauds must be guessed. The guess of Baur and Volkmar is, that at first there was a brief writing of somebody, possibly the Evangelist Matthew, strictly Petrine (or Judaizing) in tenor. Somebody on the Pauline, or Liberal side, got up a life of Christ in Luke's name. Of this the Luke now in our Bibles is a later re-hash and expansion. Then somebody, to make weight against this fuller Luke, about A. D. 134, wrote the book which now passes by the name of Matthew. And after this somebody forged the Gospel of Mark, as it now stands, in order to smooth over this ugly Petrine and Pauline difference, and give homogeneity to the Christian scheme. Then, finally, about 170 A. D., still another forger wrote a Gospel, with the object of completing this amalgamation, and affixed the apostle John's name to it. But Baur's pupil, Hilgenfeld, supposes Matthew was completed first, then Mark, and then Luke. Köstlin thinks there was first a Mark, then Matthew, then another Mark, then Luke. Ewald, once at Tübingen, but later at Göttingen, teaches that there was (1) a Gospel of Philip; (2) some *Logia* or speeches of Jesus, of unknown authorship; (3) a short biography ascribed to Mark; (4) an anonymous Gospel; (5) the Matthew now in our Bibles; (6, 7, 8) three short writings of unknown authors, detailing incidents of Christ's early years, of which there is no extant remains or proof, but of which Ewald speaks as confidently as though he had them in his hand.

But an anonymous critic of this Tübingen school cuts the matter short. The "Anonymous Saxon" concludes that the fourth Gospel was the work of John, but that it is wholly unreliable and false. His theory is, compared with the learned Ewald's, refreshing for its simplicity. It is that John did his own lying.—Pp. 559–561.

Scholars have remarked how very similar the assaults of Kuenen and Smith now are to those of Baur and his school. Strauss and Baur had no followers among the theologians of America. Kuenen is more fortunate.

The following is a picture of the condition to which Kuenenism would bring us:

The evangelical Christian accordingly recognizes the spiritual atmosphere of these great centers of learning as *fearfully cold.* One index of this is, that American students of divinity around them, although sufficiently masters of the language to attend German lectures, feel themselves instinctively drawn to set up separate preaching. Devotional meetings are rare. Sunday is, to most, merely a holiday. The average university student is heard to boast, not seldom, that he has not entered a church for a year, and hopes not to do so until his marriage, when he will have to enter it once more. But he is none the less a baptized and confirmed member of the Lutheran Church. The state of church attendance tells the whole story as to the spiritual atmosphere. Berlin now has more than one million one hundred thousand people. It has about thirty-two Protestant places of worship, of which many are very small, and scarcely any have a full attendance. Göttingen is a little city of twenty thousand. Its university has about seventy professors and one thousand students. In the whole town and university are four places of Protestant worship—two of which are small. The "University Church" has *one sermon a fortnight* during the sessions. On a good day one may see there from fifteen to twenty-five young men who may pass for students, or, maybe, in part, genteel merchants' clerks. The theological department counts from eighty to a hundred students! Where are these on Sunday morning? "In the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg an inquiry was made, in 1854, into the condition of the Lutheran Church, and it was found that no service had been held in the head churches for 228 times because there had been no congregations!" No one has drawn this picture in darker colors than the evangelical divine, Christlieb, of Bonn. He says: "There are large parishes in Berlin and Hamburg where, according to recent statistics, only from one to two per cent. of the population are regular church-goers. Elsewhere it is somewhat better. But speaking of Germany in general, we may say that in the larger towns the proportion seldom exceeds nine or ten per cent., and in the majority of cases it is far lower." In fact, the general aspect of Protestant Germany, on the Lord's day, is prevalently that of a civilized pagan country like China. The bulk of the population does not enter God's house, but does go to places of amusement. The only marked religious activity in the larger part of Germany (there are happy *oases* of spiritual fruitfulness, like Elberfeld) is among the Papists. Their churches are thronged; and during the hours of mass the worshipers remind one of a busy swarm of bees about their hive. The contrast is, to the Protestant, most mortifying.—Pp. 557, 558.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1882. (London.)—1. The Newer Criticism on the Old Testament. 2. Handel. 3. Journals and Letters of Caroline Fox. 4. The Christ of Fiction. 5. Weak Points in Apologetics. 6. The Life and Works of Heinrich Heine. 7. The North-East Passage. 8. The New Text of the Greek Testament.

The English Wesleyans have been revising their Catechism, and among the most significant changes we find the following mentioned and commended by the reviewer:

The second question and answer in the first Catechism are new. The child is asked, "Who is God?" and is taught God is our Father in heaven. This addition is suggestive of the spirit which has prompted a considerable proportion of the reviser's corrections. Certainly the original Catechisms did not forget that "God is love," but they did not give sufficient prominence to that aspect of the divine nature which is specially adapted to the minds of "little children;" they scarcely attempted to teach them to know "the Father." 1 John 3. 13. It must be confessed that even the Catechism "for children of tender years" had about it a hard theological air that was not calculated to win those for whom it was written. Very wisely is the declaration that our hearts are "inclined only to evil" qualified by the words "but for the grace of God," and it is a distinct gain to be instructed that we may "all hope for this grace," "through the Saviour, who was promised when our first parents fell into sin." Every one, too, must recognize the propriety of the changed reply to the query, "But will he save all mankind?" "We can be saved only by repenting and believing in the Lord Jesus Christ," instead of "Christ will save only those who repent, etc.," which seemed to carry with it the almost irresistible inference of the damnation of all the heathen. The change, however, which will attract most attention is the disappearance of the description of hell which Canon Farrar quoted in the first edition of his "Mercy and Judgment." We no longer read that "Hell is a dark and bottomless pit, full of fire and brimstone." Whatever may have been the source of this definition, it was not drawn from the Bible, and is therefore rightly suppressed.

If any one imagines that the aforesaid alterations indicate that the Wesleyan Conference is abandoning its belief in original sin or in eternal punishment, or is even lessening the emphasis of its testimony to these doctrines, he will commit a grave error.—Pp. 505, 506.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) By Dr. ADOLF HILGENFELD. 1882. Fourth Number.—1. Preface of the Editor to the Hundredth Number of the Journal. 2. HILGENFELD, Is the Gospel of John Alexandrine or Gnostic? 3. HOLTZMANN, The "Apostolic Convent." 4. BIMMER, The Three Accounts of the Acts regarding the Conversion of Paul. 5. TOLLIN, Servetus on Eschatology. 6. RÖNSCH, The Double Translations in the Latin Text of the Code of Boerner. *Notice:* ZUCKERMANN on the Materials for the Development of the Old Testament Chronology in the Talmud. 1882. .

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1882.) Fourth Number.—*Essay:* 1. KÜHN, Ezekiel's Vision of the Temple. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. KÖSTLIN, Letters from the Court of the Electorate of Saxony to Tucher in Nuremburg, between the years 1518 and 1523. 2. ENDERS, Supplement to the Correspondence of the Reformers. 3. HEINRICI. Illustrations of the Inscriptions ou the Funereal Monuments of the Ancient Christians. *Reviews:* 1. DORNER, System of Christian Dogmatics, reviewed by Dr. HERMANN WEISS. 2. BERGER, La Bible au 16ème Siècle, reviewed by KÄHLER.

Kähler's review of the "Origin of Biblical Criticism," founded on the French Bible of the sixteenth century, is another proof of the readiness of the Germans, in these latter days, to investigate the theological doings of their French neighbors. He is quite generous in awarding to the French theologians a good degree of biblical acumen, but dissents from the title of The Bible in the Sixteenth Century, because it is impossible to separate the Bible of this period from the latter half, at least, of the fifteenth. The work is, in reality, an historical defense of biblical criticism against the stern prejudice of the Reformers; and instead of assuming the title which it bears, might much better, in the opinion of the reviewer, be entitled the "Exercise of Bible Criticism in the Time of the Reformation." The critical character of the German reviewers of theological subjects makes them formidable investigators, and the French have done comparatively so little in this line, that they are not likely to satisfy the Teutonic tendency to splitting hairs on a good many questions where the French would either have nothing to say, or at least declare the subject exhausted. Kähler is more lenient toward his French compeer in the line of theological criticism than most of German theologians would be likely to be; and, therefore, Berger may congratulate himself with getting off with so little scathing.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE (Christian Review.) May, 1882.—1. NAVILLE, Electoral Corruption. 2. SCHLOESING, The Criticism of Renouvier. 3. BONZON DE GARDONNE, Louise de la Valliere and the Youth of Louis XIV. 4. Literary Notices, by V. 5. German Chronicle by Lichtenberger, and the Monthly Review by Pressensé.

June.—1. DECOPPET, The Natural Harmonies between the Human Soul and Christian Spiritualism. 2. SECRETAN, The Physical World and the Moral World. 3. BONZON DE GARDONNE, The Robe of the Monk. 4. SABATIER, Two Receptions at the French Academy. Correspondence by Pressensé, English Chronicle by E. W., and Monthly Review by Pressensé.

July.—1. SCHLOESING, Criticism of Renouvier, conclusion. 2. Henry Gréville, by E. W. 3. BOEGNER, The Missionary Task. 4. BRIDEL, Philosophical Chronicle. Monthly Review by Pressensé.

The most interesting feature of the June number of the Review is Sabatier's criticism of the two recent elections to the famous French Academy. The forty so-called "Immortals" of France seem to attract the attention of every line of thought, and so even the French Protestants find in these elections food for thought or criticism. The point of special interest to them on this occasion was the election, or rather reception, of the most renowned scientist of France, at the present time, to the vacated seat of the Positivist Littré. At this remarkable session not only were the orators themselves renowned for their talents, but the importance of the questions to be discussed was even greater than they. There was a high dramatic interest in following their discourses, for under the form of the completest courtesy there was the conflict of hostile doctrines. Pasteur, the newly elected member of the august body, treated of the Positivism of Comte and Littré, not so much with the acumen of the philosopher as with the authority of the professional savant. Renan in his turn entered the debate as if sporting between his adversaries with the infinite grace and agility of his thought, teaching them both the lesson of tolerance in the name of enlightened wisdom. It was a singularly interesting spectacle to hear minds of this order explain themselves by turns with entire frankness, and develop their belief regarding the loftiest moral questions of human life. Pasteur, in taking the chair of Littré, was to accept the duty of eulogizing his predecessor. His modest bearing soon gained for him the sympathy of his distinguished audience quite as much as his well-chosen words. He confessed that he would be confused in so lofty a position were it not his duty to ascribe it to Science

rather than to himself. And this was the feature of the occasion, that Science was thus honored among a company of *littérateurs*. But there was even more than this, and that was the fact that Pasteur is a scientist who sees God in nature, and in all his far-reaching discoveries traces the divine hand, and openly acknowledges it. And this fact made the following words of Renan have an extra significance: "There is something that we can recognize in the most diverse tendencies, something which belongs alike to Galileo, Pascal, Michael Angelo, and Molière, something which forms the sublimity of the poet, the depth of the philosopher, the fascination of the orator, and the divination of the savant. This indefinable afflatus, sir, we have found in you—it is genius. No one has traversed with a step so sure as yours the circles of elementary nature. Your scientific life is like a luminous train in the great darkness of the infinitely small, in those deepest abysses of being where springs life." These words were regarded a great concession from the renowned atheist to the Christian scientist.

There is a very decided revival of the missionary spirit in the Protestant Churches of France, as may be attested by the brilliant article of M. Boegner on the "Task of the Missionary of the Church." This comes with peculiar significance at a period when the Reformed Church has all the burdens it can bear in maintaining itself in the strife of the age and satisfying its own growing wants. It certainly requires courage to speak to those Churches of their missionary duty when their self-preservation appears to demand all their strength; but Boegner does this on the principle that it is more blessed to give than to receive, and he contends very beautifully that the home Church will grow in strength and Christian spirit by following the Divine command to the best of its ability. He says: "I have the profound conviction that in awakening in our Churches the conscience of their duties to the heathen world we render them a present, real, and urgent service. Without this conviction I would not have asked this Pastoral Conference to direct its attention to this matter, and I myself would never have engaged in the service. Profoundly desirous of contributing to the advancement of the reign of God in my own country, I would not resign myself to work in foreign lands if this work were, as is often alleged, one of supererogation, a

luxury of charity. But the mission work is none of this. The missionary task is *par excellence* the work of the Church, a task whose accomplishment is the condition of Church development. This fact I shall try to demonstrate in showing you the place of the mission in a wholesome Church life, and the practical means of putting the work into execution." These inspiring words show that the French Protestants have heard and listened to the Macedonian cry, and are willing, as far as their feeble means allow, to respond to it, seeing in it their own spiritual growth. The Reformed Church of France is, doubtless, awakened to its obligations in this field of labor by the very unusual activity of the Catholic Church in the mission field. There never was a period when the French Propaganda was more active in extending its lines in order to conquer new territory and battle with the Protestant work in its various stations. The latest papal promotion to the cardinalate was clearly in the interest of Catholic missions all through Northern Africa, showing that the French are ready to call in the Church to supplement their armies and their colonists in distant lands. The very hesitancy of the French in engaging in the Egyptian troubles was, doubtless, the fear of stirring up the Moslems against their missions.

Edmond de Pressensé has made a recent visit to England, and gives in his Monthly Review, in the July number, his own views of the liberal tendencies of the Church of England. He was delighted to find the venerable Prelate of Canterbury presiding at a meeting of sympathy with the labors of Hyacinthe in Paris and the cause of Old Catholicism in general. He is generous enough not to see in all this sympathy of the Established Church a sort of *arrière pensée*, which is nothing else than the hope that an Old Catholic Church on the continent might be brought under the wing and protection of the English Church, for this is the avowed purpose of several of those divines who have most sympathized with Père Hyacinthe, and encouraged him with words and means.

Pressensé takes a more practical view of the singular liberality now shown by English bishops to the movements of the Salvation Army, which do not find much encouragement among the French. He thus explains the favor shown to this popular religious excitement by the High Church: "Angli-

canism has lost all its ascendency over the working classes, who repudiate its aristocratic forms; but it would still hold, if possible, these masses by any practicable bond; and therefore it asks itself whether the Salvation Army might not render it this service in spite of its eccentricities, that seem less formidable than an independent Church well organized as such. The Church demands only these conditions for its support, namely, that the Salvation Army shall not encroach on the prerogative of the sacraments, and solemnize these outside of its sanctuaries. These conditions were clearly stipulated at a meeting attended by several bishops; but Booth replies by reserving all the liberty of his methods."

Pressensé feels that it would be better to try and induce them to lay aside a part of their charlatan eccentricity, not at the requirement of the Established Church, but rather at the voice of wisdom and Christian spirituality. He sees in their methods those of a French holiday festival, and has no confidence in the round dance as a means of gaining souls for Christ. He much prefers the quaint and solemn meetings of Mr. Pearson Smith, where he witnessed immense assemblies enjoying, without any violent external demonstrations, the active piety and Christian sympathy of the true Gospel. And his views are in accordance with those of all French Protestants who have seen the Army and studied its evolutions. It will clearly be a failure in France, whose masses are much more inclined to listen to the words and join in the works of those who labor for them in the M'All Missions.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE JEWISH POPULATION OF THE GLOBE.

The persecution of the Jews in Russia has called, of late, unusual attention to all matters that concern them, and much interest may be found in the following statistics regarding their numbers on the globe, as given by an Italian statistician in the latest issue of his archives. Brunati estimates their numbers at 7,000,000, and, taking the total population of the globe at about 1,470,000,000, or 1,480,000,000 of souls, gives their proportions on the basis of thousands. He thus finds that in a population of 10,000 there are now 47 or 48 Jews. Europe alone con-

tains 5,620,000 Israelites. The total population of Europe being about 316,000,000, gives 178 Jews to 10,000 Europeans—a proportion of 1.78 per cent.

These 5,620,000 Israelites are very unequally distributed among the different European nations, so that while the sum total of the European nations of the Latin races count only one Jew to 1,100 individuals, the total of the Europeans of the Slavonic race counts 40 to the 1,000. This gives a great preponderance to Russia and her kindred nationalities. We give below the distribution, by states, of the 5,620,000 Jews of EUROPE.

Russia has 2,700,000 Israelites; or 41 to each 1,000 inhabitants. Austro-Hungary, 1,500,000; or 39.5 per 1,000. Germany, 650,000; or 14.4 for each 1,000 of the population. Roumania, 400,000; or 80 per 1,000; that is, the twelfth or thirteenth of its total population. Turkey in Europe, 100,000; being 11.3 per 1,000. Holland, 70,000; or 17.5 per 1,000. England, 70,000 also; or 2.03 per 1,000. France, 50,000; or 1.34 Jews to each 1,000. Italy, 40,000; or 1.42 to each 1,000. Switzerland, 7,000; 2.46 to the 1,000. Spain, 6,000; or 3.62 per 1,000. Greece, 5,000; or 2.93 to each 1,000. Servia, 4,500; or 2.76 to the 1,000. Belgium, 3,000; or 5.48 to the 1,000. Sweden, 2,000; or 4.41 to the 1,000. Portugal, 1,000; or 2.11 to the 1,000.

AFRICA counts 450,000 Jews, of whom 200,000 are in Morocco, 36,000 in Algeria, 60,000 in Tunisia, 100,000 in Tripoli, and 8,000 in Egypt.

In ASIA the Jews number about 400,000, of whom 150,000 are found in Asiatic Turkey and Arabia, 30,000 in the Caucasus, 20,000 in Persia, 150,000 in India, 12,000 in Turkestan, and 1,000 in China.

In AMERICA, there are about 300,000 in the United States, and 8,000 in South America.

And, finally, there are at most 20,000 scattered in AUSTRALIA and the various isles of OCEANICA; and this large dissemination makes the Jewish race by far the most cosmopolitan of the human family.

THE RELIGIOUS ANNIVERSARIES OF PARIS.

It is extremely gratifying to observe the vigor and zeal of the little handful of French Protestants in the heart of the great city ruled by Catholicism and devoted to worldly pleasures. They meet annually, and have their manifold and varied programme; so much so, that it is quite impossible to give due attention to all the interests involved. There are in this band some twenty different societies, all of which made quite favorable and encouraging reports, notwithstanding the unfavorable religious and political condition of France for any zealous religious work.

The Society for Heathen Missions, whose honored president, Casalis, has retired in favor of a younger leader, extends its activity into Africa, especially on the borders of the Zambesi. The delicate question was raised whether it were not better, in the unfavorable condition of the times, to close some of the most distant and unpromising stations. This was answered unanimously and victoriously by the counter question, "Where is the place on which we are to inflict a wound on the sacred

body of Christ?" The yearly income of this organization was 254,000 francs. The Bible Society announces a completed revision of the Bible by Osterwald. During the year it circulated 83,000 Bibles, 4,000 more than in the year preceding. Its income and outlay were balanced at 88,000 francs. There is also a society for the cultivation of the Protestant Church History of France—an association which has done much good work for the last thirty years, and which offers annual prizes for well-chosen or original productions. The Tract Society reports the circulation of 300,000 tracts, 87,000 almanacs, and 4,000 books, with an outlay of 53,000 francs. The Society for Deaconesses, which was heavily in debt, has freed itself from the burden and spent 270,000 francs; while that for Evangelical Instruction, in spite of a slight drawback, collected 110,000 francs.

The work of evangelization from the Romish Church consumed about 280,000 francs, but has not been at all encouraging; and the question was asked, with great emphasis, why there are less accessions from this Church to theirs than formerly. The Associations for Home Missions, Asylums, Sunday-Schools, for Penny Collections for the Poor and the Orphans, and others of similar nature, all had their anniversaries, and most of them made also encouraging reports. Now all these meetings take place while the faithful and orthodox portion of the French evangelical Church is in a severe and dangerous conflict with negative elements in its own midst, showing a great deal of constitutional vigor and zeal, and a spirit of generous sacrifice worthy of all praise. In many of these assemblies the burning question of the popular elementary schools was seriously and anxiously discussed. It was acknowledged to be entirely impossible to establish their own schools in sufficient numbers on account of the expense, which would be largely increased by the scattered condition of their people. They found consolation, however, in the promise of the Government that in matter of religion the schools should be neutral and not hostile, and believe that this promise is given in good faith and will be honorably executed. They were united in the resolution to be extremely watchful in this matter, and to be careful to use the free days—Thursday and Sunday—for the special religious training of their children. These annual assemblies of the Reformed Church of France again prove that it cherishes in its bosom a noble inheritance and a valuable power of active faith. It certainly has the hearty sympathy of the Protestant world, which hopes to see it bear its banner high aloft amid all the discordant elements now rife in France.

THE TRIUMPH OF MISSIONS IN SUMATRA.

The German Missions in Sumatra have accomplished a most notable triumph in their self-sacrificing labors, and may well be pardoned for calling the attention of the Christian world to their signal success in their work, especially in that part of the island known as the Batta Land. They seem to have civilized the entire region, and to have introduced a parochial and church organization for their mission work that is really

exemplary in its systematic effectiveness. The Brothers of the Rhenish Mission entered Sumatra in 1851. They had previously begun work in Borneo, but had been driven from there in an uprising of the Mohammedan fanatics against their work, in which hundreds of native Christians and five of the missionaries fell victims to the sword. Those who escaped with their lives were by no means discouraged or intimidated, and immediately sought a new field, which offered itself in the neighboring Sumatra. Other missionaries had visited the beautiful island before them, but their work had not been a success. Several of the missionaries had been slaughtered and devoured by the Battas, and the Dutch government, for fear of a general disturbance in the Mohammedan ranks, had forbidden the establishment of other missions. At last, in 1856, a Dutch Missionary Society obtained permission to preach the Gospel to the natives, but they soon retired and left the field to the German Mission of the Rhine.

This was twenty years ago. Three years were consumed in learning the language and the land and people sufficiently well to be effective among them, and now, after seventeen years of work, they come forth with a civil and religious order that is simply remarkable, showing the result of a practical application of the ways of the Gospel toward raising a people from the lowest state of degradation to a condition of moral, religious, and even financial success, that speaks louder than theories and words. Their church organization is briefly as follows: The European missionary is the chief of the so-called mother station, and in each filial station the heads of families elect an elder, whose selection must be ratified by the missionary. Only those are accepted whose Christian walk and talk raise them above reproach, and who are thus calculated to be exemplars to their parishes. The duties of these elders are to visit the sick of their village, to advise with all communicants, and to see that Christian devotions begin and end the day, mostly under their supervision. They take charge of the poor fund and school fund, and make collections for the support of divine service among themselves and in poorer parishes. Every village that has fifty Christian families has a claim to a school, whose teacher is appointed by a school board. This board fixes the studies and the hours of instruction, gives the necessary direction to Christian observances in the schools, not forgetting Christmas, Easter, and other Christian holidays as are usual in Germany. As special aids in the work of spreading the Gospel among the people, the missionary has a well-selected corps of helpers, known as evangelists, who are local missionaries. In the larger villages there are regularly ordained local preachers, whose support is provided by the parish. The European missionary in charge of a series of stations has episcopal prerogatives in the appointments of the subordinate workers. There is also a seminary at Panner for the training of teachers and evangelists, the course lasting four years, after which the pupils go out for a season in the practical work, and if in this they show an adaptation for preaching the Gospel, they return and take what is called the preacher's course.

The parishes have the privilege of choosing their preachers, and the duty of supporting them and the churches. In short, the whole arrangement is eminently practical and peculiarly adapted to make the work self-supporting and independent of foreign support. How successful this system has been is shown by the fact that the seminary, which now contains seventy pupils, has not received the least pecuniary aid from the missionary treasury.

Now the above story would be quite commonplace in the Christian work under the shield of civilization; but it is very marvelous when we reflect that only seventeen years ago these same people were given to cannibalism of the most confirmed character, so much so that enemies taken in battle were actually devoured alive; and all were considered enemies who lived in another village and were governed by another chief. Women were bought and sold, and they alone did the work of the fields, while the men had no other occupation than that of war. And now it is possible to give to this people, who are nearly all Christians, a moral and religious status and a regular church organization that controls the most of them. These facts are even more telling than figures, and the Germans claim that the mission work has no parallel to show for this. This brilliant success should encourage others, but it must not lead us to feel that it has been gained without great sacrifice and hardship. Great labors and struggles preceded this victory, as well as the greatest dangers. Several times these heathen people, led on by their priests, were on the point of slaughtering all the missionaries; but the hour of danger passed, and now the numbers are increasing every day, and the mission work bids fair to regenerate the whole beautiful isle.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Germans are still working away at the Cuneiform literature, and have just given us a new history of Babylon and Assyria. It is now more than a hundred years since the great traveler, Karsten Niebuhr, in his journey to Arabia and the surrounding lands, discovered in the ruins of ancient Persepolis the wonderful arrow-head inscriptions. This fortunate "find" was ratified and increased by Porter and Rich, and then by Westergaard, Rawlinson, and others. These inscriptions contained three kinds of script, and supposably, also, kinds of language. When the ruins of Nineveh came to light, mainly through the labors of Layard, numerous inscriptions were found that were identical with the third class of the cuneiform inscriptions. Then learned investigators hastened thither and brought home new treasures of all kinds. Since then, through the labors of such men as Rawlinson and Smith, Oppert and Lenormant, Schrader and Friedrich Delitzsch, Assyriology has been raised to an independent and solid science. Numerous publications in this line form

almost a library, and, thanks to the zeal of these men, we can now read the arrow-heads with great certainty. The profit drawn therefrom by comparative religious history is very great, especially in the line of Old Testament exegesis; and since the discoveries of ancient monuments still continue through those drawn from the ruins of Mesopotamia, we hope for a rich harvest for the future. During the last few years Assyriology has made great advances in the works of various men in several languages which have hitherto lain in rather an isolated condition. These have recently been collated and compared by Professor Mürdter, of Stuttgart, and the cream of the information is given to the world in a handsome work entitled, "A Concise History of Babylon and Assyria, according to the Cuneiform Monuments," with special reference to the Old Testament. To these Friedrich Delitzsch has prefixed a preface and added a supplement. The very best sources have been consulted; illustrations explain the text, and the comments of Delitzsch increase the value of the work. The religion and the people of both lands are popularly treated, as well as their cosmogony and theogony, their arts and sciences, and their political history. The book may, therefore, be safely recommended as a *résumé* of Assyriology from the stand-point of Bible study.

Whitsuntide, or Pentecost, is made quite a religious study among the Germans, and is regarded by the schools as well as the churches. It is even a period for a short holiday and recreation for the children, and pentecostal books are in favor and demand after those for the Easter and Christmas holidays. It is not, therefore, surprising to see the announcement of three new pentecostal books for the last season. One of these is by a famous poet and *littérateur*, Karl Gerok, author of the "Palm Leaves," "Pentecostal Roses," etc. The work bears the title "From Jerusalem to Rome," and contains eighty-three so-called Bible studies. In these Gerok succeeds in opening a rich stream of knowledge and thought from the sacred Book, which leads over into the broad edifice of the Christian Church, and thence into the narrower one of the family life of the first Christians. He deals beautifully with the first Christian Pentecost in Jerusalem, and calls the Acts of the Apostles the original Pentecostal Book, from which he draws all his lessons. A second pentecostal book, by Dr Andrea, is virtually a supplement to that of Gerok, treating mainly of the Acts of Luke, which he calls the "Origin and Early Development of the Church of Christ." While Gerok edifies, Andrea teaches; one is devotion, the other is instruction. But the latter is careful to avoid the pulpit tone and style, and to adapt it more to the purpose of attracting and instructing the young. And this goal he very successfully reaches, so that the scholar will gladly turn to it for a species of pious recreation from heavier studies. Another work that is born of the spirit of Pentecost has its origin in a humble parsonage of Holstein, and is devoted mainly to the significance of Whitsunday. It is termed the "Consecrated Pentecost," and tells the story of the sorrows of a daughter of the house, and the consolation found in recourse to the Author of all good. The three books indicate quite a peculiar devotion

among the German people to that most interesting event in early Bible history.

Dr. Zöckler, of the University of Greifswald, is just out with a new "Manual of Theological Sciences," that promises to be of much interest to the learned world of biblical literature. He is already famous as a commentator, and will thus receive a welcome among biblical critics. The first volume gives the fundamental view of theology as a science; the second treats of historical and dogmatical theology; the third of ethics and poetical theology, including the science of missions, both home and foreign. The first half of the first volume devotes nearly three hundred pages to the foundation of the science of exegetical theology, and treats also of the methods, the antiquities, and the history of Israel. The remaining theology of the Old Testament, with theory of the New, closes the volume. Professor Strack, of Berlin, and Professor Schulz, of Breslau, are co-workers with Zöckler on the Old Testament, one giving the Introduction and the geography of Palestine, and the other the history of Israel in outline.

Moritz Brosch has just issued his second and last volume of a very valuable work on the "History of the Papal State." His first volume was rather severely criticised because of the failure to deal in the personality of the Popes, their literary productions, and their ecclesiastical projects. But the author defends himself from these censures by saying that it is no part of his plans to treat of the Popes as individuals, but rather to treat of the "*Papal State*," the title of his work. Therefore he commences with Pope Julius II., the creator of this strange political formation, and ceases with Pius IX., under whom the effete Papal State went to pieces. He keeps closely to his subject, simply treating of contemporaries whose influence was allied to the development of the curious governmental complex. And, on the whole, he presents a very tragic story, and gives us a picture of incessant troubles and decay, through financial embarrassment, incapacity of the ecclesiastical rulers, and the machinations and counter-machinations of the Jesuits, of revolutionary and reactionary storms. He ends by saying: "The tribunal of the world, that has rendered its verdict in the form of historical facts, has overthrown all that the Popes of three centuries have raised with great sacrifices or crimes; all that to which they have often given their best powers, and not seldom their reputations, sacrificing the independence of Italy for the advancement of their plans of universal ecclesiastical rule."

The Protestant Church of Switzerland has a great deal of trouble about its hymnology, because of the cantonal jealousy, in the first place, and the different views of different sections, in the second. At last, from the hands of a commission, a hymn book for the Protestant Church of German Switzerland has just appeared, but only, it seems, to awaken new fears and censures. It contains four hundred and fifty hymns, and more than the half of these belong to the latest periods of hymnology, and it passes over many of the standard hymns of the German tongue.

The conservative pietists declare that all the thrilling hymns of their development have been cast aside, many of them absolutely indispensable in any collection of evangelical hymns. Severe censure is also accorded to the very frivolous way in which the text of some of the most beautiful hymns in the language has been handled, especially of the older ones so familiar to the fathers, and which it is so difficult to alter in the popular tongue. It is very clear, therefore, that the Swiss will need to try again in order to satisfy their people, and we very much doubt whether it will be possible to produce any collection which will at once satisfy both the conservative and the liberal wings of the Church.

A recent treatise on the Churches of the Orient shows them to be in a very unsatisfactory condition. Among them the Hellenic Church seems to be in the best condition. The growth of the district by the addition of Thessaly and Epirus has necessitated a new arrangement of administration in the conceded territory. The Patriarch of Constantinople relinquished his authority over this district in favor of the Metropolitan of Athens, with the reservation of certain honorary claims. At the same time a number of bishoprics long vacant have now been filled. The National Assembly has also passed a new law in ecclesiastical affairs, which calls for certain new provisions in the choice of bishops. Hitherto, for instance, the Bishops of Athens alone have been regarded in promotions; now the entire Hellenic episcopate is to be considered. Efforts have also been made to give a better support to the clergy in general, and especially to those in charge of a diocese. The State, some time ago, secularized large possessions of the Church, reducing its income; and the endeavor will be made to restore, not the property, but the proceeds of it. The crying sin of its clergy is ignorance, and consequent want of zeal and efficiency. In the last lenten season it is said that but one single sermon was preached in all the city of Athens. The State is, and may well be, ashamed of this, and would correct it.

The theologians of Germany are waging quite a battle for the retention of the study of religion in the schools. Bona-Meyer has just published a volume entitled "The Struggle for the School." This author is greatly in favor of what are called in this conflict, in Prussia, the "Simultaneous Schools;" that is, schools in which the two faiths are taught separately to pupils of the same school in regions where Protestants and Catholics both appear in considerable numbers. And where the schools are overwhelmingly of one or the other faith, there let that faith obtain, and be taught as one of the regular studies. But this plan often produces a territory which it is not easy to declare either neutral or confessional, and there the trouble becomes insuperable. Here Bona-Meyer recommends a sort of general religious instruction that would be equally applicable to all faiths, declaring that he himself finds stimulus to religious reflection in the Protestant church, the Catholic cathedral, or the Jewish synagogue. But many others may not experience the same feeling, and so the learned author leaves the subject just where he found it —in doubt.

The German clergy express a great deal of satisfaction at the appearance of a "Church Directory for North America," and thank the author, Rev. John N. Luker, of Sunbury, Pa., for this work, which gives them some guide to the German work in this country. They propose using this book for the advice of many emigrants going to America without the least knowledge of its Church organizations, and not aware of the places where German churches and pastors may be found. They complain, however, that it is open to one very grave fault, namely, that it gives only the address of the members of the Lutheran Synod of this country, (and we suspect of only one wing of that Church.) The Germans desire also the names of the ministers of the Reformed German Church, many of whose members are now coming to this country, and who would feel more at home among those of their own Church; and we would suggest to them that it would be no harm to include the address of the large number of German Methodist ministers of this country.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

A System of Christian Doctrine. By Dr. I. A. DORNER, Professor of Theology, Berlin. Translated by Rev. ALFRED CAVE, B.A., Professor of Theology, Hackney College, London, and Rev. J. S. BANKS, Professor of Theology, Wesleyan College, Leeds. Vol. 4. Translated by Professor BANKS. 8vo, pp. 451. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price $3.

There is a massiness in the periods and paragraphs of Dorner that creates in the reader's mind the idea of a massiness in the man. His sentences are magisterial, as if deciding by original authority the absoluteness of the dogma. He gives sentence on every point in theology in the tone of a finality. And there is *power*, too, in the thought; great power when he is right; and when wrong, as we hold him often to be, he is powerfully wrong —a rail-car powerfully off the track.

The present, the final volume, deals with the atonement, with theodicy, and with eschatology. On the atonement he is vigorous; on theodicy he is self-contradictory; on the doctrine of retribution wavering through prolix chapters, and landing in timid but probable *post-mortem* probation. Dorner is a justly eminent, yet, we venture to think, overrated, theologian. The mature theologian, by all means, should read his most suggestive volumes, but with a wary discrimination.

What can be more fantastic than the following pronunciamiento, denying the resurrection of Christ, and substituting a

transmigration? "Christ cannot have again assumed and transformed his body in the resurrection, but it must be held that he utterly laid aside and left in the grave his material body in prospect of his heavenly life." Christ, then, must have had, at the moment of his emergence from the tomb, *two bodies.* What a "find" it would have been for the Jews could they have laid hands on the abandoned body! What became of it? It had no resurrection, and must have putrefied, and is now dispersed to the elements! "The mortal," then, did not "put on immortality." It disintegrated. The dead did not rise, for the spiritual body never was dead. The vile body was not *changed into* a glorious body; but the vile body went into deeper vileness, and a glorious body was, as Dorner says, "generated by Christ's ethical process"—if any body knows what that means. And then what a sharp deception Jesus played upon his disciples when he showed spurious wounds in his spiritual body to make them believe the falsehood that his present body was identical with his crucified body! The cheated apostles were permanently deceived, for they always maintained that Christ's crucified body came to life, and the fraud was perpetuated in the Apostles' Creed in the words, "I believe in the resurrection of the flesh." All this offensive blasphemy Dorner authenticates in order to evade the simple fact that Christ's real body might as truly rise into a glorious resurrection as it once rose into a glorious transfiguration on the Mount. For this denial of Christ's resurrection he gives no reason, scientific, theological, biblical, or metaphysical, but enunciates it as pure dictum.

Of the Church doctrine of the resurrection he, nevertheless, gives a true and fair statement. "Many teachers of the ancient Church, like Justin Martyr, Tertullian, suppose a complete identity of the resurrection body with the earthly one, inclusive of all the faults of the latter, which Christ will rectify at his second advent. A more spiritual theory is maintained, especially by Origen and his school, who even regards the present body as an evil and a hinderance to perfection. But since Augustine's day an intermediate view between the materialistic and spiritualistic has prevailed, and was taken over into the Evangelical Church. According to it the resurrection body has indeed an identity of *substance* with the earthly body, but not with the *form.* The latter will rather be a glorified one."

But, distorting the doctrine of the Church, Dorner substitutes a *germination* in the place of a general *resurrection.* His excuse

for this is the apostle's illustrating the resurrection by the case of the seed, which grows up not a "seed" again, but "grain." Plainly, however, the apostle is not there describing the secret underground process by which the resurrection is wrought. He does not mean that the body germinates like a seed in the grave. He is only arguing optically of what is seen above ground; that, as a humble seed buried springs up in renewed beauty, so the body buried springs up in strange glory. To make the apostle describe the subsoil process is to bring him into scientific error, for the seed does not literally "die." If, indeed, *new matter* is added to the resurrection body, as he seems to think, that new matter is certainly no *part* of the resurrection. For the resurrection is a resurrection of the *dead*, and that supplement was no part of the *dead* organism. As Chrysostom says, "That rose which fell," but the addendum neither fell nor rose. That re-lives which dies, but this foreign element never died, so far as this antithesis is concerned.

And here we may, by the way, note that the late Dr. Summers remarked that it is unnecessary to suppose in the resurrection the rising of the same corporeal substance; for the resurrection may be analogous to the new bodies that come into existence successively in the *growth* of our life. There are, it is sometimes said, several successive bodies in the life-history of every mature man. But such a statement is scientific error. There is not a succession of complete separate *bodies*, like a row of finished statues, in a man's career. Each successive corporeal mass is formed, not in distinct completeness, but by the gradual accretion of new particles into the old organism. The new body does not instantly expel the old, and rush into its place a new formation. But the resurrection change takes place in "the twinkling of an eye." And so, as the resurrection is not a substitution, nor a metempsychosis, nor a germination, neither is it a growth. It is a *resurrection, sui generis*, and nothing else. New to most of our readers is also Dorner's conception, enounced without proof-text or logical argument by pure dictum, that all dead corporeities are solved into a general reservoir, "like an ocean," and each soul at the resurrection appropriates from the common stock a *quantum sufficit* for itself.

Rightly against the early reformers, who were determined to expunge purgatory from theology at any cost, Dorner affirms an intermediate state. But in this zeal against purgatory, he thinks, they left themselves an indefensible severity of retribution. He,

therefore, casts about for a milder eschatology, especially for infants and heathen, who never heard the Gospel. He weighs annihilationism, restorationism, and eternal misery in scales, and finally decides in favor of a *post mortem* probation. That decision does not seem intended, however, to favor the impenitent sinner under the light of the Gospel. His list of authors quoted on the subject suggests the existence of a variety of opinions maintained in German theology, and evinces the extensiveness of his reading on the subject. We are not, however, struck with the conclusiveness of his logic. Our admiration for Dorner, as a whole, is somewhat qualified, and we cannot recommend his theology to any but a very discriminating study.

Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, including the Papers Read, and Abstract of Proceedings for June and December, 1881. The Society prints the papers read in full, but is not responsible for any opinions expressed therein. Middletown, Conn.: Pelton & King. 1882.

"The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis" was formed in June, 1881, and consists of a body of eminent biblical scholars associated for the purpose of furnishing free and frank discussion under the form of exegetical documents in the department of sacred scholarship. Among the eminent names are Professors Abbott, of Harvard; Bartlett, of Dartmouth; Curtiss, of Chicago; Merrill and Thayer, of Andover; Prentice, of Middletown; Buttz and Strong, of Drew; Timothy Dwight, of Yale; and Dr. Ward, of the "Independent." Such a body of scholars can do much for biblical criticism, and we would hope that their "Journal" may receive a handsome support, enabling it to assume a handsomer appearance externally than we have in this first specimen.

From Professor Abbott we have some able exegetical articles on texts hitherto involved in the Unitarian controversy. On the reverse side one by Professor Dwight.

The article by Professor Goodwin on the words *soul* and *spirit* in the Bible, hardly does justice to the views of the trinalists (we abhor the butcherly word trichotomists) upon the nature of man. (1) In the first place, no higher being than man, as God, angel, demon, is ever called a *soul*, but a *spirit*. In the nine places quoted by Dr. Goodwin of its use in regard to God, a soul is indeed anthropopathically attributed to God, but he is in no place called a *soul*. So also a *heart*, an eye, a hand, is attributed to God. "With my whole *heart* and with my whole *soul*," says

God, (Lev. xxvi, 11.) We thus learn that man has a higher nature, ranking him with the higher beings, as well as a lower nature, ranking him with the brutes. (2) This distinction manifests itself, as Professor Goodwin admits, in our higher and lower faculties; but these faculties are, of course, a manifestation of their substratum. The higher and lower belong to their nature-bases. (3) As to the separability of these basal natures, we may surmise, *a.* That they have a twofold origin, one coming from God circuitously through nature causations, and the other directly from the divine, (Gen. ii, 7;) *b.* That as in a bird evolutionally derived (truly or theoretically) from a serpent, a higher mind is superimposed upon a lower, so the spirit may be superimposed upon the animal soul; *c.* That, nevertheless, the two are not like a chemical mixture permanently two, but like a chemical union identified into one being; and yet, *d.* In our transition to our higher state a large share of our brute nature, nervous and appetitive, will be eliminated, (1 Cor. vi, 13,) and the glorified unit, reuniting with the glorified body, will so regenerate it as to render it a *spiritual* body instead of a *soulical* body. (4) Trinalists do not claim to hold a modern "discovery" in all this, for theirs is an old Church doctrine. But as the discussions with materialism and evolutionism advance, the doctrine is applicable to the solution of an increasing number of adverse arguments.

The article on the "Babylonian Element in Ezekiel," by Professor Toy, of Harvard, is one of the latest efforts of the Munchausen school of biblical pseudo-criticism. Professor Toy tells us that Ezekiel contains no terrible prophecies against Babylon; which simply shows that the prophet uttered no treason against the government under which he lived; but it justifies none of the professor's inferences that he plagiarized the Babylonian myths and rituals, and interpolated them into the Old Testament canon. Thus the self-complacent professor tells us that the garden of Eden (and consequently the narrative of the fall of man) is borrowed from Babylon during the Captivity! It is, therefore, we are left to infer, a pagan myth, and, as claiming to be a primeval Mosaic document, is a forgery! The importation of this fundamental document from Chaldea by Abraham we can easily believe, as confirmed by George Smith's Assyrian researches; and then we have, perhaps, through the Abrahamic pedigree, the most ancient record of the world. Mr. Toy gives no argument for making it a modern plagiary by Ezekiel which is not founded on the most neological assumption. The second Isaiah

he dates at about 540 years before Christ, and Joel is after the Captivity. There is no Leviticus before the Captivity, and Deuteronomy comes a little before Josiah's time. The Mosaic ritual was originated by Ezekiel in Babylon, and, with much of its accompanying history fabricated by Ezra and his compeers, as the original Mosaic institute which Jehovah had laid down for Israel under Moses. All these myths and dishonesties Professor Toy smoothens over with a few sanctimonious phrases, very much of a piece with the moralities he attributes to Ezra. The Law of Moses, so revered by Israel in Christ's time, and so reverently named by Christ himself, was mostly a spurious fabrication of a far later age than Moses.

To much of these juvenile flippancies a calm and scholarly reply is virtually furnished by Professor Gardiner in the last article of this publication. The preposterous crotchet that Ezekiel furnishes the programme for the forged Leviticus is quietly and conclusively exposed. Ezekiel's scheme is foreign to that of Leviticus. It is a scheme above the level of nature, and is, in fact, an ideal—an Apocalypse. To make Leviticus a copy after Ezekiel is about as sensible as to say that our "Methodist Book Concern" is modeled after the "Bible House."

The Revelation of the Risen Lord. By Brooke Foss Westcott. Macmillan & Co.

In this work Canon Westcott seeks to determine the significance of the several appearances of Christ between the resurrection and the ascension. Considered as history the record of these appearances is very fragmentary; but considered as a revelation they are full of significance. "That which is incomplete as a history is complete as a Gospel." The manifestations of the risen Christ, according to the author, fall into two groups—those of the first Easter day, and those of the days which followed. The appearances on Easter day were mainly directed to the creation of an immediate present belief; those which took place afterward to the establishment of a belief in Christ's future and abiding presence. The author throughout assumes the fact of the resurrection, and seeks only to interpret its significance. That one who was dead should live again, as in the case of Lazarus, would have no eternal significance. The resurrection must mean the present union of Christ with his disciples, and it must prophesy eternal life for them. To produce this faith and conviction in the minds of the apostles, and, through them, in the minds of the faithful every-where, was the aim of the manifestations of Christ after

his resurrection. Hence, the title of the work, "The Revelation of the Risen Lord." The author finds in the nature of the appearances a guarantee of their reality. He well says, "The abrupt cessation of the appearances of Christ is intelligible if they were granted for the specific end of producing the faith which they did produce; it is not intelligible if they were the product of enthusiasm."

Christian Growth. By O. P. FITZGERALD, D.D. 24mo, pp. 120. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1882.

Dr. Fitzgerald is editor of the Nashville "Christian Advocate," and has approved himself as an able thinker and writer. The present little volume is a fine miniature manual, especially for the young Christian. It is written in a very attractive style and in the true evangelical spirit. It traces the progress of individual Christian history, beginning with the "new birth," touching on the successive stages of Christian advancement, until the attainment of the perfected Christian life. It is a beautiful guide for the pilgrim's progress in the Christian path.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Kant's Critique of Pure Reason. A Critical Exposition. By GEORGE P. MORRIS, Ph.D., Professor of Ethics, History of Philosophy, and Logic in the University of Michigan, etc. Small 12mo, pp. 272. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1882.

A brilliant young school of Kantian and post-Kantian philosophy seems to have lately sprung up in our West. Although a transplant from Germany, it seems to have found a congenial soil and shoots up a vigorous growth. The nice little volume before us announces accordingly that Professor Morris, of the Michigan University, is to edit a series of "Philosophical Classics," to be published by Griggs of Chicago. Besides this specimen of Kant made easy, we are to have, from President Porter, Kant's Ethics, a noble work and decidedly easier than the Critique; Kant's Critique of Judgment, by Professor Adamson; Schelling, by Professor Watson; Hegel's Logic, by Dr. W. T. Harris; and his Esthetics, by Professor J. S. Kidney. However we may dissent from these authors, we welcome this series of expositions. Perhaps we shall better agree with them when we better understand them. At any rate we welcome them as a range of high thought, an alterative, a diversion, and a relief from the malodor-

ous "dirt philosophy" reeking up from the Darwinian swamp Says Virchow, "The scent of monkey taints the air," and since the entombment of the great Simiades we are all required not only to smell monkey, but to accept monkey as our "heredity." So we are eager to change the subject, and to talk Kantian and Schellingian metaphysics. But before beginning to talk about them extensively and profoundly, it might, perhaps, be well enough for all to know just a little what they are; and so we thank Professor Morris, Mr. Griggs, and their learned train of contributors for giving us all a chance.

Professor Morris performs the part of both an expositor and a critic. He aims not only to bring the uncouth German into the acquaintance and sympathy of our American mind, but to add the results of later thought, in order to correct and adjust the philosophy he taught. Thus, with Kant he agrees that space has a dependent existence; it is mind-created; so that if there were no mind there would be no space. But he denies to Kant that, therefore, space is purely "subjective." Somehow he believes that subject and object possess an "organic oneness." They are both one as merged in "the universal Spirit," namely, the absolute, and the "absolute can only be conceived as spirit." Thus he advocates the "spiritualistic conception of the absolute reality." Substance, and we suppose space, is only "phenomenal," and phenomena are the unreal shell of the noumenal; and the noumenal of all phenomena is the great universal spirit; so that the cosmos seems to be spirit clothed in unreal substance. This may not be pantheism.

A great fault of the transcendental class of writers is that they are apt to run into a high strain of euphonious but not very lucid rhetoric. Hobbes, Locke, and John Stuart Mill aim at a clear, manly simplicity and lucidity of style. Coleridge, Cousin, and Dr. Hickok, are decidedly highflown. To the complaint made of a magniloquent lecturer at a late philosophical convention, that he was too high to be intelligible, the reply was made that philosophy, like every other system, must have its technical nomenclature. And that is true. But it is bad for a school of thinkers when its expositors seem to aim at a showy display of technical forms of esoteric phraseology. We are not sure that there is not a perceptible degree of falsetto in the style of Professor Morris.

We all know that Kant assumed the task of putting to the test the universal negations of Hume; negations of every thing but

what he called sensible "impressions," and so negations of the existence of an external world of the supernatural of God and immortality. The Scotch school had, in a method of modest analytic "common sense," gone over the ground and maintained a successful contest, but something more bold and structural seemed to be demanded by the public mind. Kant's Critique appeared, and its very iron Tolbooth character seemed to give it an "architectonic" strength. It was no direct answer to Hume, but the erection of an opposing fortress. It was not so very much of an opposition either; for Kant conceded to Hume that in the field of intellectual speculation no supersensible truth or being could be proved. He resorted to man's "Practical Reason," just as the Scotch philosophers did to "common sense," and with a still more unhappy selection of the term. And Practical Reason could furnish no more than a "Belief in God, immortality, and soul." Yet in the Practical Reason he included the ethical nature of man, and legitimated it as being a part of man's structural being, and so a valid authority for man. But while thus finding himself, as a true moral being, entitled to firm faith in these three great realities, he never affirmed the truth of Christianity, never passed beyond ethical Theism. In his "Religion within the Bounds of Reason," he took the ground of coldest Rationalism. The atoning crucifixion was a popular story, miracles were works of imagination, and conviction of sin, repentance, and justification by the Gospel were to him a self-magnetism which he professed himself unable to understand. Still his philosophy was a framework into which Christianity could be installed much more easily than in the dark confines of sensationalism, and the negative benefit was attained of a check upon the predominance of Hume.

After Kant the story of German philosophy ends to the general mind of the world. His successors, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, are to the English-American view but *umbrae nominum*, shadowy names. "The secret of Hegel" is at present about as much of a secret as ever. See now if our western "classics" will make the jewel leap out of its casket, and radiate a luster so clear as to illuminate and not so very dazzling as to blind us.

We are reminded by Professor Morris' exposition of Kant how much we do not believe in him. Take but a single point. A philosophy like his and Lotze's, that denies the reality of *space*, a reality that is, which is valid, whether there exists mind or not, does to our view lie in a hopeless *reductio ad absurdum*.

We hold that any philosophy that abuts against the objective reality of space is at once demolished. Kant and Lotze hold space to be created by mind; and Kant maintains that it is simply a mind-formed *condition* of sensible objects. "We cannot," he says, "perceive or conceive an object but in space." What authority, then, have we for believing the reality of the object any more than the reality of space? They are both equally authenticated by the same affirming mind. We do *see* space. I see the space around my table just as clearly and certainly as I see the table itself. I see the space in an empty pail just as truly as I see the water that anon fills it. And so far as my perceptions are concerned, space is as genuine an object of perception as the water or the pail. And yet you recognize that the space in the empty pail is vacuity, a pure absence of positive existence, a room for occupancy. That visible, *real*, actual emptiness—perhaps a painful *reality*—you call indifferently *space* or *nothing*. So that space=nothing. In the pail you see a circular nothing six inches in diameter and one foot deep. It is a spacial cylinder, just as real as any iron cylinder. And so space=nonentity=vacuity=nothing is extended, measured, and shaped, just as truly as matter. But it is not movable and literally divisible like matter. Annihilate the pail and you at once see that the division and limitation were imaginary. Matter may be cut in two and the parts removed, but not space. Matter may be viewed as transient, vanishing, and non-existent, but not space. Matter we may view as created and then annihilated, but space is uncreable and unannihilable. For how can nothing be created? How can extended vacuity, absence of all positive existence, be generated, destroyed, or dependent for its reality on any thing finite or infinite? John Stuart Mill defines matter as "the permanent possibility of a sensation." We might define space as *the permanent possibility of an occupancy*. We know that it is limitless; for, assume any limit, and space is beyond it. And so immensity of space and eternity of time are among the most primitive, indestructible and certain of all thoughts. And when we see our stalwart philosophers so bravely take immensity of space and twist and tie it into a knot, as a western hunter crumples a piece of brown paper into a wad; and when they thrust immensity of space into their twistified theories, as the hunter rams the wad into his musket, we are overwhelmed with admiration at the dexterity of their manipulations.

And what shall be said of Kant's famous battle of the Antin-

omies? In order to show that, when we get up into the supersensible regions, we are involved in contradictions that warn us down, he takes four sets of supersensible propositions and opposes them like contradictory batteries against each other. It is the battle between the phenomena and the noumena, in which they with great precision annihilate each other, and thereby settle their feud. His first antinomy seems to be based on the ambiguity of a term. If there be a word in language expressive of a transcendent reality, in which all mind agrees, it is ETERNITY. Yet this word, we are instructed, contradicts itself. There is an eternity of the past which has terminus at the present moment; so that we have an Infinite chopped off at one end! Then there is a future Eternity; so that we have an Infinite clipped at the other end! And when both are tied together we have an absolute Infinity. Now, if we will not be governed and cheated by words, we may see that there is here no contradiction in the conception. A geometrician finds it perfectly legitimate to say, "Let this line A B be produced from B to infinity;" that is, without a further end. And that is a perfectly legitimate conception—a line with a beginning and no ending. And in our thinking of that line two valid conceptions arise. We may either think the line ever approaching yet never reaching infinity, in which the element of time and motion is blended with linear form; or we may view the line as now infinitely complete, an endless line. And so man's immortality embraces the conception of a commencement and continuance without end. We speak of a monument to be raised and to stand forever. Men have generally believed in a creation never to be annihilated. So, also, there may be conceived a line with no beginning, yet an end. Applied to time, we might call one præ-eternity and the other post-eternity, and both valid conceptions. And then, if we call the *whole* Eternity, we may see that there are three harmonious valid conceptions distinguished by their three names, and all without contradiction. The other Antinomies of Kant are, we think, no more valid.

Illusions: A Psychological Study. By JAMES SULLY, author of "Sensation and Intuition," "Pessimism," etc. 12mo, pp. 370. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Mr. Sully has produced several philosophical works of no great note. He is, we believe, at the present time a member of the agnostic school of thinkers. The present work is written in a clear style, and furnishes many a valuable suggestion for prac-

tical life. His term, "illusions," extends to nearly all the mistakes of sensation, perception, introspection, and insight that men are liable to commit. The department of apparitions, ghosts, second-sight, clairvoyance, etc., is mostly omitted. He is copious on the subject of dreams, but we do not see that he furnishes much in advance of the treatment of Macnish and Abercrombie thirty or forty years ago.

In regard to dreams, indeed, we opine that they are best explained from the standpoint of the Will. Mr. Sully represents Dugald Stewart as maintaining that volition ceases in our dreams; but we scarce think that he represents Stewart accurately. Every one knows that we have plenty of volitions, dream-volitions, within the train of our dreams. What Stewart would truly say is, that the will loses its power over the corporeal system during sleep; or, more correctly, the system loses its power to obey the will, and so the will is pretty much powerless. The will is not like a general whose army has rebelled and flung off his authority, or whose power of command is paralyzed, so much as like a general whose army is demoralized and incapable of obeying. During the day the system has been throwing off its energies in action, and has become exhausted. Synchronically, night withdraws the stimulus of light, so that there is a time-keeping between man and the diurnal revolutions of the earth. With man the animal creation accordantly sleeps, and even the vegetable slumbers. And this reminds us of great Jonathan Edwards' profoundly witty definition of "nothing" as being "that of which the *sleeping rocks do dream.*" As we lay ourselves to our night's repose, the wearied system demands release from the tyrant Will, and consequently all its tension is relaxed. The moment that the will surrenders is the moment of commenced sleep. Simultaneously, the volitional impulse being withdrawn, the five senses cease their action. The higher intellect in the front brain, unpressed by will, loses its discriminating energy, and submits without judgment often to the most absurd impositions. Meantime our sensuous thoughts, our images of mental revery, in the absence of discriminating power, become realities. The Berkeleyan philosophy becomes true in dream-world: our thoughts are things. And sometimes they become exciting, and our dreams are vivid and disturbing. For we believe that we do not always dream; and that our sleep is imperfect and less recuperating when it is not dreamless, for even our conceptive faculties need repose. The non-volitional

functions of our interior system, meanwhile, the respiration, the pulsation, the circulation, the digestion, all go on freely, yet quietly, availing themselves of the period of repose to reproduce their expended energies. About midnight the accumulation of new strength has commenced. By morning the forces become rampant, and under stimulus of returning light demand of General Will to lead them into action.

After keeping his readers, through extended chapters, in the region of "illusion," Mr. Sully, wisely fearing lest they should become a little dizzy, and fancy that all is illusion, and that we are all crazy, brings them back to a central *reality*. It is, indeed, true that we are all a little touched, and do now and then hallucinate. But we do this each individually and variantly from the consensus of the totality of minds, of which each individual is a part. By the unanimity of the whole the eccentricity of the individual is corrected, though each individual has in turn to have his specialty neutralized. And this consensus is sound and right, being in possession of *reality*. Mr. Sully gives no man leave to go crazy over his book.

He endeavors to keep the discussion of illusion within the limits of science, though aware that he is ever near the boundary line of metaphysic or "philosophy." The scientific questions are comparatively easily settled; he has only to come back to the decision of the "consensus," which is a very good pope. But there is a very dangerous outlet into philosophy by which all may be swamped. Suppose philosopher comes along and says, "Mr. Scientist, is not the existence of the external world one of the 'illusions' of men, and is your subject exhausted before you have settled that question?" Mr. Sully acknowledges such to be the fact, and modestly confesses he omits that discussion as a great deal too large, not for his subject, but for his capacity, it being a question for ages. We do not agree with him. No reasoning that challenges the reality of the perception of the external world is as valid as the perception itself. The duality of mind and matter, of time and space, are realities stronger than any arguments that can be arrayed against them. We feel mind and we see matter; we feel time and we see space; and any reasonings against their existence are refuted because they contradict primitive certainties. We are wholly undisturbed, therefore, by the fluctuations of Mr. Sully on the sea of evolutionism. We do not for one moment feel puzzled by John Stuart Mills' resolving causation into *association*, substance into "the *permanent*

possibility of a sensation," or the soul into a *series of cogitations*. These are simply the antics of a fancy mimic-philosophy, bearing the same relation to a true philosophy that a chimpanzee does to a man. We say this in full realization that these intellectual gymnastics display no little power; that they possess, like other gymnastics, some degree of fascination; and afford some training for the intellect of the gymnast. Nevertheless, they are nothing but lofty conundrums; they afford no valid or saving truth.

Christian Ethics. (Individual.) By Dr. H. MARTENSEN. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This volume was preceded by a general treatise on ethical principles from a Christian stand-point, and is to be followed by another on social ethics. The present volume brings the application of ethical principles to bear upon practical conduct, often in a decidedly explicit and pungent way. It furnishes many a hint for the guide of life, and the preacher may find in it not a few suggestions of the mode of rendering moral science suggestive in a popular way.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Thomas Carlyle. A History of the First Forty Years of his Life. 1795–1835. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. With Portraits and Illustrations. Two volumes in one. 12mo, pp. 252, 297. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Of course the pen of Mr. Froude can make any subject readable, and with so unique a topic as Carlyle and his contemporaries, eminently readable. But he cannot make of his subject a philosopher, a religionist, nor a true teacher or inspirer of men. He was simply a great vociferator, flinging up now and then strains of grand vociferation, startling from its rugged beauty or extravagance, but nine times in ten mere racket and furor that fools admire, first from their strangeness, and latterly from mere habit. Taken altogether, the annihilation of all he did, and the obliteration from the world's memory of all that he was, would be no loss.

Educational.

The Semi-Monthly Fonetic Teacher. Organ of Spelling Reform. St. Louis, 1882. 8vo. Eight pages per number. $1 per annum. T. R. Vickroy, Editor and Publisher.

We are in receipt of this periodical; and as we have for many years been in sympathy with every effort for the mitigation and abolition of our English spelling curse, we heartily recommend it to the patronage and perusal of every inquirer after the "true and good." More than thirty years ago we published, in the "Ladies' Repository," edited by Dr. Davis W. Clark, and in the "National Magazine," edited by Dr. Stevens, some earnest essays on the subject. There were then a few zealous laborers for the movement, but a general silence on the subject, unbroken except by expressions of self-stultifying ridicule and even bitterness. We have passed through several reforms, but in none have we seen more unequivocal self-exposures of conceited ignorance on the part of opponents. The late Professor Haldeman was the only man of general eminence we can recall who then bravely advocated the cause. Other occupancies have since crowded out this subject from our interest; but occasionally opening and rubbing our eyes to take in the situation, we are greatly gratified to measure the progress of the movement, and to note the names of eminent men who have taken it in hand. Of the great beneficence of the end designed, and the surety of its accomplishment, we have not the slightest doubt. The ideal of a perfect orthography consists mostly in *an unequivocal alphabet.* By it a given series of letters should spell only one possible sound, and be pronounceable in only one possible way; and, conversely, no word or sound could be spelled in any other than one possible way. There could then be no rational mistake. *It would take but a few weeks or months to learn the complete spelling of a whole language.* Based initially on *memory,* the process of learning would soon be guided by *principle;* and according to the exact following of principle would be the ease of learning, the accuracy of the result, and the intellectual and moral disciplinary effect of the whole process. Spelling would cease to be a terrible spasm of hard memory through myriads of capricious details, requiring drill upon every word; it would become an exact science. If this could not be attained with absolute perfection, it could be so approximated as to attain an invaluable result.

The ease of learning would reduce a vast amount of mental

labor and pain for childhood. It would be the emancipation of the child-slave from the most terrible part of the whole educational process. It would fling off a large part of the school-room nightmare that now renders truancy venial, and open a cheery way and a livelier interest for all other parts of learning. The labor and pain of spelling, as we shall soon show, is expended in acquiring falsehood and demoralization. Then there would be an immense diminution of the expense of elementary education. Spelling, reading, and writing would require much less of time and labor, and consequently of pecuniary expenditure. There would be an annual saving of millions in the cost of public education. The work of spreading popular education, for instance, through the South among our negroes, and among our foreign population, would be expedited and cheapened. Our national masses would become more intelligent, and the dangers to our free institutions, arising from ignorance and degradation, would be lessened.

Did the English language possess a simple and correct orthography, it would stand a fair chance for becoming the predominant language of the world. Its structure is simple from the absence of elaborate declensions; its verb is structurally simple; its syntax is simple. But the foreigner finds its orthography so complex and capricious that he is obliged to learn the spelling of each word by itself—an endless task. Now English and American conquest, diffusion, and commerce, are spreading over the world with an unparalleled rapidity. Give our language as simple an orthography as it has a syntax, and its great obstacle is removed. It would become, in all probability, the circulating medium of the speaking world.

We have spoken of the demoralizing character of our orthography. The more our readers study that point, we think, the more the stupendous untruth our orthography embodies will become evident. Truth is the agreement of the representation with the fact: but so immense is the disagreement of our letter combinations with the word said to be "spelled," that the whole teaching is a drill in conventional error in the place of absolute accuracy. It is an undisciplining process, an inculcation of disorder and incongruity, requiring the wholesale acceptance of falsehood for truth, thereby perverting and disorganizing the mind.

One sunny day in our school-boy years we were watching a fellow pupil standing up at his spelling lesson. He was a cheery boy, and he first read his lesson audibly to the master in a high

key. The reading finished, the master took the book to "put out" the words for spelling. "Spell geese," said the master. In high tone the boy began, "*Ghe*," (our spelling of hard g.) "Ghe," echoed the master, "what kind of a letter is *ghe?*" Whereat the surrounding urchins felt authorized to snicker at him as a dunce for telling the truth and not a falsity. For *ghe* is the true first element of the three of which the word *geese* as pronounced is composed. But the boy was forthwith duly inducted into falsehood by being told by his master that the first letter is *je;* and so the entire elements of the word are *je ee se*, which, as near as any thing, spells *jēsē*. The three elements of this word *geese* phonography (which is a very perfect orthography) presents thus, —·); and as thus presented, phonographically, the letters can spell no other sound; the sound can be spelled in no other way. Phonography is thus, proximately at least, a perfect orthography. If, as some say, phonography is a failure, it is not in the unequivocality of its alphabet and spelling, but in its reporting rapidity. The elements being well mastered, there can be no mistake, ambiguity, or variation. The instantaneous utterance of the elements (as in phonography) is the pronunciation of the total word. The mastery of the elements, and of the spelling principle, is a mastery of the whole art of the perfect spelling of the entire language, and is a work for a good mind of but a few months. And this is precisely what should be.

The modifications proposed by the united American and English Philological Associations, and the Spelling Reform Association, are a great improvement in their way if they could be universally adopted. They would remove a large mass of difficulties both for the child and the foreigner. For the present, as being made to our hand, they would be a gain. But we want a *reconstructed alphabet;* and it may be that examination would show that a well-reconstructed alphabet has already been brought into existence. Such an alphabet should, *first*, be a fair approximation to complete unequivocality; it should, *second*, be as little as possible disagreeable to the eye; and it should, *third*, be as little changed as possible from the present typography; so that a few hours' familiarity would render it as easy reading as the old style, and the transition from old to new be facile and pleasant. This would leave the availability and value of our old libraries undiminished; for, with very slight effort, any reader might be easily familiar with both styles, though he might never be, and never need to be, adept in the old style; for few at the present

day are complete masters of English orthography beyond liability to numerous mistakes. Probably not a man living could accurately spell the entire of his own language.

But it is objected these associations have no authority. Nor had Rowland Hill, we reply, any authority for pushing the cheap postage reform; nor the antislavery societies any authority for agitating for slavery reform; nor John Wesley any authority for projecting religious reform. Most great reform movements commence without authority. Rather, their first authority consists in the truth and excellence of their movement; and these in time, after being ridiculed and objected to, compel organic authority into submission and execution. Not long since a member of Congress moved initial legislative action upon the subject, and was saluted with a general burst of laughter. This exemplified the grave old Roman maxim, *Risu inepto nihil ineptius;* which, for the needs of such Congressman, we translate, "Than a silly laugh nothing is more silly." These merry gentlemen never dreamed that this pedantic movement had any relation to the diminishing of public expense and the spread of public intelligence. When an unequivocal orthography, as little as practicable severed from the old literature, is once attained by our associate scholarship, Congress should at once order its national documents to be printed in that style. Then the periodical press, and finally the great book publishers, could wisely follow. The next generation would reap an advantage which would never be lost.

We are indeed told that pronunciation so constantly varies that the work would soon have to be done over again. We reply, that the absurdities of our orthography promote variations. Let an exact orthography be adopted, and a wise intolerance of vagaries could easily be cultivated that would give our language a new stability and oneness. The spread of ability to read would tend to eliminate sectional peculiarities. And if in two or three centuries the work needs to be done over again, let it be done. The revisers would have an easier task than the late revisers of our English Bible.

Periodicals.

The Methodist Advocate. Atlanta. E. Q. FULLER, D.D., Editor.

Our Atlanta Advocate, under the able, honest, and indefatigable editor, Dr. Fuller, still lives and does its noble work. But it lives amid difficulties. Its main difficulty seems to arise from the fact that too many of its subscribing "patrons" consider *subscribing* to be *patronage* enough without also *paying*. They subscribe liberally, but the fee is too generally omitted. This largely arises, we suppose, from the original semi-charitable character of the paper, established as it was in a day of the poverty of its constituency. But benefaction becomes enervating and demoralizing when the beneficiary begins to expect that the benefaction is an established income. The last General Conference, by a wise vote, conditioned its continuance on an adequate support from the pockets of its subscribers. That vote declared that the day of poverty had so far passed, that if the constituency would not pay for the paper, it did not deserve to receive it.

The paying policy has been adopted, and yet fifteen hundred dollars is reported to be needed in order to continue the paper until the next General Conference. We believe that private liberality ought to furnish that deficit, and the paper be launched into another quadrennium under the same probation.

We have not counted the votes, but we believe that if every member who voted for the present probation would contribute ten dollars, the present remainder of the deficit would be more than met. But we would suggest another mode additional to such gratuities. The Advocate is ably and truthfully edited. It tells square truths that are a means of grace in that section until that section itself comes to utter freely and fully those same truths. We always read it, and generally with admiration for the fearless outspokenness of its editor. And we say to all our readers, and to all Northern men, if you wish to receive a true intelligence from the South, if you wish for every means of truly knowing the South, buy and read this Advocate as one of the invaluable items for that purpose.

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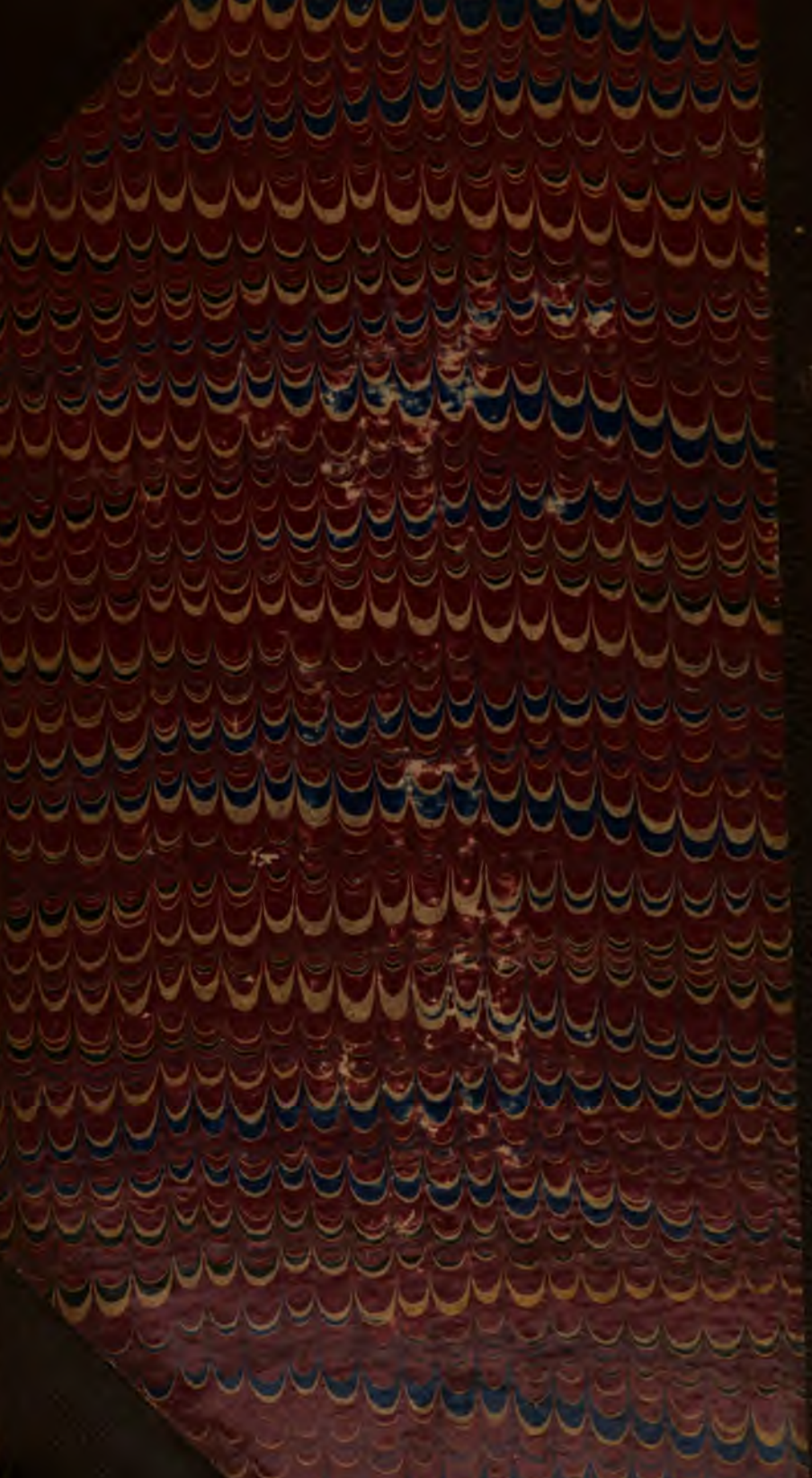
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